









For Reference  
Do Not Take  
From the Library

Every person who maliciously cuts, defaces, breaks or injures any book, map, chart, picture, engraving, statue, coin, model, apparatus, or other work of literature, art, mechanics or object of curiosity, deposited in any public library, gallery, museum or collection is guilty of a misdemeanor.

**Penal Code of California  
1915, Section 623**



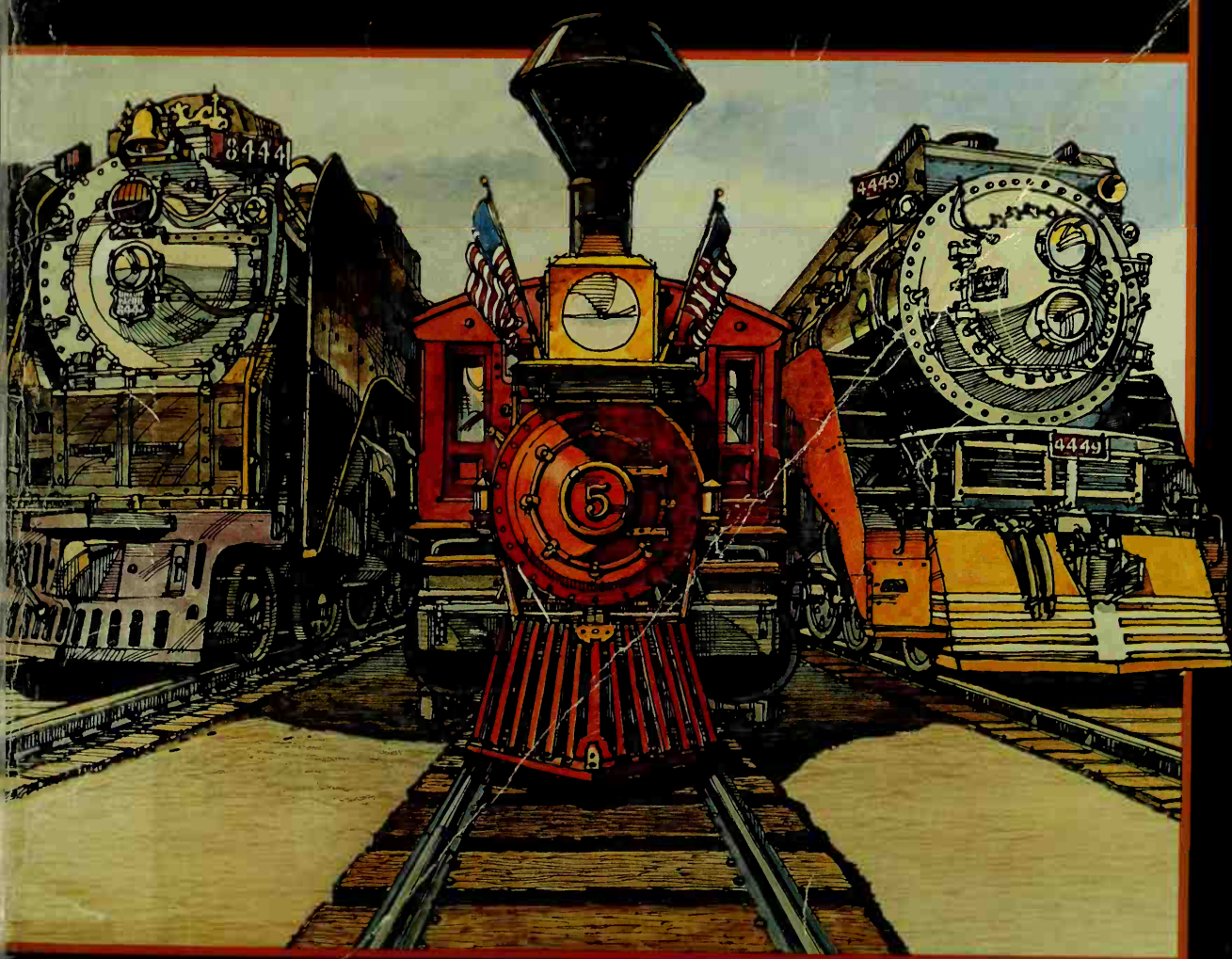




SPRING 1991

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

*Railroads in California and the Far West*





## Milestones in California History— The California State Railroad Museum

May 2, 1991, marks the tenth anniversary of a young yet ambitious institution that seeks to preserve and interpret the impact of railroads and railroading on California and the West: the California State Railroad Museum. Located in historic Old Sacramento, the Railroad Museum in ten years has gained a national reputation as the leader in railroad history preservation and interpretation. At the conclusion of its first decade, the museum is preparing to begin construction on its final phase—the 114,000-square-foot Museum of Railroad Technology—which will clearly place the facilities of California's Railroad Museum without rival anywhere in the world.

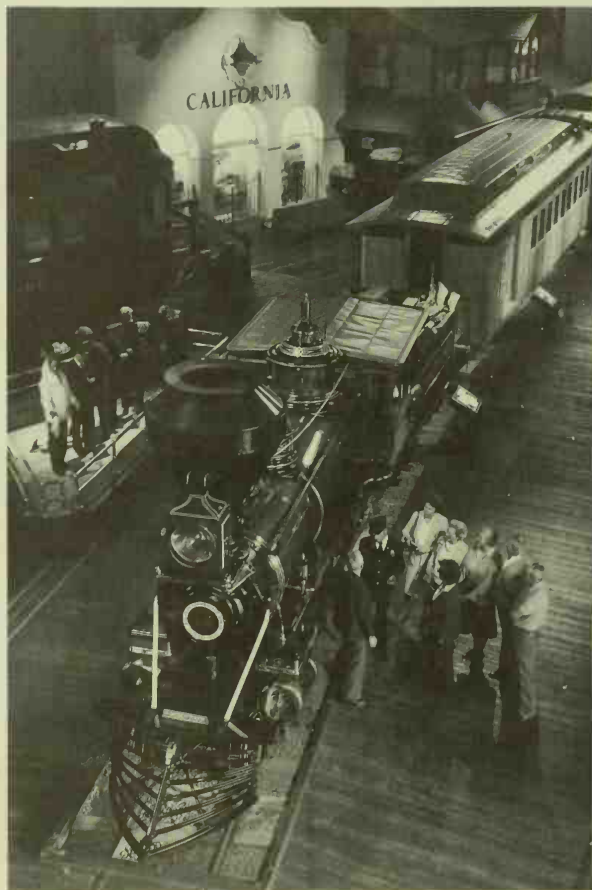
The museum had its origins in 1937 when its founding fathers, the Pacific Coast Chapter of the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, began collecting selected locomotives and cars. Frustrated after decades of effort to develop a museum in the San Francisco Bay Area, the organization began the magnanimous gift of thirty-three historic locomotives and cars to the California Department of Parks and Recreation in 1969. Old Sacramento, the birthplace of railroading in California, was the site chosen for the state's multi-phase railroad museum project. In 1976 and 1980, the state opened two facilities to test the public's response to the ambitious railroad interpretive effort—the reconstructed 1876 Central Pacific Railroad Passenger Station and the Big Four and Dingley Spice Mill Building. The third and largest phase of the museum project to date, the 100,000-square-foot Museum of Railroad History, opened on May 2, 1981, containing 21 meticulously restored locomotives and cars and some 40 exhibits interpreting the powerful cultural, economic, political, social, and historical influences of the railroad on California and the West. The museum opened with Railfair Sacramento 1981, a gala nine-day celebration, which brought two dozen operating locomotives and cars to Sacramento from throughout North America and England. Several of the steam locomotives operated daily in the railroad musical production "Song of the Iron Horse." A grander tenth anniversary celebration, Railfair '91, is planned for May 3-12, 1991, with an even larger assemblage of equipment from around the world, plus a new railroad musical revue.

Since 1981, nearly five million visitors have toured Sacramento's leading tourist attraction. The reconstructed Central Pacific Railroad Freight Depot was completed in 1986, and seventeen miles of excursion railroad trackage were placed in public ownership a year later. The final phase of the master plan is the Museum of Railroad Technology, to be located immediately south of Old Sacramento along the route of the museum's popular steam excursion trains. Architects and interpretive designers are already at work on the technology component, which will interpret the "nuts and bolts" of railroading, offer a firsthand overview of the museum's restoration shop, and house the reference collection comprising the rest of the museum's 105 locomotives and cars. Opening is projected during fiscal year 1994-95.

The California State Railroad Museum is an interpretive railroad museum. The museum's commitment to scholarship and quality are reflected throughout the equipment restorations and exhibits. Programming, such as living history demonstrations, the U. S. National Handcar Races, Amtrak on-board interpretation, Sacramento Southern excursion trains, changing exhibits, symposia, and special programs, bring the museum's mission to life.

No technology has so fundamentally influenced the development of the West as the railroad. At its tenth anniversary, the California State Railroad Museum is poised to continue preserving the history and technology of this vital industry.

Stephen E. Drew, Senior Curator  
California State Railroad Museum



Displays inside the Museum of Railroad History, the California State Railroad Museum. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.



# THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXX No. 1

Spring 1991

MICHAEL McCONE  
*Executive Director*

RICHARD J. ORSI  
*Editor*

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI  
*Associate Editor*

JAMES J. RAWLS  
*Reviews Editor*

CHARLES N. JOHNSON  
*Checklist Editor*

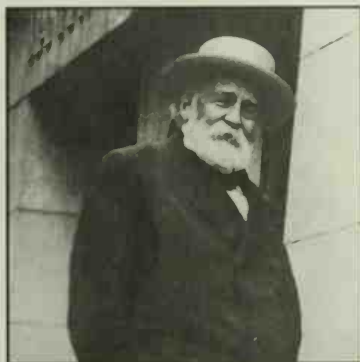
THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY  
*Design/Production*

#### Editorial Consultants

GORDON M. BAKKEN  
JACQUELINE BARNHART  
LONNIE G. BUNCH III  
LARRY E. BURGESS  
ROBERT W. CHERNY  
RICHARD W. ETULAIN  
JAMES N. GREGORY  
JUDSON A. GRENIER  
RICHARD GRISWOLD  
DEL CASTILLO  
ROBERT V. HINE  
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI  
DAVID HORNBECK  
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK  
PAUL J. KARLSTROM  
HARRY KELSEY  
HIM MARK LAI  
RUDOLPH M. LAPP  
LAWRENCE B. LEE  
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG  
SANDY LYDON  
CLEMENT MEIGHAN  
SALLY M. MILLER  
IRENE MORAN  
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS  
LEONARD PITT  
MICHAEL SMITH

#### Editorial Assistants

Corinne Abbott, Michael Campbell,  
Pamela Challinor, Kay Fealock  
Richard Graw, George Johnson,  
Keith Kennedy, Siegfried Schmuetsgen



12



30



94

2 Railroads in the History of California and the Far West: An Introduction  
*by Richard J. Orsi*

12 The Los Angeles 'Free Harbor Fight'  
*by William F. Deverell*

30 For Territorial Dominion in California and the Pacific Northwest: Edward J. Harriman and James J. Hill  
*by Don L. Hofsommer*

46 Railroads and Water in the Arid Far West: The Southern Pacific Company as a Pioneer Water Developer  
*by Richard J. Orsi*

62 Promoting the Golden West: Advertising and the Railroad  
*by Alfred Runte*

76 From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City  
*by Edward Leo Lyman*

94 The Paper Trail of the Iron Horse: The California State Railroad Museum Library  
*by Blaine Peterson Lamb and Ellen Halteman Schwartz*

115 Reviews

126 California Checklist

131 Notes

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward. LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous contribution of  
**Sunset PUBLISHING CORPORATION** toward making this special issue possible.

---

---

# Railroads in the History of California and the Far West: An Introduction

By Richard J. Orsi  
Editor, *California History*

---

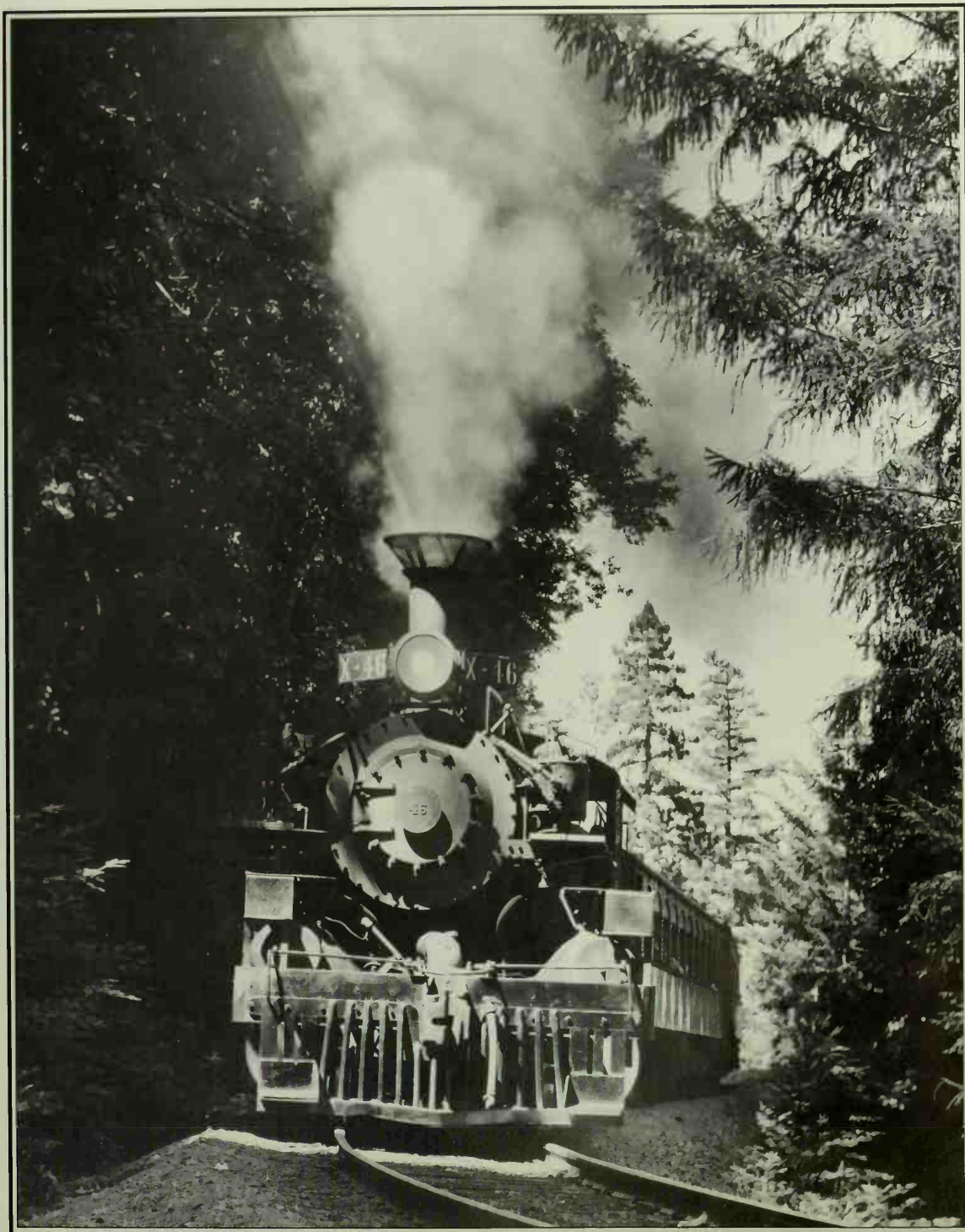
---

**T**his special theme issue of *California History* commemorates the tenth anniversary of the founding of the California State Railroad Museum and assembles for the reader a sample of the new scholarship on the popular and critically important subject of the history of railroads in California and the Far West. In the decade since the opening in 1981 of its major facility in Sacramento, the California State Railroad Museum has advanced to the forefront in the ranks of institutions devoted to recapturing the history of railroads and their transformation of human affairs. Through diverse exhibits and activities, information available for research in its archives and library, and its sponsorship of such major celebrations as Railfair '81 and Railfair '91, the acclaimed Railroad Museum has succeeded in transporting rail historians and the touring public back to the era of woodburners and Victorian gingerbread passenger cars, behemoth cab-forwards and the colorful diesels that supplanted them. Visitors can relive great moments in western rail history, including the unprecedented feat of Theodore Judah, the Big Four, and thousands of their Chinese and European immigrant workers on the

Central Pacific as they heroically pushed the first transcontinental line eastward across the Sierra Nevada. They can experience exhibits that recapture the many ways that railroads impinged on everyday life—in farms, business, play, popular music, movies, folk arts, and politics.

At first, unreflective glance, the world the Railroad Museum seeks to recreate, no matter how colorful, may seem to some viewers to be distant, quaint, no longer vital. Nowadays, apparently out-competed economically and definitely eclipsed in the public imagination by more fashionable automobiles and aircraft, railroads have lost much of their allure. Although they have retained an important, if subdued, role in the Far West economy, railroads are no longer capable, as they once were, of moving an entire nation. Community fortunes no longer rise and fall in rhythm with rail services; children no longer grow up bewitched by the flight of swift streamliners, nor do they dream of one day becoming locomotive engineers; musicians compose no more songs the likes of "Midnight Special," "Wabash Cannonball," "Sentimental Journey," and "The Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe."





Locomotive on the California Western Railroad ("The Skunk") between Willits and Fort Bragg, California, 1972. Photograph by Walter P. Gray, III. *Courtesy Walter P. Gray, III, and the California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*



Parade down Market Street in San Francisco in May 1869 to celebrate the driving of the golden spike at Promontory Point, Utah, completing construction of the first transcontinental line. The Central Pacific/Union Pacific Overland Route finally connected the Pacific Coast into the national railroad system. Wild public demonstrations of this sort erupted across the country, testifying to the high hopes that nineteenth-century Americans had for railroads. *Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.*

But, for California and the Far West in the years between the building of the first transcontinental and local lines in the mid-1800s and the end of railroad expansion in the early twentieth century, steam railroad technology and business organization was, like the automobile and computer of recent decades, the cutting edge of social change. The building of lines across the thinly-settled western landscape left in its wake economic development, population growth, modernized machinery and lifestyles, and new cultural sophistication. Reflecting this reality, the railroad, particularly early in the period, was commonly portrayed in the popular culture as a universal panacea, a technological patent-medicine-cure for all manner of individual and community ills.<sup>1</sup> According to rail promoters in the West, the laying of steel rails would expand markets for local products, raise land values, encourage land subdivision and settlement, attract tourists and new businesses, reduce

unemployment, break down isolation from older cultural centers, make life more convenient, and promote national unity and patriotism. As one writer in depression-ridden California put it during the 1850s, "If we shall live to see the day when the iron horse, with his impetuous speed, shall come from the Atlantic to quench his fiery thirst in the cool waters of the Pacific, then will our fondest visions have been realized and clouds of doubt will no longer obscure the bright future of California."<sup>2</sup>

As is often true for revolutionary technologies, however, the arrival of "the iron horse" actually had contradictory effects, many of which were unforeseen. For all their modernizing force, railroads, after they were built, often failed to live up to all the exaggerated initial expectations of their enthusiasts. The new transportation system, moreover, had negative side effects that made them seem mixed blessings. A few westerners perceived the dark side of railroad building even before the



dramatic "driving of the golden spike" on the first transcontinental line to the East in 1869. Writing in the *Overland Monthly* in 1868, Henry George, later a world-famous social critic and reformer but then an obscure California journalist, agreed that the new transportation order would bring riches to the Pacific Coast; but he also warned that the railroad technology was a powerful builder of large-scale, centralized economic and political units at the same time that it undermined the position of common people, small scale economic units, and local communities. As a result, railroads, George

maintained, would aggravate social inequalities, destroy the autonomy of small towns and farming districts, make the region more vulnerable to national depressions, and encourage the rise of excessively powerful corporations, particularly the railroad companies themselves. "As a general rule," George concluded about the railroad, "those who *have* it will make wealthier; for those who *have not*, it will make it more difficult to get."<sup>3</sup>

True to George's prophesy, California and far-western post-golden-spike railroads did indeed open up wilderness to new farms, mines, and



The depot of the Los Angeles & Independence Railroad on San Pedro Street in Los Angeles, ca. late 1870s. This finely detailed print by the great photographer Carleton E. Watkins illustrates the richly ornate station architecture of the day, as well as the interaction of different forms of transportation, in this case the steam railway, wagons, and horse-drawn streetcars, then being introduced into Los Angeles. Like other leading photographers and painters, Watkins was often hired by railroad companies to document their activities and assist in their advertising, a theme explored by Alfred Runte in an article in this special issue. *Courtesy California State Library.*



California's first major train wreck, a head-on collision between a local and an overland train, occurred near San Leandro in Alameda County, November 14, 1869, just a few weeks after the first transcontinental trains of the Central Pacific reached San Francisco Bay. Numerous people were killed and injured, and the shock of the disaster caused many people on the Pacific Coast to condemn the railroad as a threat to public safety. Published in the *San Francisco News Letter*, this drawing was based on a sketch made by an artist who arrived on the scene shortly after the tragedy. Courtesy California State Library.

lumbering enterprises, give birth to networks of new towns and cities, modernize life, and generate countless jobs for middle- and working-class people. At the same time, however, older communities left off the rail lines withered, and some entire regions suffered from inferior rail services, or lacked them completely. Still in a primitive state of technology and organization, the new transportation system also suffered from an unprecedented and horrendous accident rate, sparked devastating grass and forest fires in the countryside, and blighted urban neighborhoods beside its tracks with noise, smoke, congestion, and crime. Many such unexpected social problems vividly illustrated that "the machine" was clearly out of control, further shaking the public's confidence in railroads.<sup>4</sup>

Compounding the anxieties of underserved districts after the late 1860s, dominance over the

vital new transportation system became concentrated in the hands of a few men, particularly California's so-called "Big Four"—Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins. Through their Central Pacific Railroad, the Big Four, possessing vast capital resources and the advantage of being the first large operators in the business, purchased or gained influence over rival transportation lines—most notably the Southern Pacific Railroad—which they consolidated under one management with the founding of the Southern Pacific Company in 1884. Despite the later arrival from the East of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe in the 1880s, and the Union Pacific and Western Pacific in the early 1900s, the Southern Pacific Company's larger regional network effectively controlled transportation in California, Nevada, southern Arizona, and southern



New Mexico, along with much of Oregon, Utah, and Texas, allowing it to charge passenger fares and freight rates that critics condemned as exorbitant. To preserve its near monopoly, the corporation entered politics on a massive scale, influencing political parties and elections and even on occasion dispensing bribes where necessary. Though not as pervasive, similar transportation empires were assembled by other corporate giants: Henry Villard and James J. Hill in the Northwest, Jay Gould in the central Far West, and after 1900 by Edward H. Harriman over the entire region.

Nor did railroads create harmony in the countryside. Farmers complained about high freight tariffs on grain, oranges, and other products. In many rural districts, the railways, particularly the Big Four's Central and Southern Pacific lines, also clashed with squatters and would-be homesteaders over access to federal grants of millions of acres of public land, deeded to the companies as subsidies to encourage the risky construction of railroads through uninhabited land. Land conflicts between the railroads and factions of settlers

reached a crescendo in the infamous "battle of Mussel Slough," a shoot-out in California's San Joaquin Valley in 1880 that left seven persons dead and sent reverberations of anti-railroad animosity around the world.<sup>5</sup>

Against this background of troublesome new conditions created by the expansion of the new transportation system and aggravated by inter-community rivalry and political conflict, public opinion in the turbulent West soured on the railroad companies as the nineteenth century drew to a close. During and after the 1870s, attacks on the railroads by a host of farm organizations, urban shippers, and political reformers focused on the issues of transportation monopoly, high freight rates, land conflicts, and corporate interference in government. Once the salvation of the region, the railroads, in the eyes of many, had been transformed into the real or imagined source of the

Railroad trestle, Pasadena, 1912. In their wake, railroads left air pollution, clutter, and neighborhood blight. *Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Society.*



*The Wasp*



THE CURSE OF CALIFORNIA.



region's problems. Although virtually all railroads suffered public criticism, none was more vilified than the California-based Southern Pacific Company, the largest, most economically and politically powerful of far western carriers. In his 1901 classic, *The Octopus*, the great California novelist Frank Norris expressed the condemnation of an entire age on the Southern Pacific (and western lines generally) when he described the railroad as:

a galloping monster, the terror of steel and steam, with its single eye, Cyclopean, red, shooting from horizon to horizon . . . the symbol of a vast power, huge, terrible, flinging the echo of its thunder over all the reaches of the valley, leaving blood and destruction in its path; the leviathan, with tentacles of steel clutching the soil, the soulless Force the iron-hearted power, the monster, the Colossus, the Octopus.<sup>6</sup>

In interpreting the region's history from the 1860s to the World War I period, most historians, particularly of California, have echoed the shrill, anti-corporate rhetoric of Norris and the railroads' other turn-of-the-century critics. Accordingly, historical works have been based largely on predictably biased sources, such as oral and written attacks by the railroad's opponents and records of state and federal investigations and court cases. Even works of anti-railroad fiction, such as Norris's superficial and distorted tale of the abuses of the Southern Pacific, have been cited as historical fact. Railroads, particularly the Southern Pacific, have emerged in the traditional popular history as

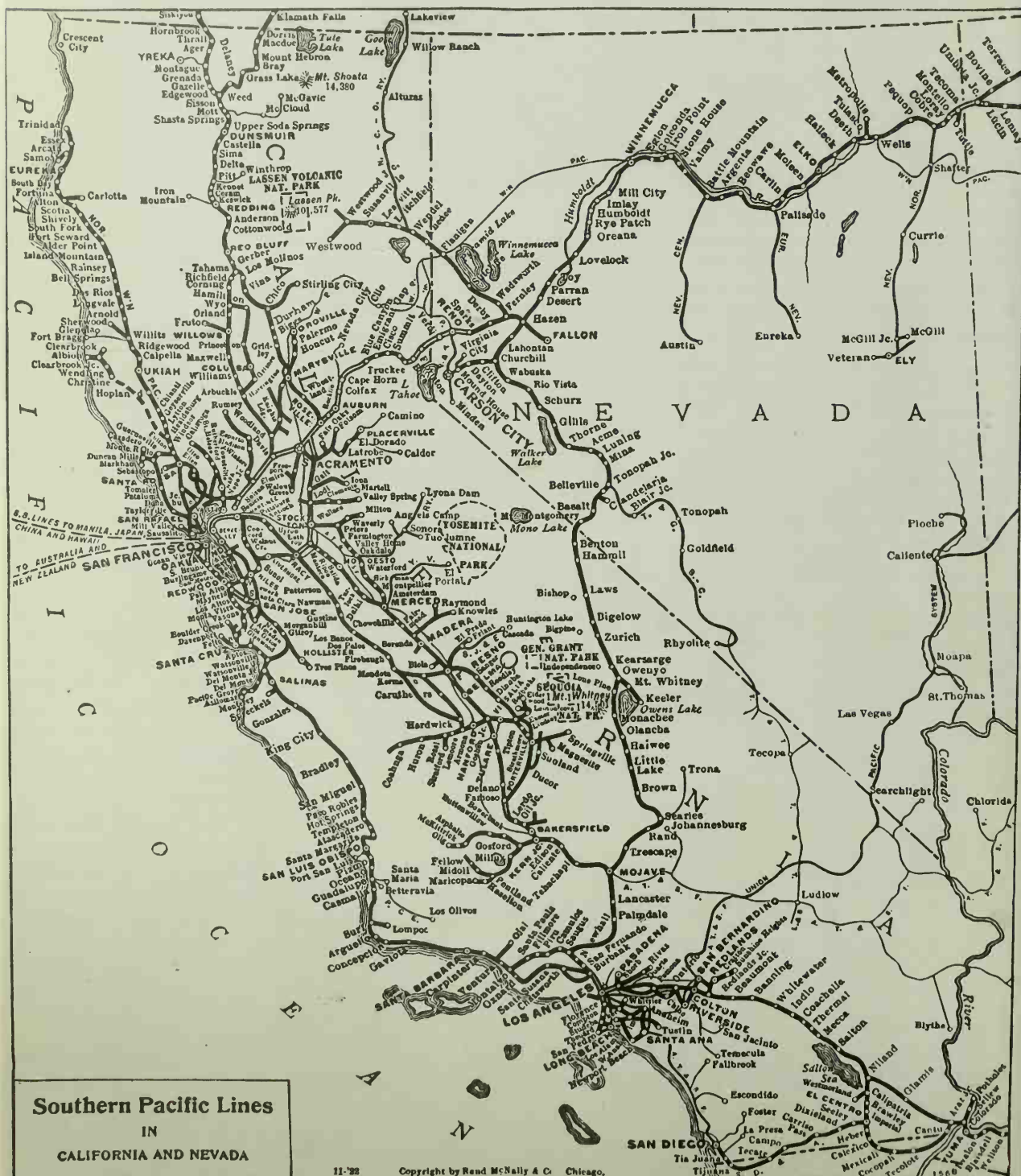
diabolical powers, arrayed against the interests of farmers, workers, and professional and business groups, the major instigators of graft and inept government, and the principal obstacles to economic development and political reform in the Far West. According to most historians, only after "the people" had mounted a series of grass-roots political campaigns, such as the Los Angeles "free harbor" fight of the 1890s, was the corporate leviathan forced to disgorge its victim and the region finally freed to follow its destiny of greatness.<sup>7</sup>

During the last two decades, however, the anti-railroad consensus of generations of earlier historians has begun to break down. New perspectives have been made possible by the passage of time and the availability of new research materials. Particularly important evidence has surfaced in recently-opened collections of manuscripts pertaining to the railroad companies, their leaders, and organizations and individuals working with or against the companies. Also valuable have been the personal papers of Collis P. Huntington (Syracuse University), Leland Stanford and Mark Hopkins (Stanford University), and Henry E. Huntington and Collis P. Huntington (Huntington Library), as well as the collections of numerous railroad companies, including Southern Pacific papers at the California State Railroad Museum in Sacramento, the Oregon State Historical Society in Portland, and the University of Texas, El Paso. The Southern Pacific Transportation Company has also instituted a program of making its papers accessible, either to individual historians or by donating the papers to public archives throughout the region. Union Pacific papers are available at numerous centers, particularly at the Union Pacific Historical Museum in Omaha, while the Santa Fe corporate papers are housed at the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.

A re-evaluation of the role of railroads in California and far western history is in process. While they are not necessarily uncritical of the often-real abuses by the railroads of their economic and political power, recent historians have begun to see the actions of the companies more positively and more clearly within a broader context of social, economic, and political change. They have begun to examine in

---

At left: Anti-Southern Pacific cartoon by George Frederick Keller in San Francisco's satirical weekly magazine, *The Wasp*, August 19, 1882. From the railroad magnates' mansions on the city's Nob Hill, the monopoly monster, with portraits of Leland Stanford and Charles Crocker for eyes, strangles the Mussel Slough settlers, as well as farms, businesses, and rival forms of transportation throughout the state. Anti-railroad cartoons such as this commonly appeared in western publications in the late nineteenth century. The image of the Southern Pacific as "octopus" predates Frank Norris's classic novel by a generation. Courtesy Bancroft Library.





greater detail the internal structure and operation of the railroad companies as legitimate businesses responding to changing commercial opportunities and dangers. At the same time as they have re-evaluated the role of the great railroad builders, such as the Big Four, recent historians have increasingly emphasized the critical importance of mid-level managers, oftentimes local western leaders in their own right, in establishing corporate policy, carrying out everyday activities, and interacting with outside people and organizations. Historians have also begun to examine the railroads' influences, many of them positive, on the pioneer development of western regions. Rounding out their reinterpretation of railroads, scholars have subjected the companies' opponents to more intense scrutiny, not just as democratic spokesmen for the popular will against the tyrannical monopoly, as they have traditionally been seen, but as representatives of private interests in their own right. Now, conflict associated with railroad issues increasingly is understood as a reflection of normal inter-business and inter-community rivalry, not just popular resistance against railroad abuses.<sup>8</sup>

From this new scholarship, a sharpened image of the far western railroads is emerging. Although it would have been impossible to comprehend in one volume all the important research, the papers in this special issue of *California History* constitute examples of new possibilities for interpreting the role of railroads in the history of California and the Far West. William Deverell, who has just completed a book-length revisionist study of the Southern Pacific in California politics, re-examines the

much-written-about "free harbor" controversy in Los Angeles and demonstrates that the railroad's business and political opponents, mask it though they might with populist rhetoric, did not lack for their own special interests and did not hesitate to employ the same deception and heavy-handed tactics for which they condemned the large railroads. Accomplished business and regional historians Don Hofsommer and Leo Lyman, though adopting varied perspectives and arriving at quite different conclusions about the building of new lines, nevertheless underscore the importance of understanding the complexities of inter-company and inter-regional conflict, as well as the impact of business conditions, not just private greed, on the decisions of railroad leaders.

In the first article in *California History* ever to employ full-color illustrations, the distinguished environmental and railroad historian Alfred Runte explores the fascinating, visually vibrant realm of railroad advertising and suggests the importance of railroads in the popular culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. My article on the Southern Pacific's water pioneering represents a chapter of my ongoing study of the company and its critical role in the settlement of its vast hinterland, not simply as a system of transportation or political influence, but as a creator of models of non-transportation technology, organization, and policy of great influence in western development. Anchoring this special issue, and of fundamental importance, is the bibliographical study by archivist Blaine Lamb and librarian Ellen Schwartz, which introduces the recently-opened holdings of the California State Railroad Museum, the leading collection of vast new research material upon which scholars will build a more comprehensive history.

The authors and editors whose work is represented in this special issue welcome our readers to the challenging world of the new railroad history of California and the Far West. CHS

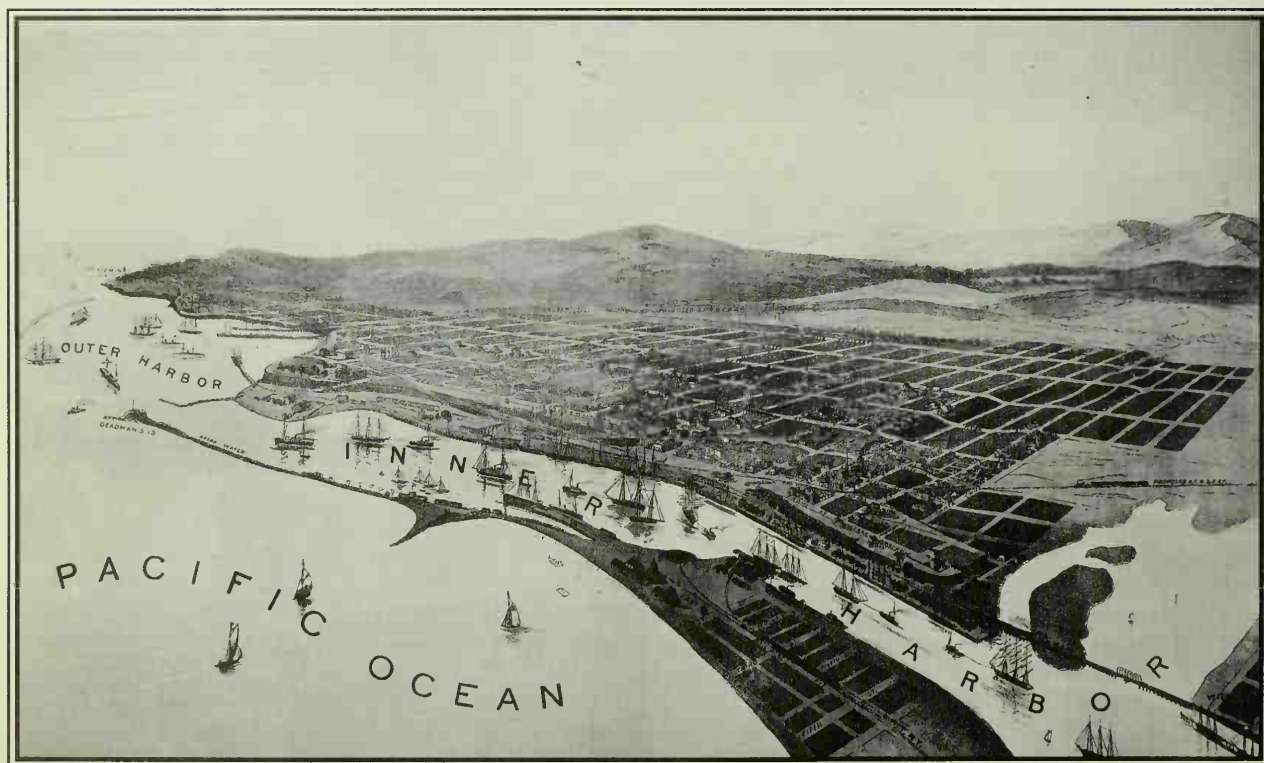
---

At left: Principal routes of the Southern Pacific Company (in bold line) and other companies (thin line) in California and Nevada. From a Southern Pacific timetable, 1923, when railroad transportation had reached its peak of importance. Courtesy California State Library.

See notes beginning on page 131.

The question with me is whether we shall live long enough to get any returns from our investment and our labours. It has been a long and hard road to travel. . . . we think the community of Los Angeles owe something to us and to themselves.

—Terminal Railway official Richard C. Kerens<sup>1</sup>



An artist's conception of the Los Angeles Harbor at San Pedro, late nineteenth century. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



---

# The Los Angeles 'Free Harbor Fight'

by William F. Deverell

---

For the better part of a decade at the close of the nineteenth century, two railroad factions waged a bitter war over the location of a southern California deep-water harbor. Debate centered on whether federal funds should be appropriated for harbor improvements at San Pedro or Santa Monica. In the end, San Pedro—the location favored by the opponents of the Southern Pacific Railroad—won out. Conventional understanding of the harbor fight views the outcome as a victory for “the people” of southern California. Frustrated by the greedy practices of the once-friendly Southern Pacific, the citizens of Los Angeles banded together in the face of a common enemy, the notorious railroad “Octopus.” Their victory, local histories tell us, was a vindication of regional vigilance in the face of corporate tyranny, a symbol of the state’s railroad-hating *vox populi*.<sup>2</sup> The controversy has also been interpreted as a formative instance of Progressive reform in California, emblematic of early twentieth-century anti-Southern Pacific campaigns across the state. Other studies have pointed to the harbor fight as an example of the railroad corporation’s less-than-monolithic power in determining the state’s commercial or political direction.<sup>3</sup>

Although it is crucial that historians continue to de-mythologize the “Octopus,” it is also important not to oversimplify the harbor fight. Most analyses of the controversy have discussed the role of Collis P. Huntington; the actions of other participants seldom receive close scrutiny. Such failure to address the roles of all important parties to the contest bolsters the interpretation that the harbor fight pitted a powerful corporation against an almost nameless collection of “the people.” This has led to a skewed presentation of this important event.

There were many principals in the Los Angeles harbor fight. On one side, the Southern Pacific Railroad and Collis P. Huntington stood as the most powerful proponents of locating the harbor in Santa Monica. The influence of this corporation and its officials cannot be denied. Yet the railroad company was not alone in its support of Santa Monica; others favored that place as well. On the other side stood those in support of San Pedro,

many of them involved in businesses or possessed of motives hardly less self-serving than those of the S.P.R.R. The most prominent of these San Pedro supporters were the officials, stockholders, and employees of the Terminal Railway Company. Perhaps above all, the harbor controversy pitted one railroad corporation against another, with both courting the approval of “the people.”

By the late 1880s, the Southern Pacific owned much of the land surrounding the waterfront at San Pedro. Southern Pacific trains ran into the area, and the corporation’s firms handled the harbor’s lighterage business. The community was a small but bustling seaport, its shoreline warehouses stockpiled with the material of railroads and railroad-building. There was much talk of getting an appropriation from Congress for building a tidal breakwater and deepening the harbor to permit the anchorage of larger ships. Local business groups, as well as the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, supported these plans. The Southern Pacific apparently backed such efforts as well. Doubtless the increased capabilities of an improved deep-water port would enhance the railroad’s position in the area and bring in additional revenue. In 1888, the company extended its rail line and started building a wharf out to sea. But construction was halted shortly thereafter. And when Collis P. Huntington became president of the Southern Pacific in 1890, he quickly made it clear that the company’s San Pedro operations did not suit his plans. He turned his attentions instead to Santa Monica, the quiet resort village to the northwest.

Huntington’s motives remain somewhat clouded. Yet it is clear that Santa Monica offered great advantages to the Southern Pacific. For if the government decided to build a deep-water harbor there, the railroad’s fortunes would be impressively advanced. And if the corporation could get a jump on its competitors, it could establish a literal beach-head at Santa Monica, making it difficult if not impossible for rival lines to encroach upon S.P. operations.<sup>4</sup>

Several obstacles lay in Huntington’s path. Although he had purchased large parcels of land on



President of the Southern Pacific Company after 1891, Collis P. Huntington (left) was the principal promoter of Santa Monica as the site of federal harbor improvements in the Los Angeles area. He is shown here in the 1890s on a street in San Francisco with a newsboy and Collis's nephew and close associate in management of the railroad, Henry E. Huntington. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

the Santa Monica bluffs overlooking the ocean, any potential rail route lay on the beach itself. That land belonged to the partnership of Nevada Senator John P. Jones and Robert S. Baker. And despite later charges to the contrary, the relationship between Huntington and either man was hardly one of complete amicability. Huntington also had to overcome the opposition of his own business partners to a switch from San Pedro to Santa Monica. As he wrote to one employee, "some of our people want to go to San Pedro [and] I have kept them from going there for a long time."<sup>5</sup> Finally, Huntington was faced with the uncertainty of whether the government would make an appropriation for a deep-water harbor and, if so, where those funds would be spent. To be commercially viable, Santa Monica required better harbor facilities. Could the government be convinced that Los Angeles's deep-water harbor belonged in Santa Monica and not at San Pedro?

Founded in 1875 by Jones and Baker, Santa Monica was a quiet beach community and resort. Although the town had grown rapidly during the boom of the 1880s, it retained its flavor of genteel, well-to-do refinement. Senator Jones, who had made a fortune in the Comstock Lode, built his

palatial home, Miramar, on the bluff overlooking the ocean in the late 1880s. The mansion was for decades one of the social centers of southern California, where visiting dignitaries and foreign tourists mingled with the local gentility. The community cultivated a playful, relaxed atmosphere revolving around teas, tennis, polo, and beachfront walks. Tourists came out from Los Angeles to gape at Miramar's gardens and prominent guests. In short, Santa Monica was just the sort of paradise that southern California's boosters had promised travelers.

By far the largest landholder in the Santa Monica area, Jones had purchased a three-fourths interest in the rancho of Juan Bandini. The remaining one-fourth was retained by Bandini's daughter Arcadia, whose husband Robert S. Baker had been granted power of attorney over his wife's share of the vast estate. By virtue of his status as majority partner, Jones received the overtures of Collis P. Huntington, who desired land and a right-of-way for Southern Pacific tracks.

Jones harbored a good deal of bitterness towards the railroad magnate, the result of soured business dealings in the past. In the 1870s, Jones had built the Los Angeles & Independence Railroad, a small





"Miramar," the palatial Santa Monica home of United States Senator from Nevada John P. Jones and his wife Georgina. The home stood on the bluff overlooking the Pacific and the site of the proposed federally-subsidized harbor. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

line that went east from the sea to Los Angeles. Santa Monica's slow growth, business competition from San Pedro Bay, and reverses in his personal fortunes all combined to force Jones to sell the railroad in the 1880s to the Southern Pacific, an event he long regretted. Jones viewed both Huntington and the corporation he controlled as arrogant and greedy, best dealt with at arm's length.<sup>6</sup>

While Huntington's offer was no doubt tantalizing—he proposed to buy a large portion of the estate, as well as take an active interest in the development of Santa Monica—the less-than-sterling reputation of the railroad baron and past experience were enough to make Jones and his wife wary. Georgina Jones warned her husband to get any agreements in writing and "beware of them as I would of a snake."<sup>7</sup> Husband and wife also shared concerns that a beachfront railroad would detract from the beauty and ambience of the seaside resort. After all, Southern Pacific operations at San Pedro, primarily coal and lumber, had done little to enhance the beauty of that town.<sup>8</sup> Georgina Jones worried that "a railroad at the foot of the bluff will ruin all the homes on Ocean Avenue;

there will be more or less smoke [and] soot, [and] the wind will blow it right over in our direction." A wharf might even destroy Santa Monica as a beach resort (unless, she added, the railroad were to build an iron pier that would benefit the area's many yachtsmen).<sup>9</sup>

For all their doubts, both Jones and his wife saw promise in the Southern Pacific's offers. A railroad did foreshadow commercial advancement. That much had been proven in countless other towns. And, as Jones pointed out, if any railroad company were to build in Santa Monica, he "would rather have the Southern Pacific than any other road because it is richer [and] stronger than . . . others [and] could if it would do Santa Monica more good."<sup>10</sup> Most important, the Southern Pacific seemed likely to convince the government that Santa Monica ought to receive the harbor appropriation. "My sole view in negotiating with the Southern Pacific Company is to pave the way for the building by the Government of a breakwater which would cost probably two million dollars," Jones wrote.<sup>11</sup> Once a favorable recommendation from government engineers was received, the Congressional committees in charge of making appropriations—Jones conveniently sat on one—could go about making Santa Monica "the greatest [and] safest harbor on the Pacific Coast not even excepting San Francisco."<sup>12</sup>

Jones eventually accepted Huntington's offer. With the acquisition of land and a right-of-way, the Southern Pacific had made an important step toward making Santa Monica a first-class port. Yet the crucial problem of getting a government appropriation for making a deep-water harbor there remained. In December 1891, the Army engineering report recommended that San Pedro receive the appropriation for harbor improvements. The harbor fight was on.

Although the engineering board returned a virtually unqualified recommendation in favor of San Pedro, the issue defied a simple conclusion. At a congressional appropriations hearing, Senator William Frye of Maine introduced a telegram from William Hood, the Southern Pacific's chief engineer, declaring that the holding ground at San Pedro was far too rocky to allow for suitable harbor facilities. That disclosure, later proven to be an exaggeration at best, prompted the convening of another harbor commission. By the order of Secretary of War Stephen B. Elkins, a new board of military engineers was directed to examine San

Pedro and Santa Monica and report again on each location's capacity for harbor development. Headed by Colonel William Craighill, the new board was to hold open meetings in Los Angeles during the fall of 1892 to assess regional opinion.

Meanwhile, the Southern Pacific built a massive wharf stretching far out to sea from its railhead at Santa Monica. This "Long Wharf," as it came to be called, was nothing less than a 4,500-foot engineering triumph, proof itself that the Southern Pacific was confident the appropriation would be awarded to Santa Monica.<sup>13</sup> Once the government saw the energy and money that the Southern Pacific brought to its enterprise, many believed, federal funds would be forthcoming.<sup>14</sup>

But the issue was hardly that simple. Strong as the convictions of Santa Monica supporters were, the other side had equally firm opinions. In September 1892, the new engineering board heard the

---

A train disappears in its own steam after unloading a ship at the Southern Pacific Railroad's Long Wharf at Santa Monica. Nearly a mile long, it was built at a cost of \$1 million. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*





opinions of the Los Angeles citizenry. Besides engineering and safety matters, the hearings concentrated on the commercial importance of harbor improvements. How would a deep-water harbor at either place affect local or regional business? Testifying before the board, the representatives of both San Pedro and Santa Monica emphasized each location's advantages.<sup>15</sup> The Southern Pacific's monopoly on land in the Santa Monica area was an issue that the San Pedro adherents emphasized and would return to again and again as the harbor fight deepened.

On the second day of public testimony, San Pedro supporters called Charles Monroe to testify. An attorney representing Jones and Baker, Monroe was asked to ascertain "what means other railroads have of getting into the harbor [at Santa Monica]." He replied that "the main idea with Jones [and] Baker was that they wanted to leave plenty of room there so that other railroads could get in, and we believe that we have done that, and I think it has been done. There is plenty of room there." Following Monroe's testimony, J.M. Crawley, assistant freight and passenger agent for the Southern Pacific, testified. Thomas E. Gibbon, vice president of the rival Terminal Railway, which operated a line to San Pedro, questioned Crawley closely as to the reasons behind the Southern Pacific's change of venue. "Isn't it a fact," Gibbon asked, "that the motive, the leading motive in the construction of this wharf at Santa Monica, arises from the desire to take from the Redondo wharf [of the Santa Fe railroad] the business which they have taken from the San Pedro wharf?" Crawley replied that he did not think that was necessarily correct, but that it was true that Santa Monica enjoyed certain commercial advantages that neither San Pedro nor Redondo could match.<sup>16</sup> Gibbon's examination of Crawley marked the redoubtable attorney's first public foray into the controversy; in the future he would play a growing, if more private, role.

Southern Pacific engineer Hood was also questioned about the chances of other railroads running track on the Santa Monica beach. Hood assured the board that there was plenty of room within reach of the proposed breakwater to allow other lines to lay track and build wharf facilities. This was not because of any goodwill on the part of Collis Huntington or the Southern Pacific. It was purely a business decision, Hood insisted. The corporation was interested simply in "building without any reference to any breakwater proposition or deep-sea harbor proposition whatever, a wharf at Santa Monica on the site that has been



Attorney and vice president of the Terminal Railway Thomas E. Gibbon. Gibbon was one of the leaders of the coalition of interests favoring San Pedro as the site for federal harbor improvements. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

discussed, which will ten months of the year take safely, we think, any sea going vessels, any coasting vessels or any other vessels that choose to come there."<sup>17</sup> Thomas Gibbon, obviously concerned about the fate of the tiny railroad company he was associated with, repeatedly pressed Hood about the monopoly issue. Would competing lines be forced to cross Southern Pacific track? How much room would remain on the beach once Southern Pacific track had gone in? Would there be enough space to service several wharves? Hood steadfastly denied that his company sought a monopoly over harbor facilities and defended the move to Santa Monica on business grounds.

Gibbon's September 1892 cross-examination of Southern Pacific officials Crawley and Hood marked a turning point in the harbor controversy. On the one hand, the exchanges seem fairly clear: an official of one railroad asking pointed questions of the employees of a rival line. For even though the

Craighill Board returned a recommendation again in favor of San Pedro, the politicking and lobbying had really only just begun. From this point on, the harbor controversy became something very different from simply a competition between rival transportation companies over the location of a commercially valuable deep-water port. Important to this broader understanding of the conflict is an analysis of the structure of the Terminal Railway.

Formed in 1890, the Los Angeles Terminal Railway Company operated a small rail line between points in Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley, as well as south to San Pedro.<sup>18</sup> The prominent financial backers of the railroad belied its outward appearance as a seemingly modest local feeder line. They included the likes of Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia (who as Secretary of War had appointed the Craighill board), St Louis railroad builder Richard C. Kerens, and several wealthy Los Angeles businessmen, ex-mayor W. H. Workman among them. These men banked on the hope that another overland rail line would terminate in southern California. If the expected transcontinental railroad through Salt Lake were ever completed, the Terminal Railway might just become the western terminus of the line.

The necessary prerequisites had been accomplished: wharf and harbor facilities had been obtained at San Pedro, land bought, and additional rail routes scouted. A congressional appropriation for harbor improvement at San Pedro would seemingly assure prosperity for the little railroad and its backers, new transcontinental railway or not. As Kerens wrote to Gibbon, outside investors (himself included) had "invested millions of their capital in Los Angeles." Any success on the part of the Southern Pacific "to overthrow the Terminal Company . . . will be far reaching and permanent." The blame for the expanding controversy, Kerens believed, lay with Collis Huntington and his ability to deflect any form of railroad competition. "It is too bad that the community, and the interests of Los Angeles, which have such a splendid prospect, should be retarded as they always have been by this sort of work," Kerens advised. "Had Los Angeles been out of the clutches of the S.P. ten years ago, she would today have double the population she has, and perhaps twice the wealth. A railroad from Salt Lake, opening up the coal and iron fields and bringing it to So. California, would double the value of every man's property in the San Gabriel Valley."<sup>19</sup>

The principal officers and stockholders of the Terminal Railway, together with San Pedro busi-

nessmen and property-holders, labored tirelessly to garner the federal appropriation for San Pedro. And one of the most effective, and simplest, ways to accomplish that was to argue against Santa Monica's strongest supporter: the Southern Pacific. If the motives, behavior, and tactics of Collis Huntington and the S.P. came to light, San Pedro supporters believed, the harbor issue would be settled in their favor. "I do not believe Mr. Huntington's manipulations in this direction will do him any good, and it ought to at once settle the question in favor of San Pedro," Kerens confided to Gibbon.<sup>20</sup> What Gibbon and other supporters of San Pedro eventually accomplished was the transformation of a somewhat amorphous, long-standing regional distrust of the Southern Pacific into support for their private aims. Whereas their own antagonism was based along lines of business competition, they recognized the latent antipathy to the railroad that existed in the Los Angeles area. Regardless of the origin of such sentiment, these men realized that the Terminal Railway's fortunes could be advanced through public distaste for Collis P. Huntington and his railroad. In short, the Southern Pacific was the perfect scapegoat.

Thomas Gibbon skillfully kept the harbor issue before his friends in the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, quickly enlisting that powerful organization as an ally for his company. In January of 1893, he addressed the directors of the chamber on behalf of the Terminal Railway. In the opinion of that company, San Pedro was the best location for a deep-water southern California port. Gibbon asked that the chamber send a delegate to Washington and represent that position to Congress. Accordingly, the board voted that Charles Forman, also apparently associated with the Terminal Railway, be sent to meet with California's congressional delegation and work towards that end.<sup>21</sup> Gibbon himself was to accompany Forman to the capital to shepherd the cause. A month later, Gibbon reappeared before the chamber to urge that the group's president write a letter to the chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors urging the passage of a San Pedro appropriation. Two weeks later, Richard Kerens followed up Gibbon's address with his own views of support.<sup>22</sup>

In response to Kerens's promptings, and those of Forman in Washington, the chamber wrote to Senator Stephen Mallory White in Washington and suggested that he find himself a position on the Senate Committee on Commerce, which oversaw harbor appropriations. A Los Angeles attorney who had only recently been elected to the Senate, White may have seemed a strange ally to the San Pedro



backers. In the 1880s, he had been an attorney for the Southern Pacific, working closely with that corporation's legal division. After drifting away from railroad patronage to follow his political ambitions, however, White increasingly found himself in conflict with the corporation. As the U.S. Senator from southern California, with a home in Los Angeles, White's views regarding the harbor fight were of obvious importance; encouraging him to favor San Pedro was smart politics. As Kerens noted, "it will do no harm to keep a strong pressure from his home friends in the interest of San Pedro." In fact, there is some evidence that White landed his position on the important committee through the efforts of the Terminal Railway.<sup>23</sup>

Concurrent with lobbying efforts in Washington, the factions supporting San Pedro continued to monitor closely the situation in and around Los Angeles. "I think it would do well to stir the people up and let the emphatic demand that the interests of San Pedro should be looked out for come thick and fast," Richard Kerens noted.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, San Pedro's supporters waged a publicity war in southern California against the Southern Pacific. The S.P.'s monopolistic actions in northern California were pointed to as indications of things to come if Santa Monica garnered the harbor appropriation. The history of the corporation in the state was unfavorably reviewed, especially in the pages of the *Los Angeles Times*. Attacks on the S.P. in the region's press reached a point that some worried that the level of antagonism towards one railroad might be read as a generic indictment of all railroads. In an address before the chamber of commerce, outgoing President C. M. Wells warned members that they ought not be too strident in their anti-Southern Pacific statements, lest that antipathy warn away rival rail lines as well.<sup>25</sup>

Within the chamber itself, controversy over the harbor issue ebbed as the year passed, while support for San Pedro grew accordingly. For one, Terminal Railway officials occupied positions of influence within the organization. From Washington, T. E. Gibbon's reports kept members informed as to the progress of congressional action. Also important was the fact that the San Pedro faction enjoyed the support of one of the most influential men in California, Harrison Gray Otis of the *Los Angeles Times*, who championed San Pedro over Santa Monica from the start. Otis's impact in popularizing the pro-San Pedro position over the course of a decade can hardly be underestimated. As one Southern Pacific official candidly admitted, "we should not deceive ourselves with regard to Col. Otis or his influence."<sup>26</sup>

The roots of Otis's interest in the harbor question remain unclear. As Southern Pacific officials suspected, he probably had business dealings of some nature with the Terminal Railway. Perhaps he owned land in San Pedro. The newspaperman's interest in the controversy, Southern Pacific official William H. Mills wrote Collis Huntington, had "all the ear marks of one who has a personal and private interest."<sup>27</sup> In any event, Otis and the *Times* served in tandem as leading propagandists of the San Pedro campaign. His devotion to the San Pedro cause even provoked the devoutly Republican Otis to eloquent support of Democrat Stephen White. In fact, Otis retained White as an attorney; the prompting of his powerful client may have influenced White to lean to the San Pedro side of the issue.<sup>28</sup>

San Pedro had another strong supporter in John T. Gaffey. Like Stephen M. White, Gaffey would



Harrison Gray Otis (1837-1917), former Civil War officer, proprietor and editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, and one of the antagonists of the Southern Pacific Company in the great Los Angeles harbor controversy. Otis's public claim that he was protecting working people by fighting for a harbor at San Pedro is ironic in the light of his long-term, almost fanatical opposition to labor unions and his perennial prominence in the city's many anti-union campaigns between the 1880s and World War I. Courtesy California State Library.

perhaps at first seem more likely to back Santa Monica. He had married into the Bandini family; his wife Arcadia was a niece of Arcadia de Baker. Gaffey and his wife maintained ties with the Jones and Baker families, and he was a well-known figure in Santa Monica. In 1891, he even made arrangements to buy land just to the north of Santa Monica, hoping to capitalize on the Southern Pacific's activities in the region.<sup>29</sup>

Most of Gaffey's property and interests, however, were in San Pedro. There, through his wife's familial ties to other Mexican-era land grantees, he controlled large amounts of land. An enthusiastic opportunist, Gaffey spent much of his time speculating on mining properties, buying and selling land, trying to build roads, even doing business in Mexico for the Santa Fe Railroad.<sup>30</sup> To Gaffey, the possibility of a deep-sea harbor in San Pedro undoubtedly signaled potential wealth.

As Stephen M. White's campaign manager and trusted adviser, Gaffey occupied a position of great influence, both with the senator and in southern California. He played a prominent role in local affairs in San Pedro, as well as in Los Angeles, where he joined the chamber of commerce in the spring of 1893. Aided by White, Gaffey garnered the post of customs collector at San Pedro during the most volatile years of the controversy. And Gaffey apparently did much to influence his powerful friend in the U.S. Senate: his daughter remembered that he put "great pressure on Stephen White to have San Pedro chosen."<sup>31</sup>

In the spring of 1894, Senator White, who had by then indicated that he might support San Pedro, sent a telegram to select members of the chamber of commerce. The Senator admitted that matters were not going well in Washington. He wondered whether or not the people of Los Angeles would perhaps agree to a "double appropriation," one that would allot funds to both San Pedro and Santa Monica. Despite some support within chamber ranks for such legislation, the most powerful San Pedro backers would not agree to such a plan. If the double appropriation were to pass, both the Terminal and the Southern Pacific would gain improved harbor facilities, and the larger railroad would enjoy a distinct advantage over the smaller. Before it could be read to the entire chamber, White's telegram was apparently destroyed.<sup>32</sup> To resolve the question of the chamber's stance on the harbor matter, a membership-wide vote was called for.

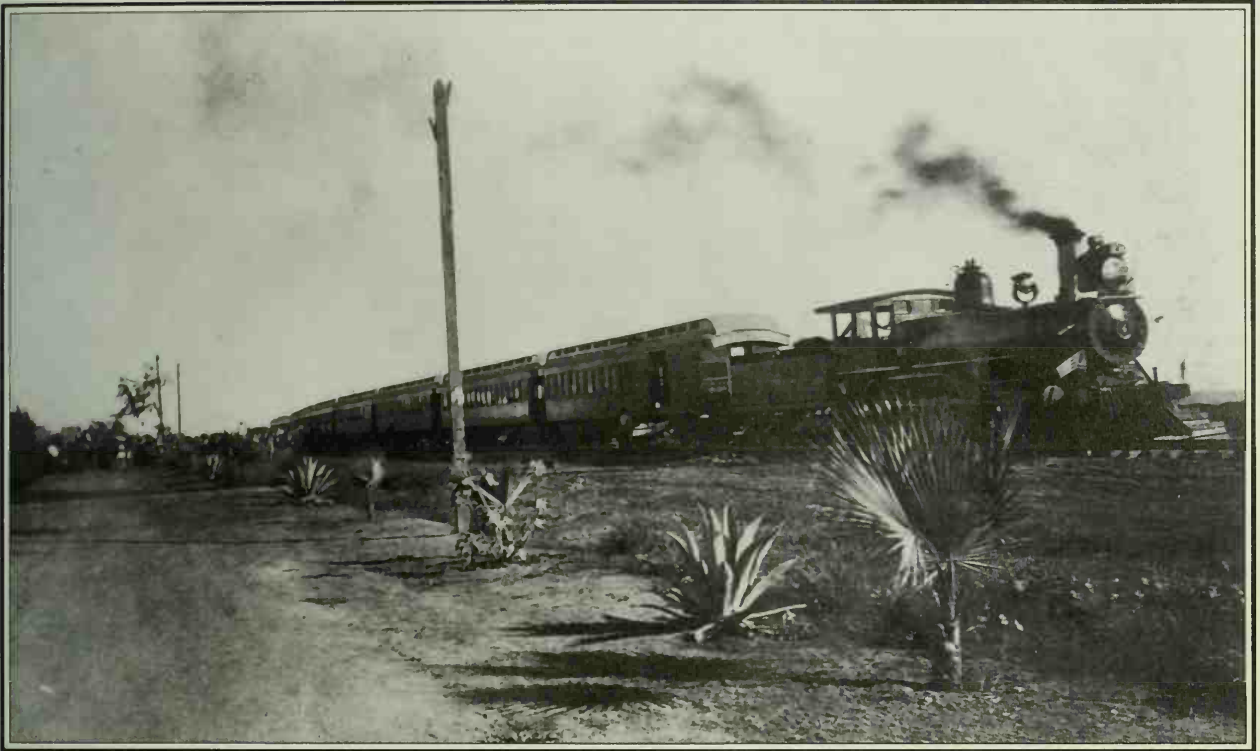
That prospect of a straw vote prompted a flurry of public relations efforts by San Pedro supporters. T. B. Burnett, vice-president and general manager of the Terminal Railway, sent a long letter to chamber

members. In the letter, which included a pass to ride the Terminal line out to San Pedro, Burnett made several points about San Pedro, the Terminal, Los Angeles, and, not least, the Southern Pacific. The Terminal Railway was formed, Burnett said, just after the initial recommendation was made by the engineering commission in favor of San Pedro.<sup>33</sup> The little railroad was projected to be the western terminus of a proposed transcontinental line coming to California from the mining regions of Utah, but all the plans of the corporation had been delayed by the harbor controversy. Like other San Pedro supporters, Burnett emphasized that the government never ignored the reports of its engineers. The Terminal "has always considered this harbor question a matter of very much greater importance to the people of Los Angeles than it is to any single company," he insisted. But if the harbor were built at Santa Monica, he warned, not only would Los Angeles not have access to cheap Utah coal, but the new transcontinental railroad would not be built.<sup>34</sup>

After voting its support for San Pedro by a margin of nearly three-to-one in April, the chamber opted to send another delegate to Washington to represent himself as the people's proxy. Sherman O. Houghton, a friend of several Terminal Railway backers including Stephen B. Elkins and Richard Kerens, was initially proposed as the organization's delegate. When he proved unable to make the trip, the chamber sent George S. Patton, Sr., in his stead.<sup>35</sup> San Pedro supporters could hardly have desired a more appropriate representative. Related by marriage to the wealthy Banning clan in Wilmington, on San Pedro Bay, Patton himself owned property in the area of the proposed breakwater, and one of his closest political advisers was John T. Gaffey. Accompanied by the ever-present T. E. Gibbon, Patton went east in the spring of 1894.<sup>36</sup>

What Patton discovered in Washington was that matters there were entirely unpredictable. Strong arguments were being advanced on behalf of both sides of the controversy. Collis Huntington appeared in the capital city to defend the Southern Pacific and the nature of its move to Santa Monica; Gibbon, Patton, and Kerens responded with equally firm arguments in favor of San Pedro. The Los Angeles press hardly steered clear of events. Harrison Gray Otis advised Congress of pro-San Pedro public opinion, and Joseph Lynch of the Los Angeles *Herald* did the same for Santa Monica. Many important congressmen had not decided where they stood on the matter; even Stephen White showed signs of wavering. Senator Jones thought White "would like to straddle the question,"





The first passenger train on the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad's Pasadena to Long Beach line, photographed along the ocean front in Long Beach, November 8, 1891. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.

and Collis Huntington remarked that he thought White "will be all right on Santa Monica, I am quite sure."<sup>37</sup> Congress was wooed by each side's insistence that it alone knew, understood, and represented the wants of southern Californians. As Jones wrote to his wife, the testimony of Gibbon, Patton, and others favoring San Pedro "dwelt with *much* emphasis on the statement that the citizens of Los Angeles were a hundred to one in favor of San Pedro."<sup>38</sup>

**D**oubtless the officials of the Terminal and Southern Pacific railroads watched the proceedings in Washington with great interest. But the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe was hardly less concerned. Company president J.W. Reinhart corresponded directly with Stephen White and met with him on at least one occasion.<sup>39</sup> In July 1894, Reinhart sent a telegram to Kerens of the Terminal in Washington. At that particular time, harbor matters appeared to be going poorly for San Pedro's supporters. Reinhart wished Kerens to wire all members of the Senate Commerce Committee expressing concern that the Southern Pacific ("whose prayers if granted would shut Atchison and create absolute monopoly") seemed on the verge of obtaining the appropriation for Santa

Monica. The telegram ended with a juxtaposition of corporate and public interest, an association Terminal officials no doubt understood: "If the appropriation goes to Huntington it throttles all chance for competition and besides permanently injuring growth of California and adjacent States and Territories; most serious[ly] damages Atchison interests, which it must be apparent are those of the people."<sup>40</sup>

The San Pedro faction seized a great opportunity of further molding Los Angeles opinion late in 1894. After apparently months of planning and several lost chances, a consortium of southern California Democrats, including White, Patton, Gaffey, and at least one important stockholder of the Terminal Railway, purchased the Los Angeles *Herald* from its Republican owners.<sup>41</sup> Thomas Gibbon had initially wished to have the wealthy officials of the Terminal buy up the paper's stock. But those officials, at first intrigued, backed out of the project for fear of alienating Otis of the *Times*. In any event,

the Terminal's backers urged Gibbon to pursue the acquisition with other investors, which he did with notable success.<sup>42</sup> John Gaffey was installed as the *Herald's* managing editor, and the overnight change in the paper's position on the harbor issue soon earned him the enmity of Santa Monica.<sup>43</sup>

San Pedro partisans also used other methods of marshalling favorable public relations. The chamber of commerce made much of the support that other civic and commercial interests, in Los Angeles or elsewhere, gave to San Pedro. While many of these endorsements undoubtedly reflected earnest favor of that place, others may have sprung from different motives. The chamber often pointed to the support given San Pedro by the Trans-Mississippi Congress. That body, with delegates drawn from western chambers of commerce, met in St. Louis in the fall of 1894. There it pledged its support for San Pedro. Two Los Angeles delegates attended the meeting, and the San Pedro endorsement came at their suggestion. Richard Kerens and George Leighton, the president of the Terminal Railway, both St. Louis residents, were the Los Angeles delegates. As Kerens wrote to Gibbon, "[t]here was not the slightest difficulty" in getting the resolution passed.<sup>44</sup>

By the fall of 1894, the harbor question permeated regional political affairs in and around Los Angeles. Playing to distrust of the S.P., both political parties adopted pro-San Pedro platforms. Campaigning for Congress, George Patton blasted the Southern Pacific. Stephen White became for Democrats and Republicans alike the leading light of the harbor battle, apparently a San Pedro stalwart.<sup>45</sup> Other San Pedro supporters worked to enlarge the scope of the issue's political capital. At the discretion and direction of Charles Dwight Willard, secretary of the chamber of commerce, a letter was sent to various U.S. congressmen in January 1895. The letter outlined the history of the harbor fight, emphasizing both the Southern Pacific's holdings at Santa Monica and the history of the corporation's actions in California. The Southern Pacific, Willard noted, "rules the commerce of . . . portions of California with an absolute despotism" and was in the process of accomplishing the same in southern California. Unless Congress acted—by supporting a San Pedro appropriation—California would come under the complete commercial control of the voracious corporation.<sup>46</sup> Fighting the Southern Pacific, long an effective method of winning political favor in California, had become a crusade.

Yet even with vigorous efforts such as the circular letter, some felt that the crucial arena was not

being well attended to. "It is all very well to unite the people of Los Angeles, and flash around with letters and telegrams," Richard Kerens observed, "but a little effort in the Senate Committee on Commerce, or the floor of the Senate, or still better, before the River [and] Harbor Committee, would be a more effective exhibition of sincerity than speeches to the galleries." Kerens plainly suspected that Stephen White was being drawn in by the Southern Pacific and could not be counted on. "Do not," he warned Gibbon, "proceed on any other theory than that Mr. W. belongs to the S.P."<sup>47</sup>

San Pedro supporters also believed that, despite the backing of an increasingly pro-San Pedro membership, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce was not doing enough to drum up local support.<sup>48</sup> Harrison Gray Otis and the officers of the Terminal Railway felt especially constrained by what they saw as the chamber's lukewarm loyalty to their position. Accordingly, with Otis as president, the Free Harbor League was established in late 1895, as nothing more than an extended but autonomous wing of the chamber's San Pedro contingent. That the Free Harbor League represented primarily the special interests of San Pedro and the Terminal Railway was clear from its composition. In addition to Otis, members of the league included Harry E. Brook of the *Times*; Lewis Blinn, general manager of the San Pedro Lumber Company (which leased property from the Terminal Railway); John T. Gaffey; the Terminal Railway itself; the Kerckhoff-Cuzner Mill & Lumber Company of San Pedro; Charles Weir, manager of the Southern California Lumber Company, also in San Pedro; F. K. Rule, auditor for the Terminal Railway; and former mayor W. H. Workman. Otis kept a league petition at the offices of the *Times* and encouraged citizens to add their signatures in support of "the people's harbor." Tallies of the number of signers were continually reported in the paper, as were references to the representation of local opinion within the 300-member league and 1,000-member chamber of commerce.<sup>49</sup> The chairman of the Free Harbor League's Committee on Congressional Action was T. E. Gibbon. At that committee's urging, the league sent four delegates to Washington to appear before the House Rivers and Harbors Committee in February of 1896: W. C. Patterson, H. G. Otis, W. D. Woolwine, and William Kerckhoff.<sup>50</sup>

Southern Pacific officers easily recognized the actions of the Terminal Railway behind almost every public instance of San Pedro support. Henry Huntington wrote to his uncle that because of the Terminal's holdings around San Pedro, that corporation had "naturally been fighting us hard against





Railroad terminal at the San Pedro Harbor, ca. 1900. The facility offered transfer of passengers and freight between ships, steam railroads, electric streetcars, and horse drawn vehicles. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Santa Monica harbor and in favor of San Pedro." The little railroad was "a constant menace to us, and if we could get it on reasonable terms, we ought to take it in." Buying the railroad would change the whole complexion of the harbor controversy: "If any trade was made, I presume all the terminal people would turn in and help out our Santa Monica breakwater." Collis Huntington replied only that he would bargain with Kerens or Elkins (now a United States Senator and a member of the Senate Commerce Committee) when the opportunity presented itself.<sup>51</sup>

Given the self-righteous, conflict-of-interest charges leveled at the Southern Pacific and at Santa Monica supporter Jones, it seems odd that the Southern Pacific management did not publicly exploit the tactics of the San Pedro/Terminal crowd. Certainly many of the supporters of San Pedro sought to mask their interest in the issue. As Kerens wrote to Thomas Gibbon in early 1895 of his support for San Pedro: "If I lived in Los Angeles I would proclaim it from the house-tops; but I do not, and my interest being an investment, and a personal one, I am embarrassed and greatly at a

disadvantage." Earlier, Kerens had urged Gibbon to "not say too much about the St. Louis influence, or the So. Pac. will take up the cry that foreign influence is interfering in California affairs."<sup>52</sup> Yet the Southern Pacific made little political hay out of the Terminal's involvement in the controversy.<sup>53</sup> In all probability, the corporation did not want to insert itself into a potentially embarrassing scandal; the S.P.'s reputation was tenuous enough as it was.

San Pedro supporters made public a change in strategy in the early months of 1896. Either in recognition of the strapped conditions of the national treasury, or out of respect for the lobbying power of Huntington and the Southern Pacific, the proponents of San Pedro backed down from their initial aim. Whereas they had long made it clear that they wanted a congressional appropriation for both the outer and inner harbors of San Pedro Bay (the outer harbor to be made into the deep-water

port, the inner to be improved), they now said that they would accept funds for the inner harbor only. The change in strategy appears simply to have been one of expediency. The country was in the midst of depression. Congress seemed in little mood to be lavish. The inner harbor had received appropriations in the past; if that sort of precedent could continue, San Pedro supporters thought, then future development of the outer harbor would naturally follow.<sup>54</sup>

In March 1896, the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors made a surprising move. The committee recommended an appropriation of several hundred thousand dollars for San Pedro's inner harbor—just what that location's backers had been asking for. But nearly ten times that amount was accorded Santa Monica for development of its outer harbor.<sup>55</sup> The news of the committee's action fractured the San Pedro campaign. The Free Harbor League stumbled; its president resigned in the midst of heightened controversy. What seems feasible is that certain factions wanted to take what Congress had offered and let the affair go at that. At least San Pedro had received some funds and could improve its inner harbor.

In early April, Congressman James McLachlan of southern California informed San Pedro supporters that Congressman Binger Hermann of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors had approached him about the harbor issue. If the city of Los Angeles would unite on the double appropriation scheme, with a clause allowing all competing railroads to lease S.P. track at Santa Monica, then the funds would in all likelihood be forthcoming.<sup>56</sup>

But the Terminal Railway, amply backed by Otis, cried foul. Any harbor appropriation at Santa Monica, Terminal Railway supporters protested, especially one of the size offered, would seriously damage plans for a competing transcontinental line. The plan was only a trick of Collis P. Huntington, Otis declared with characteristic vehemence. If that sort of scheme passed, then Los Angeles would become more and more like Oakland, where the Southern Pacific held a tight rein on the waterfront. But, Otis insisted, the people of Los Angeles could be counted on: "Los Angeles is not Oakland. Our people have not grown up accustomed to the Southern Pacific yoke."<sup>57</sup>

McLachlan's reluctance to go along with the double appropriation scheme resulted in Hermann striking any southern California appropriation from the rivers and harbors bill.<sup>58</sup> Caught between campaign promises on one hand and the power and influence of Otis and the Terminal Railway on the other, McLachlan complained that he was "damned today if I do" and "damned tomorrow if I don't." Even Santa Monica's supporters hammered the congressman: "The railroad people are denouncing me for misrepresenting my people in throwing away \$2,800,000 that had been offered my district," he wrote Otis.<sup>59</sup> Now the district had nothing. Any chance for success seemingly depended on Stephen White's actions in the Senate, where it

---

Timm's Landing, San Pedro Harbor, photographed from Deadman's Island. A navigational hazard, the island was removed in 1929. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*





was commonly assumed that Collis Huntington wielded great influence.

As attention focused on White and the Senate, San Pedro partisans stepped up their denunciations of Collis Huntington and his role in the controversy. Cartoonist Will Chapin lampooned Huntington in the *Times* as a roadside bandit robbing Uncle Sam, a hunchbacked miser, and a cowboy tightly cinching up a horse representing California. "Are the citizens of Los Angeles slaves and curs that they should permit themselves to be whipped into line by Collis P. Huntington?" the paper asked.<sup>60</sup> Otis took it upon himself to advise White, going so far as to suggest the "following line of policy," which included restoration of funds for San Pedro's inner harbor as well as capture of the appropriation designed to go to Santa Monica.<sup>61</sup>

Georgina Jones, faithfully reporting on local affairs to her husband in Washington, described the atmosphere in the spring of 1896. "Everyone is much excited over the harbor question," she wrote.

There is such a feeling against Mr. Huntington + the *Times* tells such lies about the S.P. — that they have a complete monopoly here + no other roads can get in etc. etc. — that many people who do not know the truth are prejudiced. To mention the S.P. is like shaking a red rag in front of a bull to many people. It is absurd but it is a fact. The Chamber of Commerce of L.A. is composed of a few men who are interested in the Terminal road + own a few lots at San Pedro + they pretend to represent the people of *Los Angeles*.<sup>62</sup>

Both sides were fighting for regional support, and both were quick to send even a hint of such support on to Washington. Otis and the Free Harbor League wrote to McLachlan in late April, telling him that the double appropriation was against the "popular wishes" of the people of Los Angeles, that the people had decided "emphatically in favor" of San Pedro.<sup>63</sup> Calling Collis Huntington the "worst enemy labor has in these United States," the *Times* sought petitions and testimonials from the city's laborers. The newspaper emphasized the inglorious history of the Southern Pacific's labor relations, pointing out that it often displaced Anglo workers in favor of Chinese or Mexican laborers.<sup>64</sup>

In early April 1896, both sides of the controversy held public meetings in Los Angeles. San Pedro supporters met in front of the courthouse at New High and Temple streets; the Santa Monica contingent held its meeting two blocks away in Illinois Hall. Special trains ran from both San Pedro and Santa Monica to bring in partisans, and bands played in the streets of the city all day. At the San Pedro meeting—which probably did not attract

the "seven thousand of God's free people" that the *Times* claimed—people chanted "S-a-n P-e-d-ro, Free Harbor, Let the S.P. go." Banners displaying "No More Monopoly" and "Rally for the People's Harbor" were held aloft as a succession of speakers attacked the S.P. for its role in the controversy, denounced the double-appropriation plan as a railroad trick, and presented the case for San Pedro.

Following the meetings, both sides claimed that their rally represented the true sentiments of southern California. Santa Monica supporters wrote White, telling him that the Illinois Hall meeting attracted at least 5,000 citizens and was the "largest mass meeting ever held in Los Angeles." They urged White to support the double appropriation.<sup>65</sup> The Los Angeles *Evening Express* belittled the San Pedro rally as the "Otis-Gaffey meeting" and "the Gaffey-Patton crowd."<sup>66</sup> Henry Huntington wrote to his uncle that the Santa Monica meeting "did not have the mob, but the people were with us."<sup>67</sup> White received a number of telegrams in favor of the double appropriation, like that which urged him to "Get the most money possible for the working classes."<sup>68</sup> Not to be outdone, San Pedro's supporters blasted the Southern Pacific as "a foreign corporation" inimical to the future of California and demanded that White work toward a "free harbor for a free people at San Pedro, or none at all." George Patton urged White to "Stand to your Guns."<sup>69</sup>

By mid-April, matters had reached a fever pitch in Los Angeles. Petition campaigns canvassed the electorate; results were hurriedly sent on to Washington. White admitted that his position in "the railroad situation" was "anything but a bed of roses." Support for Santa Monica appeared to be gaining on the eve of the Senate hearings, which caused White to "use 'cuss words' occasionally." The apparent change in public opinion only made his position more difficult. "The public blames a representative when he flops about," he complained to John Gaffey, "and yet the public itself is the boss flopper of the age."<sup>70</sup>

Working for Santa Monica, John D. Bicknell tried to convince White, his former law partner, that the San Pedro supporters had only "brass bands" and "a loud noise" going for them and did not represent true regional opinion. White replied that though he personally favored San Pedro, he did of course "wish to properly represent my constituents."<sup>71</sup> Robert F. Jones, a nephew of John P. Jones and president of the Bank of Santa Monica, wrote to Walter Trask, an attorney in practice with Bicknell, asking him if he could perhaps exercise his influence in the matter. Jones wanted Trask to

oversee a telegram campaign in favor of Santa Monica. He hoped White could be convinced to let any appropriation for Santa Monica stand, regardless of what Congress decided to grant San Pedro. Jones was confident that matters were going smoothly: "We have captured the situation down here as you no doubt know. Every thing is going on all right and every body seems satisfied. We have no doubt cut off all further opposition to our interests down here."<sup>72</sup>

Hearings before the Commerce Committee, complete with impassioned testimony from both sides, took place in mid-April. The committee returned a 9-6 vote in favor of keeping the three-million-dollar appropriation for Santa Monica. Several key committee members, including senators Elkins and Gorman, voted for Santa Monica, much to the surprise of White.<sup>73</sup> But the controversy hardly ended with that vote. The entire issue could conceivably be placed before the assembled Senate for debate, and in fact soon was. As Collis Huntington observed in a letter to an associate, "Steve White is making a great rumpus and says he is going to knock it out on the floor of the Senate." Huntington admitted that he had second thoughts about pursuing the matter, given the controversy it had created, but the Commerce Committee's vote had created momentum in favor of Santa Monica. "If we withdraw it now a few wild men in St. Louis will say that they beat us."<sup>74</sup>

Both sides viewed the coming debates in the Senate with optimism; both thought their position would triumph. Last-minute attempts to encourage White to favor Santa Monica failed.<sup>75</sup> White's several days of speeches on the Senate floor brilliantly analyzed the history of the harbor fight and of the Southern Pacific's actions in California, and he succeeded in getting yet another commission appointed to examine the two locations. The port the commission recommended would receive the \$3 million appropriation. Santa Monica's backers thought the plan a "contemptible trick." Cornelius Cole declared that the "opposition to Santa Monica, in our *public men*, is instigated by hatred of the S.P.R.R. [and] Huntington and so they go against public interest."<sup>76</sup>

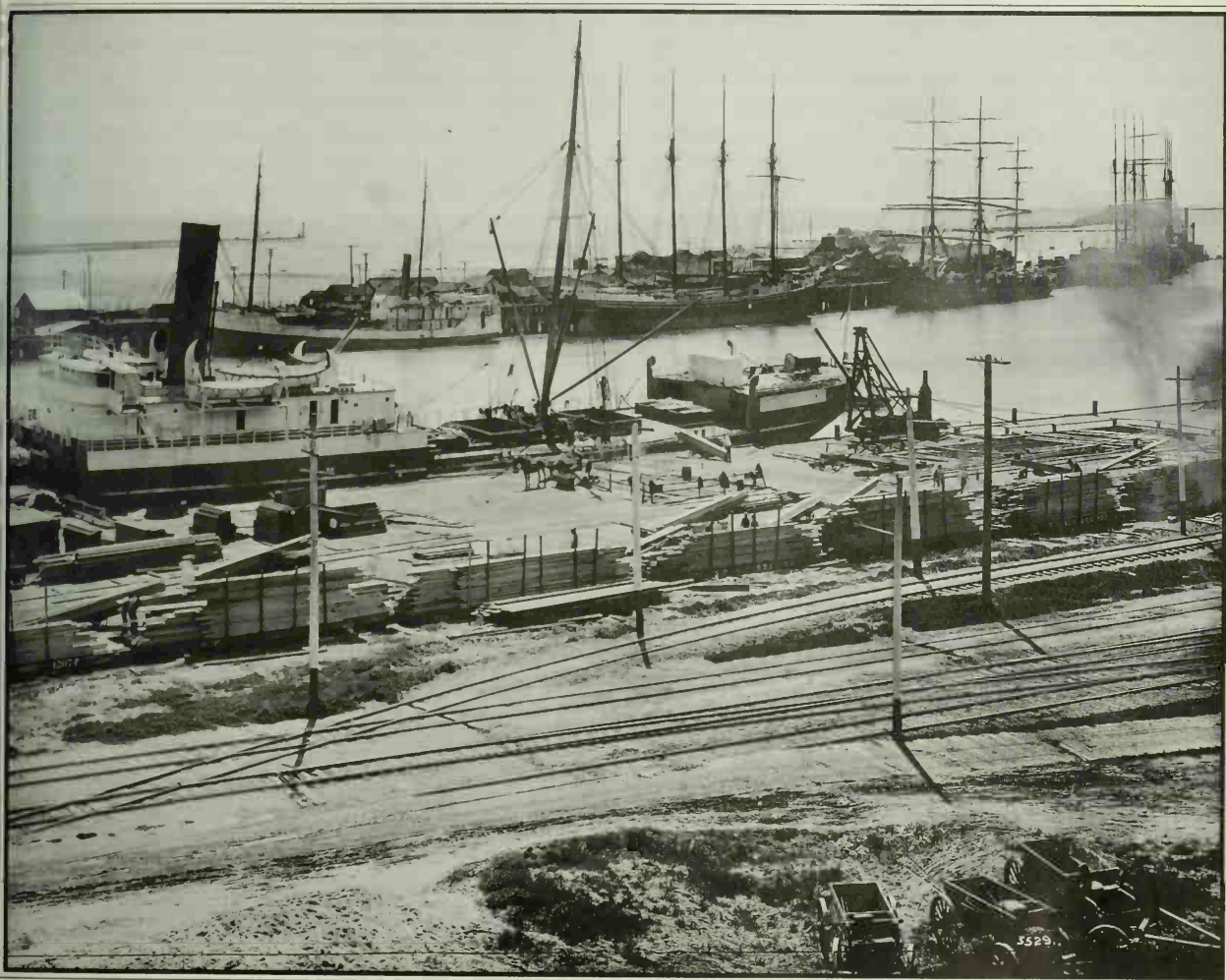
The Southern Pacific attempted to mollify local opinion and build alliances in Los Angeles. Henry E. Huntington suggested to his uncle that lending Los Angeles businessman and Santa Monica supporter J. S. Slauson \$10,000, to be used in a hotel project, might influence local opinion. He thought the loan "might be a politic plan, just at this time when there is such a feverish controversy among the people of that city in regard to the harbor. . . .

It would show that we feel a keen interest in the welfare of those people and might help us in throwing the right kind of influence around the Government Commission."<sup>77</sup> In order to protect interests in the eventuality of either port's victory, the Southern Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe agreed to a treaty in the spring. In addition to dividing southern California territory between the two lines, the agreements included a prohibition against one line buying the Terminal Railway without the consent of the other. The Southern Pacific conceded to the Santa Fe the right to run its cars over S.P. tracks in Santa Monica in exchange for a pledge to lobby for Santa Monica.<sup>78</sup> The railroad company tried to cover political bases as well. Writing to a company official, Collis Huntington hinted that George S. Patton, again running for Congress, might receive the backing of the railroad if he were to publicly support Santa Monica (which he did not do).<sup>79</sup>

The new engineering board, like its predecessors, held public meetings in Los Angeles to assess regional opinion. The hearings, though not without sharp exchanges between the two sides, consisted primarily of technical arguments pertaining to the nautical capacities of either port.<sup>80</sup> Each side paraded before the engineers a series of ship captains, master mariners, and sailors who testified that one spot was somehow better or safer than the other. The San Pedro defenders introduced the 1894 Trans-Mississippi Congress endorsement of San Pedro without, of course, noting that the two Los Angeles delegates to that gathering were both officers of the Terminal Railway. W. C. Patterson, soon to become a member of the Terminal's board of directors, appeared as representative of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Patterson presented a petition of southern California businessmen in favor of San Pedro. T. E. Gibbon emphasized Collis Huntington's holdings in and around Santa Monica and scoffed at the clause that would allow other lines to lease S.P. tracks. Such a concession could easily be invalidated by Santa Monica local government, he declared.

The board adjourned in mid-December. As in every other head-to-head engagement in the harbor fight, both sides claimed to represent truly the sentiments of the region and to emerge from the hearings the victor. Before leaving southern California, some members of the Harbor Commission were entertained by Georgina Jones at the Jones mansion in Santa Monica. Mrs. Jones, on the basis of a private conversation with a member of the commission, informed her husband that





Unloading lumber from Eureka in 1903 at Terminal Island, San Pedro Harbor. Most of the flatcars are rolling stock of the San Pedro, Los Angeles, & Salt Lake Railroad, a later-day successor and extension of the Terminal Railroad. Repeated federal improvements at the harbor after the 1860s resulted in making Los Angeles, though it had once lacked a natural ship anchorage, into one of the world's leading port cities by the post-World-War-II era. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Santa Monica was likely to get the board's recommendation. Joseph Lynch, formerly of the *Los Angeles Herald*, also thought that the commission would choose Santa Monica. Writing in his new journal, *Greater Los Angeles*, Lynch argued that Santa Monica's supporters had been unfairly attacked, particularly by the *Times*: "Taking advantage of a sentiment which has been drummed up in favor of San Pedro it has assumed that the overwhelming preference of this section is in favor of San Pedro."<sup>81</sup>

In March 1897, the commission did decide in favor of San Pedro, which for all intents and

purposes ended this most important phase of the harbor fight. There would be no more engineering boards, no more public hearings. The Southern Pacific and its officials, especially Collis Huntington, continued actively to support Santa Monica and succeeded, by one way or another, in blocking construction of the breakwater at San Pedro for another two years. The delay provoked the consternation of many San Pedro supporters, who impatiently awaited the commercial windfall that harbor improvements would invariably bring. A friend wrote to John Gaffey in the fall of 1897 that

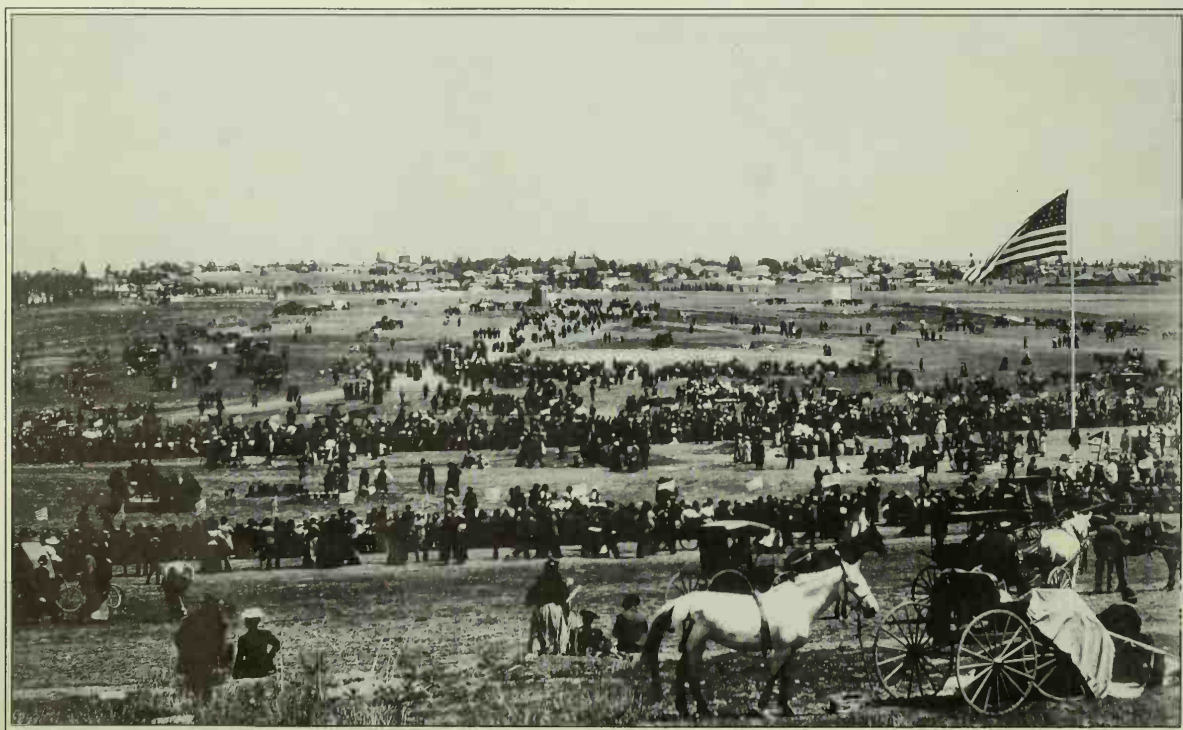
he was "sorry to hear that your dreams of San Pedro's greatness had not been realized, as I sincerely hoped definite action would have been taken ere this, and yourself made a multimillionaire."<sup>82</sup> But the breakwater was eventually constructed, and the story of the harbor fight drifted comfortably into legend and local pride: "the people" had defeated "the Octopus."

Historians have recently analyzed the harbor fight in one of two related ways. Rejecting the simplicity of the "Octopus school" of California historiography—that framework that sees the railroad much like Frank Norris described it—historians have pointed to the harbor controversy as proof of tangible, potent, and successful opposition to the supposed domination of the Southern Pacific. The defeat of the railroad corporation alone sustains the analysis. Despite its somewhat superficial nature, this argument is

important for adding complexity to an older and no longer viable tradition that saw the railroad as all-powerful.<sup>83</sup>

Other historians have sought to place the harbor controversy into the context of Progressive reform. In these analyses, the harbor fight politicized a coalition of civic-minded leaders who battled the railroad corporation. This formative nineteenth-century reform experience is thus seen as crucial to the Progressive movement of the early years of this century, especially the anti-railroad gubernatorial campaign of Hiram Johnson in 1910. This analysis is sustained by pointing to the common enemy of both eras, the Southern Pacific, and the fact that some of the principal actors in the harbor fight became active and important Progressives.<sup>84</sup>

Yet there are significant problems with this argument. As Robert Fogelson has pointed out in his history of Los Angeles, the powerful forces favoring San Pedro subscribed to a more



Los Angeles area residents celebrated "Free Harbor Day" on April 26, 1899, shortly after the first bargeload of rock was dumped for the federally-constructed breakwater at San Pedro Harbor. Festivities included a floral parade, water carnival, naval display, barbecue, and literary exercise. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



complicated agenda than most historiography suggests: "the so-called 'free harbor contest' was actually a struggle for speculative profits, and not commercial freedom."<sup>85</sup> Manipulation of public opinion, patent self-interest, even the suggestion of outright deception on the part of San Pedro backers, all raise significant questions of means, ends, and what "progressive" reform constitutes. None of this is meant as an apology for the actions, motives, or mercenary tactics of the Southern Pacific Railroad Corporation. But the righteousness in which San Pedro supporters basked cannot withstand serious scrutiny.

Fortified by a web of interconnecting ties, the influential proponents of San Pedro harbor constituted a formidable anti-Southern Pacific force. This coalition drew sharp distinctions between private aims and public pronouncements. Their public stances rarely revealed self-interest, and private exchanges infrequently resorted to propagandistic railroad-bashing. As Stephen M. White confided revealingly to Harrison Gray Otis: "There is so much in this matter that one cannot afford to publish, that the embarrassments are very greatly augmented when we come to make public explanations."<sup>86</sup>

To return to the larger question of "the Octopus" and railroad power in nineteenth-century California, it is again important to emphasize that the Southern Pacific Railroad was not the all-powerful entity it has been made out to be. It did at times face significant opposition, as the case of the Los

Angeles harbor fight bears out. Yet scholarly inquiries must critically assess the motivations of those who battled the railroad corporation. Matching the harbor fight personnel with later Progressive-era reform movements in itself proves little. Nor does transforming the pro-San Pedro activists into selfless urban populists explain their actions or motivations. We must at least re-examine their inclusion into the Progressive fold. California Progressivism, at least that identified with state-wide political movements, continues to be viewed in an anachronistic light, one that fails to distinguish public spirited "reform" from business and inter-community conflict. When a battle of rival railroad interests can be interpreted by historians as the clarion call of a popular reform movement that culminated in Progressive Hiram Johnson's 1910 gubernatorial victory, it is time to reassess the role of the railroad in California history and to tinker with our working definition of California Progressivism. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 131.*

*William F. Deverell is an assistant professor of history and urban studies at the University of California, San Diego. His research interests include western American history, urban political reform, and environmental history. He is currently working on an essay marking the centennial of Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 frontier thesis address.*



Resuming construction on the Natron Cutoff near Kirk, Oregon, in 1923. In 1905 Edward H. Harriman had formed railroads both in California and in Oregon with the express purpose of building a Southern Pacific line across the Cascades—and of thus walling-off competition from James J. Hill. Not completed until 1926, 17 years after Harriman's death, SP's Cascade line was to cost a staggering \$39.4 million. *Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.*



---

# FOR TERRITORIAL DOMINION IN CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST:

---

## EDWARD H. HARRIMAN AND JAMES J. HILL

---

*by Don L. Hofsommer*

---

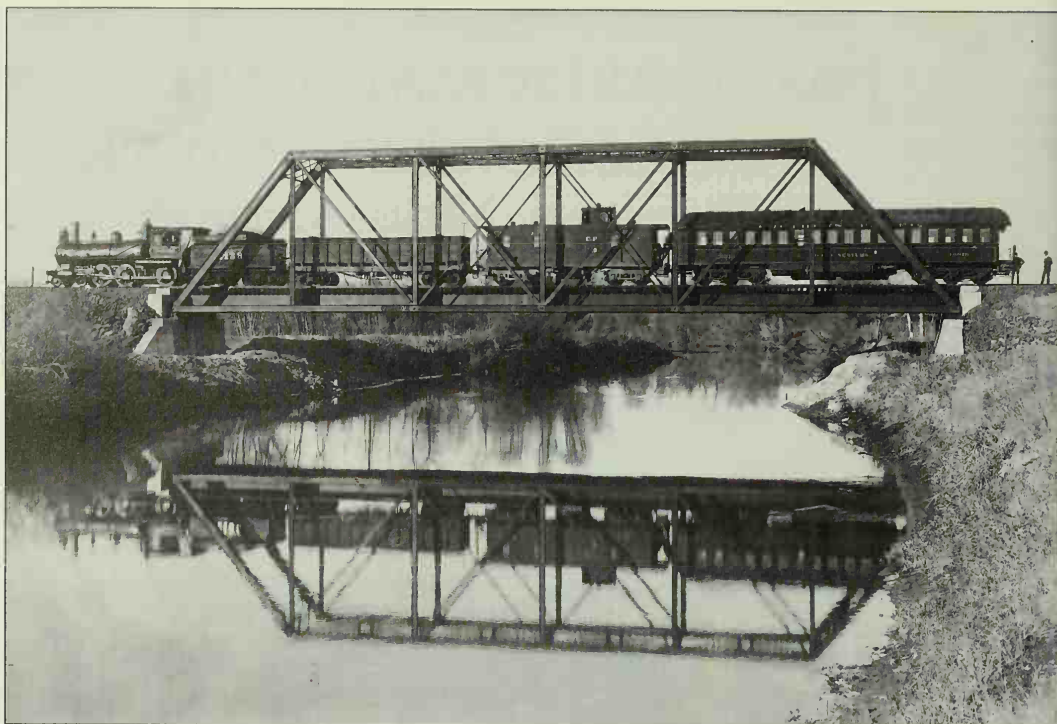
As twilight fell on the era of heroic entrepreneurship in the American railroad industry during the early twentieth century, two men stood supreme: Edward Henry Harriman and James Jerome Hill. One observer labeled Harriman, head of the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific, among other roads, the "Napoleon of Railroad-ing"; others called the Great Northern's Hill the "Empire Builder." The labels were well earned. Both men were similar in their humble origins, held firm beliefs, and were characterized by aggressive instincts. That these two strong-willed men would collide was inescapable. Best known of their campaigns was the famous fight for control of the Northern Pacific Railway (NP) and the resulting Northern Securities case, but, in fact, Harriman and Hill tilted for advantage in a huge territory from Lake Michigan to Pacific tidewater throughout much of two decades. For that matter, the companies they led continued in persistent rivalry long after death had claimed the two giants.<sup>1</sup>

Harriman was born in New York on February 25, 1840, the son of Reverend Mr. Orlando and Mrs. Cornelia Harriman. He became an office boy for the Wall Street house of D. C. Hays at the tender age of fourteen and eight years later purchased his own seat on the New York Stock Exchange. In 1881, he acquired interest in a tiny railroad of upstate New York. Two years later he was elected to the directory of the powerful Illinois Central Railroad (IC), and in 1887 he became a vice president of that company. His meteoric rise continued. In 1897, he became a director of the Union Pacific (UP), and chairman of its executive committee a

few months later. Then, shortly after the turn of the century, Harriman gained control of the sprawling California-based Southern Pacific (SP). With other additions, the Harriman Lines, as they were called, stretched from New Orleans to Portland, Oregon, and from Los Angeles to Omaha.<sup>2</sup>

Hill's rise in the railroad world was equally dramatic. Born in 1838 at Rockwood, Canada, about fifty miles west of Toronto, Ontario, Hill migrated to the United States before he was twenty years of age. The future railroader settled at St. Paul, in the new state of Minnesota, secured employment with a shipping agent, soon entered business on his own, and quickly contemplated a wide variety of entrepreneurial opportunities. Ultimately he and others gained control of the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad, expanded it, and eventually formed the Great Northern Railway (GN), which completed a line linking St. Paul with Seattle in 1893. Shortly thereafter Hill forces assumed control of the Northern Pacific, an important rival serving essentially the same area. The Hill Lines thus dominated the broad expanse from St. Paul and Minneapolis to Puget Sound.<sup>3</sup>

Earlier developments had set the stage for later contests between Harriman and Hill. In 1879, the redoubtable Henry Villard had seen to the organization of the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company (OR&N), which handled business for its own account on a route eastward from Portland along the south shore of the Columbia River, and at the same time provided the Union Pacific (through its Oregon Short Line—OSL) with a means to avoid domination by the Southern Pacific at Ogden, Utah.



A special train used by Edward H. Harriman for inspecting owned and potential railroad properties. Harriman's coach follows the caboose. Hill and Harriman both took a personal interest in construction and maintenance of rail lines and properties. *Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.*

Villard soon expanded his dominion, at least temporarily, to include the Northern Pacific, which also used the Oregon Railroad & Navigation line to reach Portland and its own line northward to Tacoma and Seattle. In 1887, the Northern Pacific joined the Union Pacific (through UP's Oregon Short Line) in a joint lease of the OR&N, but six years later the UP experienced financial reverses and lost control of the OSL. The Panic of 1893 similarly affected the financially shaky Northern Pacific. The upshot was that the OR&N was temporarily adrift, but in March 1897, the OSL took over the OR&N and then itself returned to the Union Pacific camp as a consequence of Harriman's skillful maneuvering.<sup>4</sup>

Hill understandably wished to keep options open for expansion in the Pacific Northwest. The Great Northern, he fretted, had no independent entry to Portland and was compelled to yield such business to the Northern Pacific at Spokane or Seattle. Hill understandably felt that in the Pacific Northwest his Great Northern was boxed, and his defensive tactics in the face of Harriman's gains reflected as much. He urged Harriman and his associates not to "inaugurate policies that would end in unnecessary construction of additional railroad," because, as Hill asserted, "the country is now supplied with all the railway facilities necessary for years to come." He was particularly

worried about the NP's lease arrangement with the OR&N, now subject to Harriman's influence. "I do not think we should be compelled to either abandon our share of that [Portland] business or be forced to build a line of our own," observed an obviously-concerned James J. Hill.<sup>5</sup>

A face-to-face parlay was necessary. Harriman, Hill, Charles S. Mellen, and Jacob H. Schiff were among those who met at the NP's New York headquarters on October 3, 1898, to consider the OR&N lease and broader issues of traffic and territorial dominion in the Pacific Northwest. Each man professed to admire harmony, but each clearly sought to protect or expand parochial interests. Since the Great Northern had no independent line from Spokane to Portland, Hill sought parity between the Spokane, Washington, and Huntington, Oregon, gateways. The NP representative, Morgan Bank's C. H. Coster, argued that the OR&N ought to be "an independent company," but under Harriman's guidance, he charged, it had become little more than a UP satellite. Harriman, however, contended that the OR&N "should be used in the



interest of all three companies," i.e., the UP, GN, and NP. On the other hand, he pointedly asserted that he did "not want to divide territory." It was an indirect warning that he did not expect others to divide territory either. In response, NP's Coster suggested that, to "avoid quarrels and trouble," the parties should establish territorial boundaries and then agree "that we not go into certain territory." Costner and Charles Mellen quickly added, however, that within this context the NP should be allowed to build a Missoula, Montana, to Pasco, Washington, cutoff through the Bitter Root Mountains over Lolo Pass. Hill defended this plan on the basis of reducing both miles and grades. Harriman suspected, though, that the NP wanted to gain local traffic west of Lewiston, Idaho, as much as build a more efficient route, and he remained obdurate in the matter of clearly-defined "territorial division." The meeting settled little.<sup>6</sup>

Matters shifted by degree. Hill pressed Harriman for joint ownership instead of joint lease of the OR&N, but Harriman parried with a demand that the UP have its own line to Portland—*sans* tenants. Hill sweetened the pot. The Northern Pacific, he said, "would be willing to arrange for the business of the Union Pacific to go over its lines between Portland and Puget Sound" if Harriman would agree to give the NP and GN "the same rights and benefits" on the OR&N "as would accrue under separate lines owned by each." In other words, Hill was willing to give Harriman access to Seattle over the Northern Pacific from Portland in exchange for joint ownership of the OR&N and use of it by the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, as well as the Union Pacific. Failing in that, Hill threatened to act independently. "I think that with five million dollars I could build a much better line from our road [the GN at Spokane] into Portland and with say two million more reach the most productive sections of the Navigation Company." Harriman was unmoved, and Hill, his bluff called, was forced to bide his time in the Pacific Northwest.<sup>7</sup>

Elsewhere, to promote longer hauls for the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, and to eliminate handling by intermediate carriers between St. Paul and Chicago, Hill acquired the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad (CB&Q or Burlington), a handsomely-located and marvelously-managed property. In addition to its Chicago-St. Paul line, however, the CB&Q also had a major route stretching from Chicago to Omaha and Denver that, west of the Missouri River, lay menacingly between

Harriman's Union Pacific and his Kansas Pacific line. The two men had talked of a combined purchase of the CB&Q, but failed to agree; thus Hill alone acquired the Burlington, nearly all of its stock held equally by the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific. Nevertheless, refusing to accept defeat, Harriman eagerly sought to get at the CB&Q by way of the "back door"—by purchasing stock of the NP. Hill responded with a buying campaign of his own, NP stock rose to \$1,000 per share on the market, a small panic developed, and ultimately Hill and his banker J. P. Morgan agreed to include Harriman in the creation of Northern Securities, a holding company formed in 1901 to "unify the interests of the GN and NP in the Burlington." At the same time, though, a great public outcry arose claiming restraint of trade, and three years later the Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, ordered dissolution of Northern Securities. The court's decision shocked the business community, pleased the public at large, but left Hill firmly in control of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, as well as the Burlington, which remained tightly held by the Hill Lines.<sup>8</sup>

That hardly ended the Harriman-Hill contest. The focus simply changed to Oregon, where each man felt vested. Hill claimed rights by way of the Northern Pacific's strategic line linking Seattle and Tacoma with Portland, and later by virtue of the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway (SP&S). Harriman, on the other hand, considered Oregon his province because of Southern Pacific's extensive network in the western portion of the state and by way of his control of the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company.

When Harriman had acted to acquire control of the Southern Pacific in 1901, a business associate of Hill's suggested that "it was just the right time . . . to go ahead and build the line on the north side of the Columbia [River]." Hill instead persisted in efforts with Harriman to obtain traffic arrangements satisfactory to both the UP, on the one hand, and the GN and NP, on the other. By the summer of 1904 Hill thought he had a deal with Harriman by which his roads would send their business over the OR&N, and the Hill companies would have their own terminals in Portland—so that, as he said, the OR&N "had only to hitch its engines to the cars and pull the trains." When Harriman backed out, Hill was infuriated. In a very real way, then, it was Harriman as much as Hill who was



The entrepreneurial James J. Hill (center) flanked by two of his bankers in 1910, Charles Steele (left) of the J. P. Morgan Company and George R. Baker (right). The Morgan Company earlier had been instrumental in orchestrating the Hill-Harriman Northern Securities holding company. *Courtesy Burlington Northern Railroad.*

responsible for creation of the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway.<sup>9</sup>

Originally chartered in 1905 as the Portland & Seattle Railway, Hill's new company was rechristened three years later as the Spokane, Portland & Seattle. Neither title precisely defined the company's purpose: to link Spokane with Portland. Hill never intended that the SP&S reach Seattle; rather, he had the NP double-track its route between Seattle and Portland to handle expanded business. Earthwork on the SP&S began in 1906, but the undertaking proved to be more difficult and significantly more expensive than Hill had estimated back in 1899 when he said it could be built for a mere \$5 million. By 1906 he was estimating its cost at between \$40 and \$45 million, and four years later he considered that at least \$10 million had been misspent. "On the whole it is the most unsatisfactory thing that had ever occurred in my experience," Hill lamented. The SP&S was opened in sections between 1907 and 1909 and was owned in equal portions by the Great Northern and the

Northern Pacific. With its completion, Hill finally had direct and independent access to Portland from the east.<sup>10</sup>

Hill asserted that the SP&S was simply "a business proposition"; it did not represent, he maintained, "a fight with anyone." Hill was trifling with the truth. The new route was, of course, an important element in Hill's strategic planning; it also represented a mighty salvo in the ongoing campaign between Harriman and Hill and clear refutation of a so-called "gentleman's agreement" that had obtained between the two for the last few years. For his part, Harriman had missed no opportunity to harass, delay, or thwart the SP&S, because he clearly understood that it represented a penetration of what locals called "the Harriman fence."<sup>11</sup>

Harriman also understood what Hill meant when he said: "Branch lines always follow when main lines are built." In the present instance, Hill had in mind the vast country of central Oregon. Both men understood the strategic value of the Deschutes River Canyon, and both moved to advance their



own special claim to it. Harriman's effort took the form of the Deschutes Railroad, a subsidiary of the OR&N, and Hill hoped to extend the Oregon Trunk Railway, a satellite of the SP&S. Each focused on the route south from the Columbia River to Bend via the Deschutes River Canyon, and each sparred for advantage. Activity ceased temporarily in the aftermath of the Panic of 1907, but two years later Hill pressed on. There simply was no room in some portions of the canyon for two railroads, and eventually—after a series of spectacular Hollywood-like confrontations—an accommodation was reached by which the two companies used a single track through the narrowest spots. The Oregon Trunk was opened for service from Fallbridge (later renamed Wishram), Washington, to Bend on November 1, 1911. The Harriman interests were not amused. They knew that Hill projected the Oregon Trunk on to Klamath Falls and even west to Medford. They wondered: Was Hill's goal really San Francisco?<sup>12</sup>

There were other contentious issues between the two giants of the railroad industry. One of these involved Harriman's growing desire to reach Seattle from Portland, and, following his usual policy, he wished to reach Puget Sound without building a new line. Early in the twentieth century NP's Howard Elliott tentatively agreed to grant Harriman's Union Pacific trackage rights between South Tacoma and Vancouver, Washington, but he withdrew the offer before Harriman could ratify it. In 1908, Harriman approached Hill himself, who had, of course, a few years earlier in the OR&N matter, offered Harriman trackage rights over the NP all the way from Portland to Puget Sound. (Interestingly, Hill, as early as 1890, had proposed joint ownership of a Portland-Seattle line to UP's William H. Holcomb.) Hill initially suggested to Harriman that the Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, and Great Northern equally share control by lease or purchase of NP's Portland-Seattle line, which would then be operated by an independent company for the benefit of all. Harriman countered by offering \$7 million for joint ownership of only the Tacoma-Vancouver (Washington) section. Northern Pacific attorneys advised him that none of this was possible because of congressional land grant and mortgage restrictions, and, in any event, NP's board turned down Harriman's proposition.<sup>13</sup>

Harriman persisted, and he was not without



Edward H. Harriman. Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.

ammunition. Hill's forces were well aware of the problems between the two powers in the Deschutes River area: that Harriman was pushing an SP line northward from California toward Klamath Falls, Oregon; that Harriman was contemplating a cross-state route in Oregon; and that Harriman engineers had already surveyed a line between Portland and Seattle. Harriman thought the time ripe for action. In early 1909, he told subordinates to solicit bids on a first-class, low-grade line between Vancouver and Tacoma. This precipitated a quick compromise with Hill. On May 21, 1909, at Harriman's home, a memo of agreement was forged by which the Oregon & Washington Railroad (a UP subsidiary) and the Great Northern were to be given "joint and equal use of the Northern Pacific" between Vancouver and South Tacoma. A contract to this end took effect on July 1, 1909, and joint use began on January 1, 1910. Additional construction and joint ownership with the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railway of another segment took the Harriman Lines on to Seattle. All

parties professed to be pleased. Even the Northern Pacific asserted in 1911 that the "arrangements . . . have worked advantageously to all parties and to the public."<sup>14</sup>

Elsewhere, Harriman and Hill tilted for control of the territory south of Astoria, Oregon, to Tillamook Bay. At stake was valuable traffic, if Tillamook developed as a port, and the absolute guarantee of heavy timber and lumber business from the impressive stands of Douglas fir that typified the region. To secure the area on behalf of Harriman's Southern Pacific, the impressive-sounding Pacific Railway & Navigation Company was formed on October 16, 1905. Construction began immediately at Hillsboro, west of Portland on SP's West Side Branch, and from Tillamook the following year. Hill was slow to respond, but eventually he sent his famous engineer, John F. Stevens, to evaluate the region. Stevens and Hill were both enthusiastic about the area's potential. A line from Astoria to Tillamook would take two years to build and would require one 6,000-foot tunnel and two or three shorter ones, but the promise of traffic in lumber products was so great that the investment would, Hill enthused, "pay from two to three times as much as the extension of branch lines east of the main range of the Rocky Mountains." Nevertheless, Hill, for reasons not recorded, failed to initiate construction. Meanwhile, the SP, which had the jump on him from the beginning in this venture, slowed its activity, finally placing the completed Tillamook Branch in operation on January 1, 1912.<sup>15</sup>

Other Southern Pacific activity in Oregon was undertaken with an eye toward frustrating Hill's options, fleshing out its own system, and reducing grades and curvature. The entire issue of stock and bonds of the Corvallis & Eastern Railway (C&E), reaching 142 miles eastward from the coast at Yaquina to Corvallis, Albany, and Idanha, was acquired during fiscal 1907. The C&E, which ran at right angles to SP's general north-south orientation in Oregon, once considered eastward expansion all the way to the OR&N. More important than the C&E in terms of ultimate utility was the beginning of what eventually would be the Natron Cutoff, or SP's Cascade line. The California Northeastern Railway, organized in 1905 for the purpose of executing this venture, quickly acquired the twenty-two-mile railroad of the Weed Lumber Company extending from Weed, California, twenty-seven miles north of Dunsmuir, to Grass Lake. Subsequently, between 1906 and 1909, the California

Northeastern completed construction from Grass Lake, California, to Klamath Falls, Oregon. In a collateral development, Harriman formed the Oregon Eastern Railway on August 22, 1905, in order to foster construction of the Natron Cutoff from the Oregon end. Work went slowly. Only thirty-four miles were completed by mid-1912, and this longed-for line over the Cascades—one that would wall off competition from Hill, yield lucrative traffic, and avoid the difficult operation over the SP's older Siskiyou line from northern California into Oregon's Willamette Valley—was to remain on hold for several years.<sup>16</sup>

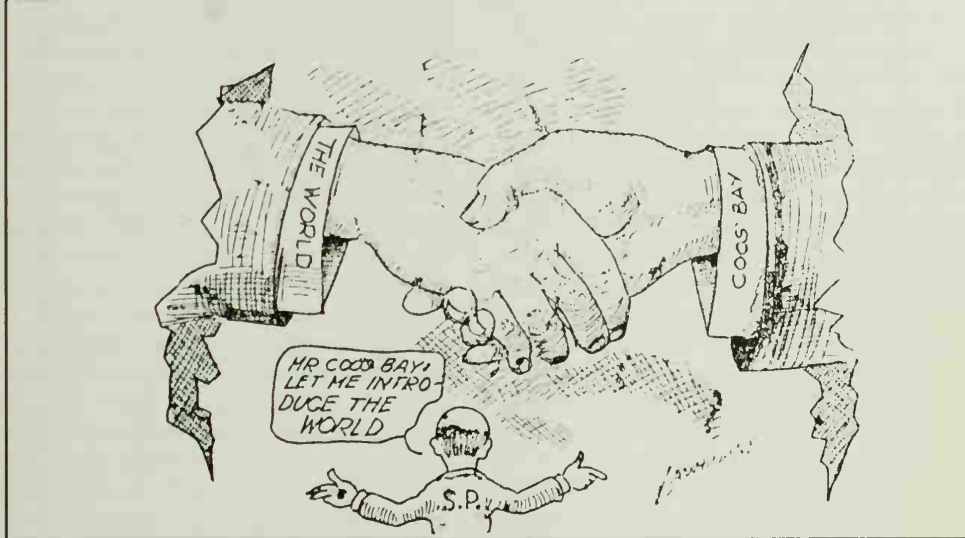
Edward H. Harriman died on September 17, 1909, and James Jerome Hill on May 27, 1916. The departure of these remarkable personalities, however, did not mark the end of the Harriman-Hill contests. Indeed, those who rose to leadership of Harriman and Hill properties continued for many years to wrestle with each other for territorial and business advantage.<sup>17</sup>

Public sentiment often favored the Hill Lines. Such was expressed by Portland's *Sunday Oregonian* as early as 1905, when it argued that Harriman's desire to build up a new country was "merely to prevent the other fellow from building into it." Harriman admittedly was willing to engage in defensive construction, but the newspaper's general assessment was wide of the mark. More often, the public complaints reflected the desire of Oregon citizens for additional rail mileage and their frustration when track was not laid as quickly as they wished. Two cases illustrate the lag. As noted above, work on the Tillamook Branch began in 1905, but it did not enter service until 1912. Additionally, work on the important Natron Cutoff remained on hold.<sup>18</sup>

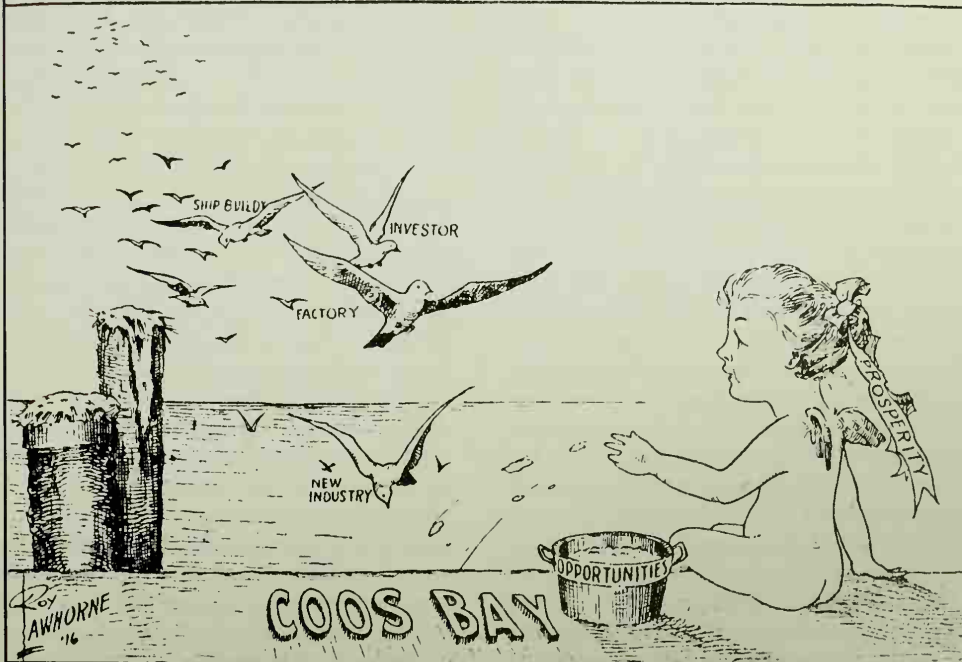
One major undertaking by the SP in Oregon that not only garnered remunerative traffic, but also sealed off the Hill Lines from a rich traffic base, was the Coos Bay Branch. SP's interest in it dated from 1906, when it purchased the tiny but strategically located Coos Bay, Roseburg and Eastern Railroad & Navigation Company, which owned a twenty-eight-mile pike in the Coos Bay area. The new property was not linked to any other rail carriers, and none were close at hand, but the SP offered connecting steamer service to San Francisco and Portland by way of its *S.S. Breakwater*. SP then projected a new road between Drain, on its Siskiyou line south of Eugene and above Roseburg, and the



## The Southern Pacific Railway Introduces Coos Bay to the World



## Where Rail Meets Sail



Promotion of Southern Pacific's new Oregon Western Railway between Drain and Coos Bay included multiple images of anticipated regional prosperity. *Courtesy of the author.*

newly acquired property near Coos Bay. Work on the eighty-two-mile Oregon Western Railway, as it was labeled, continued from 1907 through 1910, but was later abandoned and the material salvaged. For whatever reason—strategic, most likely—SP's interests were redirected in favor of a dog-legged 120-mile line running westward from Eugene and then southward to Coos Bay. To undertake this venture, SP created the Willamette Pacific Railroad on June 14, 1911. Grading was commenced in a few months, but not until five years later was the line opened to traffic over the entire route. A three-day celebration to honor the Southern Pacific for introducing "Coos Bay to the World" began on August 24, 1916. There was good reason to salute this achievement. The area was one of the finest undeveloped sections in the country, and Coos Bay itself was a wonderful natural harbor, possibly the finest between San Francisco and Puget Sound.<sup>19</sup>

None of this suggested that leadership of the Hill Lines would stand idly by. Indeed, the Oregon Electric Railway came under Hill's power in 1910. That company had a line parallel to the SP from Portland to Albany, and under Hill's leadership, it was extended to Eugene in 1912. The SP's sales department had wanted the Southern Pacific to buy the Oregon Electric before it passed to Hill, but because the smaller road competed side by side with the SP, acquisition was likely illegal under the Sherman Anti-trust Act. Julius Kruttschnitt, SP's chairman, chafed under what he considered an invasion of the "territory served by us in the Willamette Valley" and hoped one day to "have an opportunity to balance the account." More troubling to the SP psychologically than otherwise was Hill's Pacific & Eastern Railway, a thirty-two-mile pest located in southwestern Oregon, not connected to the rest of his empire nor anywhere near it. Another relatively minor Hill operation involved the United Railways Company, a tiny interurban route serving metropolitan Portland.<sup>20</sup>

The great uncompleted project dating from the Harriman era at the SP was, of course, the long-delayed Natron Cutoff. Progress on this massive project had been restricted by downturns in the business cycle, needs for capital expenditures elsewhere on the SP's system, and uncertainties deriving from important federal legal proceedings involving the company. One of these, in fact, had demanded separation of the Southern Pacific from the Union Pacific, which became an accomplished fact early in 1913. There followed yet another suit that sought

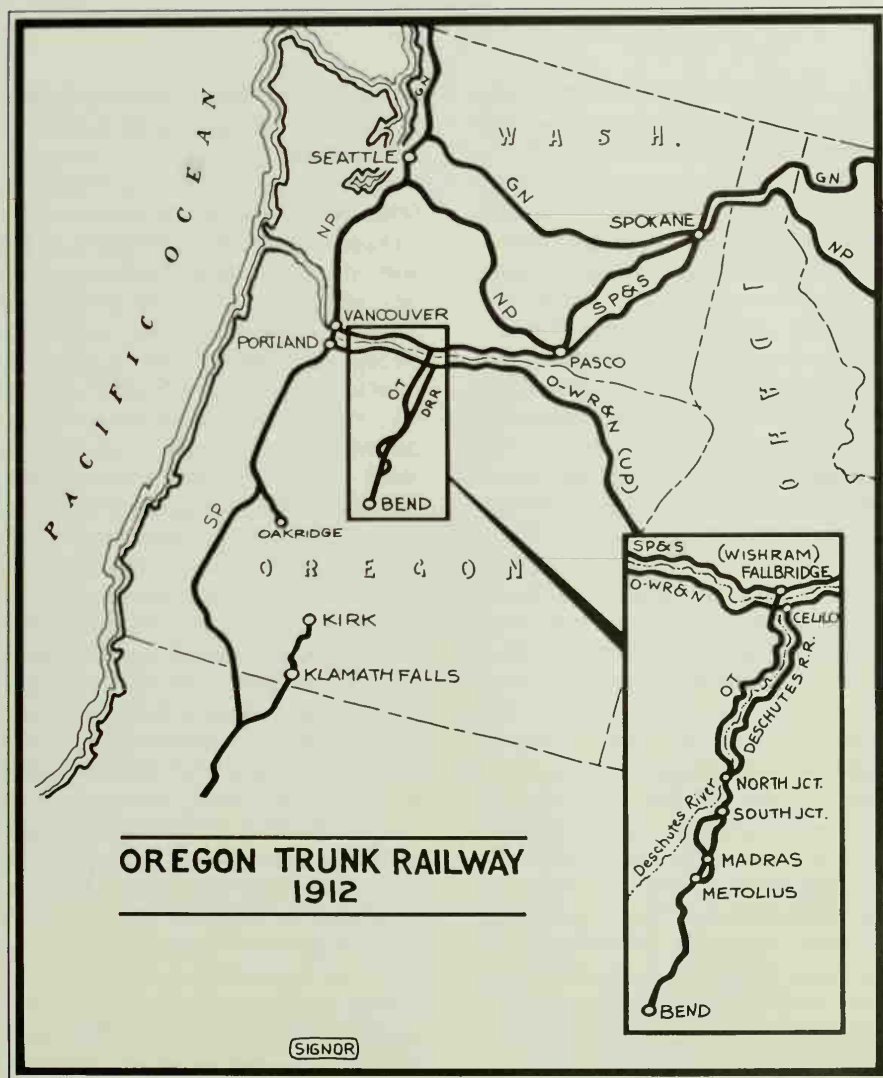
to divest the Southern Pacific of its vital Central Pacific (the Overland Route from Ogden to Oakland, plus important secondary lines, branches, and terminal facilities). By 1914 the SP had acquired or placed in operation 160 miles of disconnected railroad from Natron, southeast of Eugene, to Oakridge, Oregon, and from Weed, California, to Kirk, Oregon. The Natron project captivated the interests of Oregonians, who remained sensitive in the extreme because it remained incomplete. Finally, on June 15, 1922, SP's Executive Committee authorized Julius Kruttschnitt "to make a definite promise to the people of Oregon that the Southern Pacific Company would complete the line of railroad between Weed and Oak Ridge, forming a part of the so-called Natron Cutoff plan, as soon as its right to hold the Central Pacific shall have been definitely and finally established." True to its word, as soon as the separation threat passed, the SP filed with the ICC for permission to close the 118-mile gap; approval was given on August 15, 1923.<sup>21</sup>

Renewed construction began at Kirk on September 1, 1923. A month later Klamath Falls, whose citizens long had agitated for completion of the line, staged a celebration styled the "Passing of the Covered Wagon." As part of the event, local leaders and visiting dignitaries were taken by special trains to Kirk, where, as the SP had promised, they were given a "show to beat the movies," a "drama with live people in action." Some six months later the SP announced that thirty-two and one-half miles of new line had been built.<sup>22</sup>

The situation then became cloudy. The Public Utility Commission of Oregon filed suit and also petitioned the ICC, among other things, to force joint and common use of SP's Natron Cutoff by other railroads. William Sproule, president of the Southern Pacific, suggested that, in the event Oregon's petition were granted, SP stop all work on the project. Julius Kruttschnitt, Sproule's boss, disagreed. He thought joint use would be objectionable, unnecessary, and unfair, but, he reminded Sproule, "our promise to construct the Natron Cutoff was unconditional." Both men were appalled, though, when the ICC's hearing examiner went well beyond the scope of the state's petition and recommended that SP's lines in Oregon be stripped from their owner and transferred to the rival Union Pacific.<sup>23</sup>

Another variable, introduced by the management of the Hill Lines, made the situation even





This Oregon Trunk Railway map highlights one untracked region between Bend, Oakridge, and Kirk, where the Great Northern's Oregon Trunk and the Southern Pacific vied for rights to vast timber stands and commercial interests south into the Klamath Falls area. *Courtesy of the author.*

more awkward. As early as 1912 the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific had advertised a projected line of the Oregon Trunk Railway from Bend to Butte Falls and a connection there to Hill's isolated Pacific & Eastern stub in southwestern Oregon. Rumors of this extension, widely-viewed as the Hill Lines' plan to invade California, circulated from time to time, and was resurrected in earnest during the late summer of 1924, when senior officers of both the GN and the NP were

reported to be "on a scouting trip in Southern Pacific's domain in southern Oregon." This time the rumors were based, at least partially, on fact. Indeed, the Oregon Trunk soon applied for a certificate of public convenience and necessity to extend its line southward from Bend to Klamath Falls. NP's Charles Donnelly told SP's William Sproule that the application had been made simply to "protect our position." Donnelly, whose railroad was SP's favored connection at Portland and

which likely stood to lose more than it gained by the Trunk's extension, hoped that compromise with SP might yet "avoid a conflict of interests."<sup>24</sup>

Sproule, however, did not favor such accommodation. "It would give the Hill System a new entrance into our field of activity" and, he fumed, "it is one stride toward California." Sproule's fears appeared confirmed a few days later, when the press reported that Hill interests had purchased a right-of-way from Klamath Falls southwestward to the Pacific Coast. That the Hill Lines had designs on California was denied by Louis W. Hill of the Great Northern, who was insistent, however, that there was "an immense amount of timber to be reached" by the Trunk's extension to Klamath Falls. SP's executive officers looked for options. They wished to protect the company's heavy investment in the Natron Cutoff from "direct competition," and to "retain markets tributary to the new line," but at the same time they wished to "avoid having the Northern Lines find it convenient or necessary to extend southward . . . into California" and develop a possible "connection there with the Western Pacific and Santa Fe."<sup>25</sup>

Compromise was required, but what form should it take? Meetings were scheduled among executive officers of the various companies. NP's Donnelly sat in, but soon withdrew his company's support for the Bend-Klamath Falls extension by the Oregon Trunk, a company that, he reminded, was owned by the Spokane, Portland & Seattle, itself owned in halves by the NP and GN. The application before the ICC remained in the name of the Oregon Trunk, but now, of the two owning parties, only the Great Northern was interested in it. But that interest was intense. Ralph Budd of the Great Northern insisted that the GN reach "Klamath Falls with its own trains," although he offered the SP a quid pro quo that he knew it would not accept—trackage rights over the Trunk's extension to Bend. Predictably, William Sproule could "see no practical advantage in that." In the end, Sproule and Budd "agreed to disagree." The hearing officer's recommendation, GN's request, the Oregon PUC's complaint, and various related issues passed to the ICC for judgment.<sup>26</sup>

One collateral issue was SP's application to acquire the Oregon, California & Eastern Railway (OC&E), an important short line reaching into rich timber-bearing regions east of Klamath Falls, and the SP's desire to extend that operation by way of branches. Acquisition of the OC&E was certain

to bring welcome revenues to the SP and at the same time serve as a block to aspirations of the Hill interests.<sup>27</sup>

The ICC's decision was announced on May 3, 1926. The earlier recommendation of the hearing officer to strip SP of its Oregon lines was thrown out; the petition of the Oregon PUC for joint use was denied; the SP was given the right to acquire the OC&E; and the Oregon Trunk was authorized to tap Klamath Falls. But in addition to those decisions, the regulatory body added significant conditions. The SP was obligated to grant the Oregon Trunk trackage rights over the Natron Cutoff or over the OC&E line as entry to Klamath Falls. The SP and NP immediately entered into negotiations but were unable to formulate mutually agreeable contracts. Part of this reflected the Northern Pacific's growing disenchantment with the entire matter, and in time the ICC allowed the Great Northern formally to replace the Oregon Trunk in the negotiations and as applicant.<sup>28</sup>

While this was going on, work progressed, if slowly, on the SP's Natron project, as well as on another smaller one. The original line from Weed to Grass Lake had been constructed to logging-road standards, with heavy grades and tight curves, and was inadequate to handle traffic efficiently in the volume certain to result when the Cascade Line reached completion. New construction, labeled the Black Butte Cutoff, 23.7 miles, was added to the Natron project. Costs of the Natron and Black Butte undertakings were enormous, fifteen percent beyond estimates and authorization. The Executive Committee of SP's board took an exceedingly dim view of the matter. Sproule told Chief Engineer George W. Boschke early in 1926 "that no dollar may be spent except where it will be of telling value beyond debate." Boschke was hard pressed. He told Sproule that the country between Oakridge and the summit of the Cascades was so difficult as to "make closer estimates impossible." Slides, he noted, were a constant problem.<sup>29</sup>

Finally it was completed. SP's Cascade Line was officially finished on August 7, 1926. The cost was a staggering \$39.4 million, but Cascade's advantages over the company's Siskiyou Line were great—shorter by twenty-five miles between San Francisco and Portland and easier by far in grades and curvature. The city of Eugene staged an appropriate "Trail to Rail" celebration to commemorate the event.<sup>30</sup>

For the SP there was no time to celebrate. Problems



with the Great Northern remained, and to those was added a threat from the Oregon Public Utility Commission to reopen the "Central Pacific Case" for the purpose of demanding construction by the SP of what it called a "cross-state line" (east-west across the center of Oregon).

Arduous negotiations among executives of the SP and the Great Northern failed to resolve the matter of the Hill Lines' entry into Klamath Falls. Political conditions did not favor the SP, and Ralph Budd proved a stern negotiator for the Great Northern. The situation dragged on. Public relations campaigns and even ICC intervention failed to resolve trackage rights. Ultimately, popular pressure forced a decision that favored the Great Northern against the SP. Subsequently, the GN built a new line from Bend to Chemult and reached Klamath Falls by "equal joint use" of seventy-five miles of SP's new Cascade Line. The GN gained another important concession when SP agreed to sell one-half interest in its recently acquired Oregon, California & Eastern Railway. Formal contracts were signed on November 18, 1927; the first GN train rolled into Klamath Falls on May 6, 1928.<sup>31</sup>

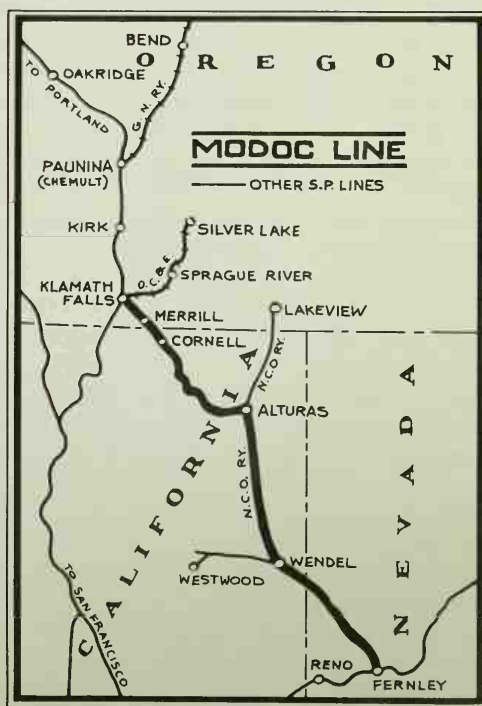
Oregonians were similarly interested in a related project undertaken by the SP. In 1911, that company had quietly sent a reconnaissance party to study the country between Fernley, Nevada, and Klamath Falls. The SP was interested in the potential movement of forest products traffic from the Susanville, California, area as well as in sealing that region from possible incursions by the upstart Western Pacific (WP) and the established Great Northern. The Western Pacific was nearby at Keddies, California, and the Great Northern, through the Oregon Trunk, was at that time building southward to Bend. SP's management fully believed that the Trunk would continue into the Susanville area because certain timber companies with which the Hill Lines had strong ties had impressive holdings there.<sup>32</sup>

The SP did move into the Susanville region from Nevada with a new line in 1912, but then it deferred further construction. The company retained a commercial and strategic interest in the country above Susanville to Klamath Falls, however, and in its survey between these two points. Agitation for rail service among those living in Klamath Falls and to the southeast grew steadily during the early 1920s; citizens of the region became increasingly discontent with SP's "promises" and demanded "action." There were other considerations. Since 1913, when

the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific had been separated, the UP had energetically solicited Oregon traffic via its own direct lines to Portland against SP's right-angle route via Roseville, California. A Klamath Falls-Susanville-Fernley line would, SP officers understood, simultaneously serve to attract more transcontinental traffic, save ton-miles, and frustrate potential competition. In 1922, Julius Kruttschnitt pledged the SP to build such a route.<sup>33</sup>

Kruttschnitt had second thoughts a year later, however, when construction costs on the Cascade Line proved "much higher than had been imagined." By the summer of 1925, however, SP's executive officers felt compelled to go forward, albeit nervously, with the proposal as a part of the Natron, OC&E, Oregon Trunk and other proceedings before the ICC at that time. The regulatory agency quickly gave its blessing.<sup>34</sup>

The Modoc Line, as the Klamath Falls-Fernley route became known, involved a curious combina-



Southern Pacific's Modoc Line, from Klamath Falls to Fernley (shown in bold type), required both new construction and upgrading from narrow to standard gauge, costing millions of dollars. Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.

tion of old and new. On October 8, 1926, the SP acquired control of the narrow gauge Nevada-California-Oregon Railway (NCO), which owned a rickety road from Wendel, California, on SP's Fernley-Susanville line, to Lakeview, Oregon, via Alturas. The SP, of course, faced the requirement of standard gauging the NCO, as well as providing new construction from Klamath Falls to Alturas. Internal indecision, coupled with regulatory confusion in the Oregon Trunk/Great Northern matters, delayed plans and even threatened their completion. SP's management carefully restudied potential traffic volumes and patterns. There would be little local traffic on the Modoc, they were reminded, especially from Fernley to Alturas; the new line would be dependent on passover traffic heavily oriented to the timber industry. Much internal speculation centered on a double-edged question: What would happen to competitive traffic if the Modoc Line were *not* built, and what would happen to SP's competitive position if the Oregon Trunk/Great Northern finally reached southward to Klamath Falls—or beyond? SP's Sproule had cold feet. "I am frank to say that where so much money is involved I am less and less disposed to be pressed into conclusions in apprehension of what a competitor might do," he confided to another senior officer. Ultimately the fate of the Modoc Line rested with the Union Pacific and the divisions it would permit on traffic moving to it via the new route. "Whatever we hold as against the Great Northern or gain through development of business that otherwise would not be created inures substantially as much to your benefit as ours and possibly more," William Sproule told UP's Carl R. Gray.<sup>35</sup>

Senior management of the Union Pacific saw it likewise and agreed to the same divisions the two roads shared on Oregon traffic moving via the historic, if longer, Overland Route through Roseville, California. SP's Paul Shoup recommended proceeding with the project although its ultimate benefits were unclear. "I dislike very much to recommend the expenditure of this large sum of money under existing conditions for a line that is almost altogether dependent" on a single industry for its traffic base, said Shoup. On May 18, 1928, SP's Executive Committee nervously authorized the company's chief engineer to make final surveys. Work commenced on the new construction between Klamath Falls and Alturas in January 1929, and during the following summer the gauge of the

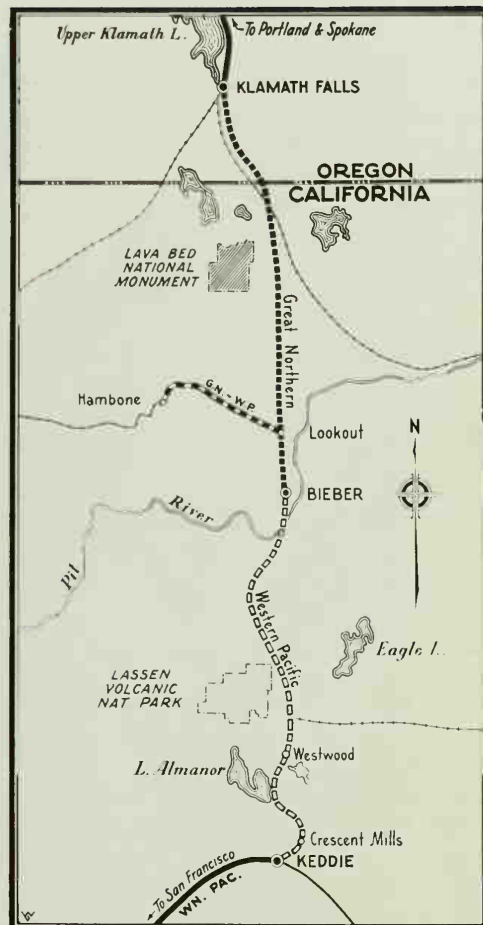
former Nevada-California-Oregon was changed from narrow to standard. The Modoc Line was "turned over for operation" on September 15 following appropriate ceremonies. There was limited rejoicing among SP's executive officers, however. Acquisition and rehabilitation of the Nevada-California-Oregon, plus new construction necessary to form the Modoc, had cost nearly \$16 million, a figure well above estimates.<sup>36</sup>

The saga of inter-company conflict over railroad expansion in southern Oregon and northern California continued during the late 1920s, when SP's chief rivals in that territory, the Western Pacific and the Great Northern, studied a variety of options. In mid-1928, the Western Pacific announced that it would seek permission to build a system of regional feeders. When the GN's Ralph Budd heard this, he encouraged H. M. Adams, president of the WP, to consider occupying the broad area between Westwood, California, and Klamath Falls before the SP claimed it. Somewhat later, however, W. P. Kenney, in charge of GN's sales department, objected. Kenney felt that the GN should build about one-half the distance to the WP in California—this to show Oregon lumber shippers that the GN could offer distribution outlets as complete as those offered by the SP—and that the WP should build only to an agreed connection with the GN. In that way the two companies could fashion an important "Inside Gateway," capable of competing effectively with the SP. Kenney's argument prevailed. Proper papers were filed with the ICC by the GN and the WP.<sup>37</sup>

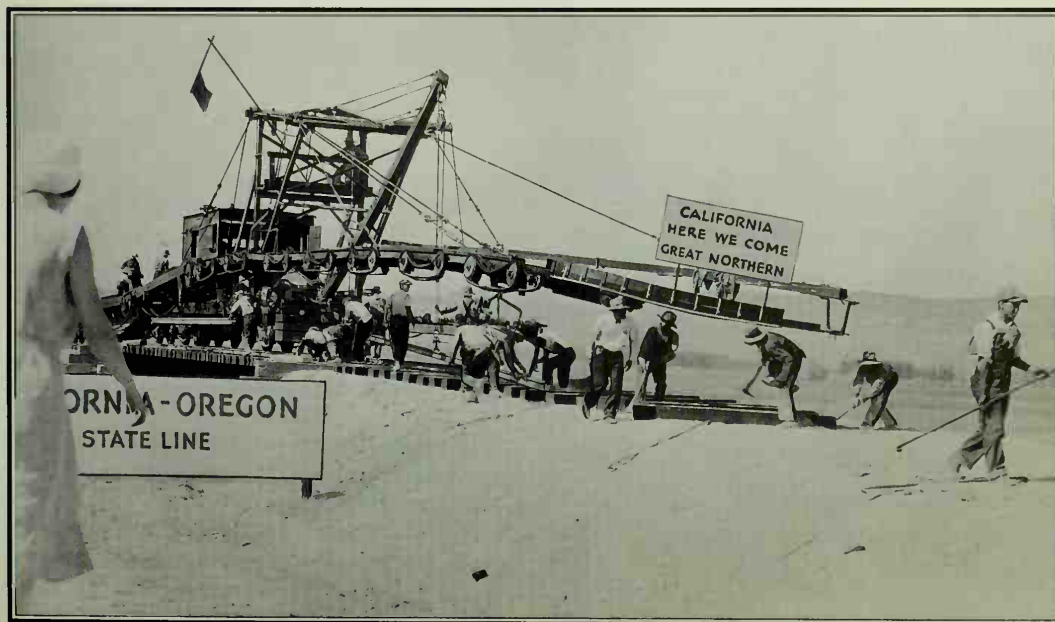
The Southern Pacific predictably saw this as "unnecessary duplication" of rail operations, but the GN and WP countered by promising to run Great Northern's famous Empire Builder, as well as through passenger trains from Vancouver and Seattle, into San Francisco if the ICC granted their request. Moreover, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe (Santa Fe) proved especially interested in the enterprise; it quickly agreed to establish joint rates and divisions with the GN and the WP on through freight traffic via Stockton, California. In the end, the ICC favored the concept of a new competitive route, its positive impact on a "new territory," and opportunities for additional passenger travel. The joint request was granted. SP's Paul Shoup maintained a philosophical stance. "We have to face the fact that the public everywhere wants expenditures for money that [do] . . . not directly involve

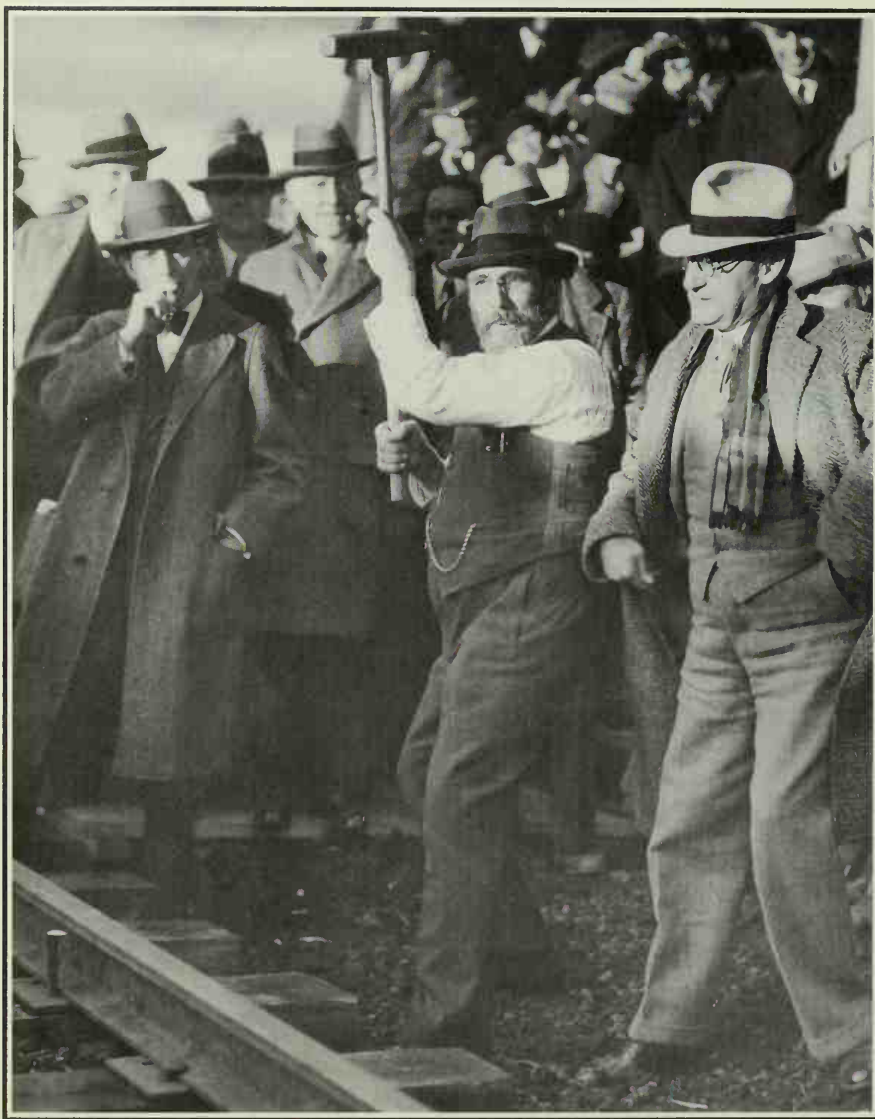


Map showing the route of the Inside Gateway, from Klamath Falls south into northeastern California. Sheer economic practicality forced the Great Northern and Western Pacific railways to unite in cooperation against the Southern Pacific, a move supported by the ICC. Courtesy Burlington Northern Railroad.



Below: Construction train on the Inside Gateway reaches the California-Oregon boundary. Courtesy Burlington Northern Railroad.





Arthur Curtiss James, prominent investor in railroad securities, poised to drive the golden spike on the completed Inside Gateway. *Courtesy Burlington Northern Railroad.*

it in taxation, and for this and other reasons wants more railroads, which at least give the impression of additional life to the communities served." As it developed, the Inside Gateway never saw regular passenger service, and except for the peak traffic years of World War II, the route would prove to be of marginal strategic value.<sup>38</sup>

In the late 1920s SP's management also had to consider the Hill Lines in a much larger context. During 1927, stockholders of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern approved a merger plan,



which was then sent to the ICC for decision. William Sproule did not see much threat to SP if the merger were concluded, but he asked Paul Shoup, a subordinate, for his views. "Unquestionably the new company with a stronger unified policy and one financial and operating program will be stronger than the two apart," said Shoup, who saw "no evidence upon which" the SP "could properly oppose the consolidation." Furthermore, "if it be one of improving service and developing their own territory by bringing more people to the West, the Southern Pacific as a north and south line on the Pacific Coast will be benefited rather than injured." SP's speculations mattered little. The ICC granted the merger request of the Hill Lines, but with an overriding caveat—that they be divorced from ownership of the lucrative Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, a condition they could not accept. The grand merger died accordingly.<sup>39</sup>

During the same period the SP quietly analyzed its own strategic trackage options north of the Columbia River. In July 1925, a management team was assigned to study the feasibility of constructing a line "from Portland via Longview to a connection with the Milwaukee Road" and with additional trackage rights over the rails of that company "establishing our own line between Portland and Puget Sound points." In that way, as Shoup said, the SP "would serve the entire coast territory from Guadalajara to the Canadian boundary as one company." A new SP route above Portland would certainly yield impressive long hauls for the system, but it would also place the company in severe competition with the Union Pacific, Great Northern, and Northern Pacific. Other problems became apparent after thorough evaluation. The costs for construction of a new line would be great, the Milwaukee's terminal facilities—which SP would likely use—were inadequate, the Milwaukee Road itself was not financially robust, and overall prospective freight earnings did not look good. Accordingly, expansion considerations were terminated by Shoup during the summer of 1929.<sup>40</sup>

There was a lengthy hiatus in the ancient rivalry, which did not surface again until 1960, when the Southern Pacific attempted to acquire the much smaller and parallel Western Pacific. If accomplished, this would clearly have resulted in transportation economies, and at the same time prosper the SP. On the other hand, disappearance of the WP would nullify GN's investment in the Inside Gateway, as well as disadvantage the Santa Fe. Shortly after the SP made its acquisition announcement, the GN and the Santa Fe predictably entered the fray. In the ensuing case, the Interstate Commerce Commission recognized the stalemate and opted for continuation of an independent Western Pacific Railroad. This latter-day skirmish in the old Harriman-Hill war thus resulted in a draw, maintenance of the status quo ante.<sup>41</sup>

The era of heroic entrepreneurship in the railroad industry perished with Edward H. Harriman and James J. Hill, but long after their deaths, the era of heroic strategic design lingered in the executive suites of the companies they had directed. Nevertheless, with very few exceptions, the territory over which Harriman and Hill wrestled for dominion was not overbuilt with unnecessary or duplicate rail lines. Rather, it was well served by impressively engineered and strategically located routes owned and managed by some of the nation's most respected railroad companies. That, more than anything else, represented the happy outcome of the fierce contests between Edward H. Harriman and James J. Hill and their respective legatees. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 135.*

*Don L. Hofsommer is Director of the Public History Program at St. Cloud State University, St. Cloud, Minnesota. He has written extensively on the history of railroads in the West, including the Southern Pacific and the Great Northern.*

---

---

# Railroads and Water in the Arid Far West: THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY AS A PIONEER WATER DEVELOPER

---

by Richard J. Orsi

---

---

## INTRODUCTION

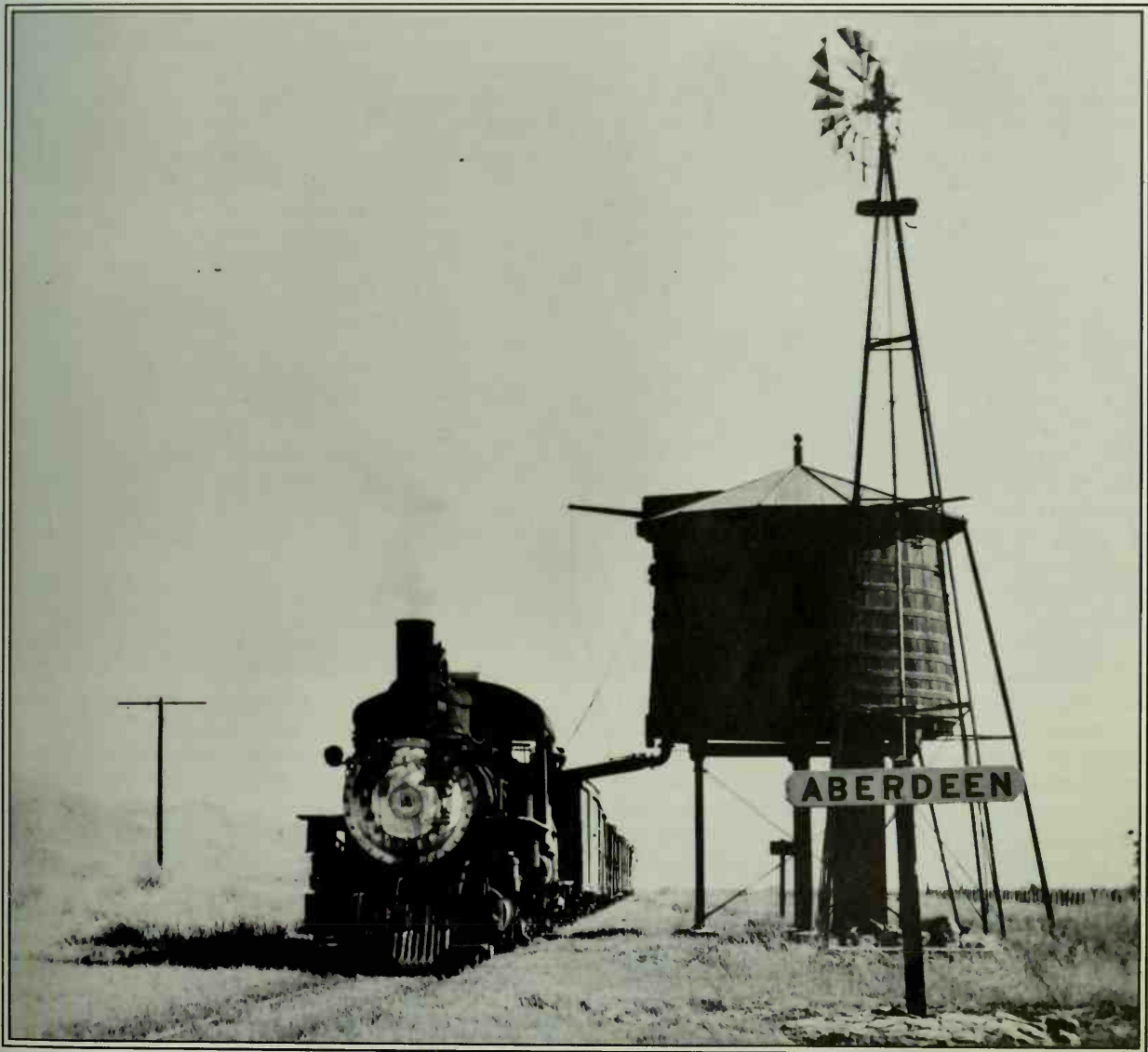
Nearly forgotten about the history of the nineteenth-century American West is the fact that, before private and public water agencies could take the field, some railroads functioned as the pioneer water developers in extremely arid frontier regions. Faced with the practical problem of constructing and operating across a vast, waterless, unpopulated landscape, railroads built extensive waterworks to supply themselves and early settlers, thus making initial transportation and economic development possible and establishing models of water use for urban/agricultural progress. Of the western lines, the Southern Pacific, which laid down its tracks a decade or more earlier than most other companies and was forced to cope with a territory generally more arid, was the prototype of the water-pioneering railroad and warrants particular attention.

How did transportation companies—in this case, the Southern/Central Pacific<sup>1</sup>—become so deeply involved in such a tangential, unprofitable, and controversial activity as providing water to residents of arid regions? This apparently public-spirited behavior in the interest of economic and community development seems at first glance to be totally out of character for a company that contemporary opponents and later historians have contemptuously branded as “the Octopus.” Traditionally, indeed, most historians of California and other states served by the Southern Pacific have maintained that this particular company’s greedy officers were the major *obstacle* to economic prosperity, as well as principal instigators

of political corruption, within the railroad’s territory. General writers on the American West have likewise emphasized the negative effects railroads had on regional economic and community progress, through their excessive freight and passenger tariffs, discriminatory services, high-handed political methods, and overall contempt for the public welfare.<sup>2</sup>

Nor have historians of water policy been any kinder to the railroads. Although a handful of writers on water development have explored the contributions of a few lines, notably the Northern Pacific and Great Northern, most have ignored or minimized the positive influence of the Southern Pacific and other western roads.<sup>3</sup> Typically, those who *have* acknowledged that railroads played any part have cast railroads as villains, narrowly self-interested spoilers of popular movements for economic and social progress through water development. In accounting for the paucity of water projects in late nineteenth-century Nevada, for example, one historian charged that it was the miserly and monopolistic Central Pacific, a Southern Pacific subsidiary, which, in league with large mining and stock-raising enterprises, persistently blocked water development legislation there for fear that increased property taxes would result.<sup>4</sup> Such views, of course, dovetail neatly into the “Populist-Progressive,” anti-corporate and anti-railroad consensus that has dominated western American historiography. They do not, however, account for the innovative role railroads like the Southern Pacific played in western water development.





A windmill was still being used in 1947 to pump water from a well to the railroad tank at Aberdeen, on a Southern Pacific narrow-gauge line in California's Owens Valley. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

---

## RAILROADS, THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC, AND WESTERN WATER HISTORY

As it extended its web of lines across a harsh landscape after the company's founding in 1861, the Southern Pacific, like other western roads, became immediately embroiled in environmental issues, particularly concerning water. The Southern Pacific's domain was arid or semiarid. The entire region west of San Antonio lacked sufficient normal rainfall from spring through autumn to support traditional agriculture or urban-industrial concentrations. In some places Southern Pacific tracks crossed or paralleled sizable perennial streams—the Rio Grande, the Gila, the Colorado, the Sacramento and San Joaquin and tributaries, the Willamette, and the Truckee. But over long desert stretches, there was little or no surface water, ground water could be tapped only at great depths, and much available water was contaminated with alkali. Especially parched were southern New Mexico and Arizona, the 500-mile expanse of Great Basin between the California border and the Great Salt Lake, the central and southern San Joaquin Valley, and the fierce deserts of southeastern California, which included some of the driest areas in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, the Far West was vulnerable to periodic, acute, multi-year drought, making water supplies not only scarce, but unpredictable. Southern Pacific country abounded in soil, forest, and mineral resources, but population growth, economic development, and railroad profits hinged on water diversion, storage, and redistribution projects of unprecedented magnitude.<sup>5</sup>

That these improvements would be made, however, was anything but certain. Though richly endowed by nature, the far-western frontier initially was short on the human resources needed for speedy water development. Most of the region was sparsely populated or, excepting Indians, unsettled altogether, its highly mobile people attracted to short-term speculative enterprises. Requiring considerable start-up capital, large water projects were notoriously unprofitable. Thus, sufficient private or public funds were rarely available to develop isolated, rural areas. With immature private organizations and weak local, state, territorial, and federal government agencies, the Southern Pacific's region also lacked the institutional

structure necessary to plan, build, and manage complex water systems.

On top of such inherent structural weakness, economic, political, and ideological conflicts complicated water questions. Historians have usually treated the subject of irrigation and water development projects in general as if they were public-interested, social and economic improvements, rarely questioned by citizens.<sup>6</sup> Actually, in the nineteenth century, as now, water policy in the arid West was a battleground. While some interests favoring agricultural modernization and urban growth avidly supported water improvements, others just as fervently lined up in opposition. Miners and stockraisers objected that irrigation threatened their prior rights to land and water; small farmers complained that, because it was so costly, irrigation favored large landowners; fiscal conservatives protested that water improvements strained public treasuries; scientific "experts" argued that irrigation damaged crops and soils and caused human disease; and settlers from well-watered countries had a deep-seated cultural resistance against irrigation in general. In addition, some water holders who based their rights on the riparian doctrine—usually downstream landowners—clashed over access to supplies with those who based their rights on the contradictory prior appropriation principle—usually upstream water diverters.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, pervasive intercommunity jealousies, political factionalism, turnover among officeholders, and jurisdictional disputes among local, state, and federal authorities crippled governmental efforts to develop long-term policy. As a result, stalemate and confusion reigned in water questions, particularly because of contradictory laws governing water rights. Thus, bitter controversies among conflicting water interests spilled over into the courts, litigation expanded throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, and few large-scale projects were completed. The dominant theme of western water history in this period, concluded Donald J. Pisani, one of the subject's leading interpreters, was the "persistent mismanagement and ineffectiveness of both private enterprise and government in regulating the use of water. The process of allocating this precious resource was seldom guided by wisdom or equity."<sup>8</sup>

In the shortage of effective private or public leadership in its arid, thinly-populated territory, the





Much of the Southern Pacific's territory was extremely arid, as was the case at Dos Palmas (later renamed Durmid) west of Yuma in California's Colorado Desert, one of the driest places in the world. By the time Carleton E. Watkins photographed the way-station about 1880, the railroad had already developed a water facility there, evident in the distant background. On the siding to the left is a special car bearing Watkins's horse and wagon, which was custom-outfitted to carry the photographer's cumbersome equipment to the many sites he was to document while on commission for the railroad. The attached caboose was probably Watkins's temporary residence for the trip. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Southern Pacific was forced to take an active part in all stages of water development. In addition to the personal commitment of many of the company's leaders to promoting regional welfare, short- and long-range corporate interests convinced executives from the beginning that successful rail operations hinged on water improvements. First and most pressing, the railroad required a large, reliable supply of good quality water for its own use in construction, maintenance, and operations, as well as to slake the thirsts of crews, passengers, and steam locomotives. In areas lacking established

waterworks, the initial needs of farmers and town dwellers also had to be met for settlement to begin and rail traffic to become profitable. Especially vital were new water supplies for the many railhead towns founded by the company's real estate subsidiaries, as well as the profitable sale of the railroad's federal land grant of millions of acres. Finally, company officials realized that long-range progress in agriculture and industry, essential to future freight and passenger revenues, could be assured only by fostering large, dependable water systems. In the area of water policy, enlightened corporate

self-interest led the Southern Pacific to identify with "the public welfare" and to work vigorously to solve water problems.<sup>9</sup>

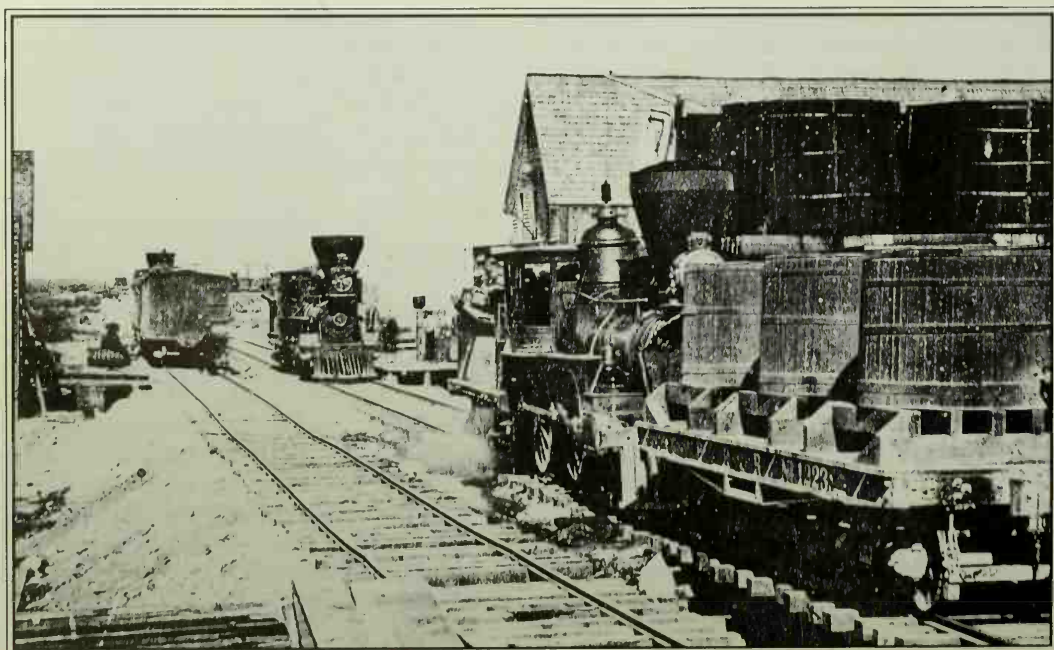
The Southern Pacific was well-suited to playing a creative role in water development. The railroad's modern, centralized business structure, like its tracks, bridged the gaps between regions and rival interest groups to provide a measure of coordination. One of the few entities with a broad interest in water that transcended local parochialism, the company was also frequently the largest, most active organizational presence on the raw frontier. The railroad commanded the labor and capital essential for expensive water improvements, as well as access to modern technology and the expertise of its own civil engineers and land agents, or outside consultants. Since complex and contradictory laws often lay at the root of water problems, the railroad's staff of talented attorneys also proved valuable. In addition, while not as monolithic as its critics charged, the company's political power was useful in securing action on water issues and influencing policies adopted by private organizations and local, state, and national agencies. In his important book *The Visible Hand*, Alfred

Chandler has demonstrated that in the late nineteenth century the American railroads, as the pathbreaking modern business enterprises, evolved complex, professionalized, centrally coordinated structures based on the gathering of reliable information and capable of developing and managing powerful technologies and an unprecedented volume of transactions. While Chandler has stressed the importance of the rail industry in creating management models for other businesses, a study of the Southern Pacific's activities in water development suggests that the modern structures being developed by railroads had a profound influence on the broader community as well.<sup>10</sup>

Most active of the company's leaders in promoting water development, and lending remarkable continuity to railroad policy, were its chief land agents, Benjamin B. Redding (1865-1882), William

---

Company photographer Alfred A. Hart preserved the image of a Central Pacific Railroad water train at Winnemucca, shortly after construction of the transcontinental line through the area in 1868. Large tanks behind the locomotive supplied water to the tanker cars, which in turn carried it forward to the construction front on the high Nevada desert. Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.





H. Mills (1883-1907), and B. A. McAllaster (1909-1930). Sharing the emerging conservationist and preservationist values of the age, these men became recognized experts on soil, climate, forestry, agriculture, irrigation, and flood control. They not only guided the Southern Pacific's own work, they wrote and lectured on water development subjects and helped to organize and advise private and public agencies. Southern Pacific founders Collis P. Huntington, Charles Crocker, and Leland Stanford, as well as E. H. Harriman, who took over the company after Huntington's death in 1900, approved the spending of funds and energy in water promotion, placed their prestige and political influence behind community efforts to build large water systems, and invested private capital in irrigation and land subdivision projects. Regional company land agents, particularly Robert L. Fulton (eastern California, Nevada, and Utah) and Daniel K. Zumwalt (San Joaquin Valley), along with a legion of station agents and civil engineers, promoted local water improvements, and occasionally regional and national projects.<sup>11</sup>

Beginning with narrow, tentative efforts in the 1860s and early 1870s, the Southern Pacific's activities in water development grew ever broader in scope and more assertive after 1880, when the frenzied construction of new rail lines slowed down and the company attained its corporate maturity and turned more toward developing its territory. By working within its own structure and interacting with other groups, the railroad became a major, creative influence on evolving modern water policy in the West into the 1920s. The railroad's service was particularly valuable in certain areas: its discovery and exploitation of new water sources for farms and towns; its establishment of models for modern, efficient water systems that were borrowed by other developers; its introduction of more order, stability, and centralized planning in water use and policy; and finally its support for the movement toward public, as opposed to private, ownership and management of water supplies. While it was serving as a principal water developer in its hinterland, the Southern Pacific was required to assume many functions that would later be assigned to specialized private or governmental water agencies. When those agencies did emerge, the railroad often promoted their founding, provided financing, and helped shape their early policies.

## EARLY SOUTHERN PACIFIC WATERWORKS

As it built lines east across northern Nevada and Utah in the late 1860s, south through the San Joaquin Valley in the early 1870s, and east across the deserts of California, Arizona, and New Mexico in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the Southern Pacific was at first forced to import water by tanker, sometimes more than 100 miles, for construction and maintenance crews, passengers, locomotives, and stations. From the beginning, the railroad carried additional water to sell to residents of the new villages sprouting around desert stations, as well as to scattered ranchers and miners. During severe drought, the Southern Pacific hauled emergency supplies that saved even communities blessed with their own water sources.

Extremely costly and limited in volume, such makeshift delivery systems were usually temporary, but where local water sources could not be located, they became permanent, railroad-operated utilities. In 1880, for example, the Southern Pacific moved to block the Santa Fe from invading its California empire by building a branch line across the waterless and largely uninhabited waste between Mojave and Needles. For its own use and to open the territory to development, the company started running regular water cars, and eventually whole tanker trains, over the 200-mile-long section. Local rail agents took orders, especially from prospectors, and ordered water to be delivered at any point for two cents per gallon. The Southern Pacific's water service paved the way for miners and livestock raisers to invade the California high desert country and led to the founding of boom towns at Calico, Ivanpah, and Providence. After a corporate truce in the late 1880s, the Santa Fe acquired the Mojave-Needles line, but the new proprietor continued to serve as the region's water lifeline into the 1960s.<sup>12</sup>

Wherever possible, however, the Southern Pacific preferred developing local supplies to relying on the expensive and laborious hauling of water by rail. In charge of construction and operation of Southern Pacific lines, Charles Crocker ordered immediate searches for water in arid districts. At countless points on the rail network, construction departments and local station agents prospected for water, bored ordinary and artesian wells, installed windmills or steam or kerosene pumps,



In the late 1860s, Alfred A. Hart photographed a Central Pacific passenger train at the water station at Peko, 488 miles east of Sacramento on the high Nevada desert. *Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.*

built filtration and purification systems, erected tanks and reservoirs, and laid out canals and pipelines. As could be expected, some projects produced only costly dry holes, but at many places the railroad developed an adequate water supply that greatly expanded the scope of rail services. Typically, the Southern Pacific sold surpluses to town dwellers and nearby farmers and ranchers. Occasionally, the company laid mains down the streets of fledgling desert towns and, for a fee, allowed residents to hook up directly to the railroad's pipes. In effect, the Southern Pacific served as the first water utility to some of its station towns.

While building the first transcontinental line, the Southern Pacific built its earliest water utilities in the late 1860s on the high Nevada desert, at such way stations as Carlin and Wells, where small settlements soon formed around the railroad's depot. At Elko, however, although the company founded a county-seat town and began promoting lot sales as early as 1869, the absence of local water restricted railroad facilities to a freight depot, passenger station, and hotel. Firefighting was limited; no suitable yard or repair and maintenance facility was possible; and a switching locomotive could not be headquartered there. For the first few years, a small switching engine made periodic trips over the twenty-mile track from Carlin to handle Elko

switching and haul water to fill the station's small emergency tanks. After years of prospecting, the company struck a well nearby in 1874 and installed a steam pump to lift water into a 62,500 gallon tank. At long last, the railroad could expand its operating facilities, and Elko began its emergence as a local freight distribution center.<sup>13</sup>

The Southern Pacific's first extensive water projects were built in the early 1870s, as the company pushed the mainline of its second transcontinental road south through the San Joaquin Valley and eastward across the southern California desert. By the mid-1870s, the railroad had successfully discovered local water supplies throughout the valley and had drilled wells or tapped streams. At more than fifty stations in the valley, large railroad tanks served operational needs, and in a few particularly dry districts, those of settlers. The most notable project was south of the railroad-founded town of Tulare, where in 1875 the company brought in a field of artesian wells at a depth of 300 feet. The wells allowed the railroad to irrigate a forty-acre experimental tree ranch it was cultivating to select and breed shade trees for stations and rights-of-way in this mostly treeless region. Once the railroad had demonstrated the presence of artesian water and the fertility of the alkali-plagued district, other landowners bored wells and began irrigating



crops, thus touching off the first farm settlement boom along the Southern Pacific's mainline in the southern valley. Contemporaries widely credited the railroad with having discovered and proved the usefulness of the new water supply. In his 1883 published review of artesian wells in California, C. E. Grunsky, assistant state engineer and a noted authority on water, concluded that the Southern Pacific's wells and tree farm were "a great encouragement for others," and that largely because of the company's pioneering, "the artesian water supply has been developed more energetically in Tulare County than elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley."<sup>14</sup>

Beyond Tehachapi Pass, southeast of the San Joaquin Valley, the Southern Pacific in the 1870s and early 1880s also developed a major waterworks at Mojave to meet local rail needs, to fill locomotives and tanker cars for the long runs westward over the Tehachapi Mountains and eastward across the Mojave-Needles branch line, and increasingly to provide a supply for the town that sprang up around the station. The railroad's Mojave water facility grew in extent and significance, until by the early twentieth century it had evolved into a widespread 12-inch pipeline system, bringing water into the town from numerous outlying springs and wells, particularly near Cameron, eight miles northwest and several hundred feet higher in elevation. Into the 1920s, the railroad's facility continued to serve as the town's water utility.<sup>15</sup>

In the late 1870s, the Southern Pacific faced even more arid southern California desert country as it extended its line east of San Geronio Pass toward the Colorado River, across the below-sea-level sand dunes and alkali flats of the Salton Sink. Within a year of reaching Indio in 1876, construction crews there had drilled a ten-inch well and installed a steam pump. From Indio eastward, trains hauled water cars to the construction front. But the demand along the desert line was enormous; after the line was finished to Yuma in 1877, for example, a single steam locomotive pulling an average train required four to six cars of water, some 30,000 gallons, just to make the 131-mile trip. Facing a desperate shortage, Crocker's men tried, and at first failed, to find water elsewhere along the way. Finally, one good artesian well was struck; but although the water was adequate for men and livestock, Crocker reported to Huntington in 1877, it was too brackish for locomotives. "We shall continue boring wells at

different points along the line of that road hoping to get water as will answer for railroad purposes," Crocker vowed.<sup>16</sup>

Between the late 1870s and the early 1890s, the Southern Pacific, seeking to lower its water costs and develop a water source for itself and settlers, persistently surveyed and drilled throughout the Salton Sink region. Ultimately, wells were brought in at numerous sites, sometimes miles from the tracks. Steam pumps were installed to raise water from ordinary wells and distribute it more efficiently; pipelines carried the precious liquid to stations and watering stops; and tanker cars served the portions of the rail line remote from the wells. In some places, the railroad's water system produced a surplus that was sold to settlers.

Even more than had been true in the San Joaquin Valley, the Southern Pacific's water prospecting and irrigation experiments shaped the future of the southeastern California desert, where virtually no modern agriculture had been practiced before. Blessed with the most abundant water source, agents at Indio, at the direction of the company's general manager Alban N. Towne, who had taken a personal interest in the project, transformed the sandy waste around the station into a lush demonstration garden, to the astonishment of local "desert rats" and overland passengers. In this most forbidding of landscapes, railway people experimented with plants suitable for desert farming and demonstrated that irrigation could be used to raise figs, grapes, melons, date palms, alfalfa, and winter fruits and vegetables, all of which soon became paying crops in the district.

By the early 1890s, the Southern Pacific's Indio experimental garden was being visited regularly by farm and water experts, including delegates to the 1893 Irrigation Congress, who proclaimed it to be, in the words of the *Los Angeles Times*, "a practical demonstration of desert reclamation." The railroad's successful Indio project was valuable not only as evidence to justify the gathering national reclamation movement. On the strength of these experiments, the railroad, after a decade of failure, was finally able to begin selling some of its granted land in the desert. Following the railroad's example, other private parties in the area bored wells, subdivided and advertised land, and began small irrigated farms. The Southern Pacific had helped to create a model for desert agriculture that in the



Date palm grove under irrigation near Indio, California, ca. 1900. The Southern Pacific encouraged the growth of the date industry in the Southwest not only by developing water supplies and demonstrating the feasibility of irrigating the desert, but also by financing experiments in date culture at the University of Arizona during the 1890s and early 1900s. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

twentieth century would become the mainstay of development in California's Coachella and Imperial valleys, the Colorado River region, and the Salt and Gila river valleys of Arizona.<sup>17</sup>

Simultaneously in the 1880s and 1890s, the railroad's local water prospecting, agricultural experimentation, and land promotion were also responsible for the first settlement boom in the arid Antelope Valley north of Los Angeles. As late as the 1920s, the Southern Pacific was still a leading developer of artesian wells in the valley.<sup>18</sup>

When Southern Pacific locomotives first steamed into the military and riverboat center of Yuma in the autumn of 1877, the finding of water became yet more challenging. The company needed a supply sufficient for the extensive operations center it envisioned in Yuma, for the expected expansion of the town, which lacked an organized waterworks, and for hauling back across the desert into California, as well as forward to the even drier future construction front the railroad hoped to open across Arizona. An abundant, permanent water supply, of course, flowed by in the Colorado River, but the town sat on a bluff on the east bank, and more important, the silt-laden river water was unusable for any purpose other than agriculture. Moreover, if it were allowed to settle in tanks open to the broiling desert sun, the water would become too hot to use. With no wells in town, residents had

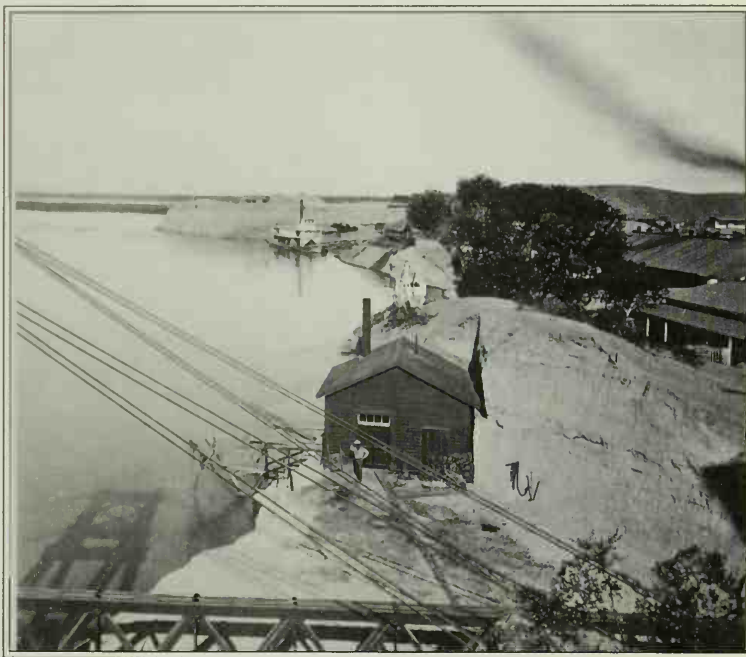
hitherto acquired small amounts of water by contracting with Indians at ten cents per day to fill barrels with river water for settling and eventual use.

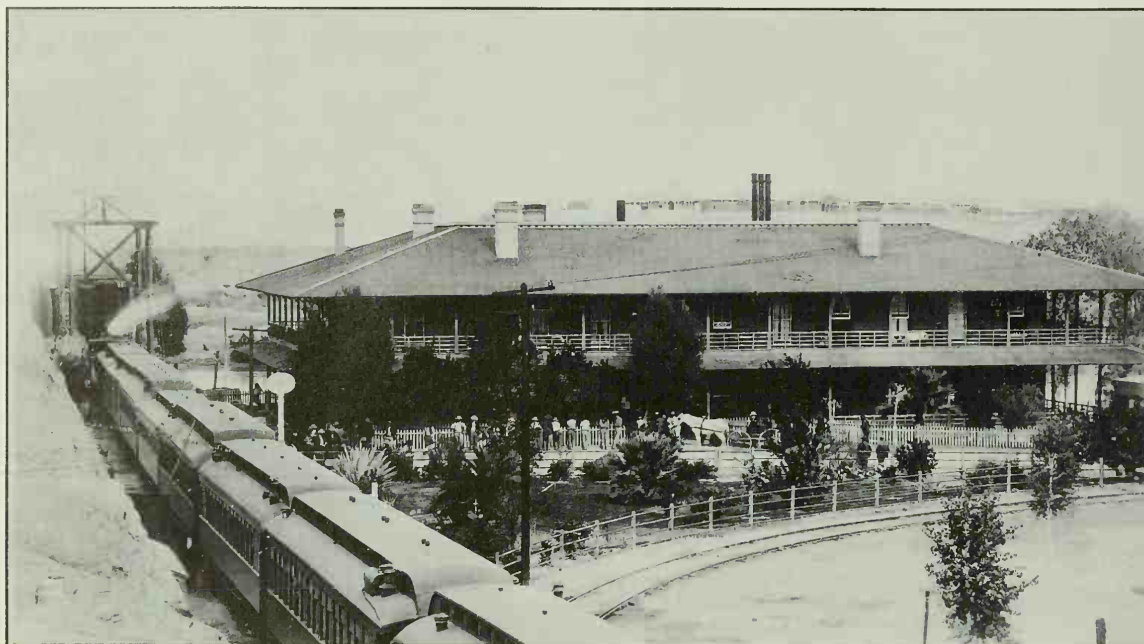
Upon entering Yuma, the Southern Pacific immediately set about developing a water system, built on land granted by the city. A powerful, coal-burning steam pump was installed to lift water from the river to a series of large storage and settling tanks, located uphill from town and shaded by frame structures. Gravity lines drew the water down to trackside tanks, into railroad shops, and through a six-inch wooden main under Madison Avenue. For a \$2-per-month fee, residents along the street were permitted to hook up. When the pumps started chugging in April 1878, the residents of Yuma rejoiced in their first waterworks. At first, the redwood slat reservoirs leaked, but delighted desert-town children turned out in droves to frolic through the sprinkles and make mudpies under the tanks. Soon, property owners served by the Madison main boasted the most beautiful



Carleton E. Watkins photographed the Southern Pacific Railroad's Yuma, Arizona, water facility in about 1880, shortly after it was installed. Shown at right is the pumphouse at the bank of the Colorado River. Below is a detail from a Watkins print of the railroad bridge, depot buildings, and major water tank on a hill above the town.

*Courtesy Huntington Library.*





The Southern Pacific depot and hotel, Yuma, Arizona, 1900. Such large tourist centers, complete with lush demonstration gardens, were often built in desert towns where the railroad was able to develop large water systems. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

gardens in town; residents of more remote neighborhoods continued to haul water barrels up from the river.<sup>19</sup>

As the Southern Pacific resumed construction in late 1878 on its Midwest-bound line through southern Arizona and New Mexico, it encountered yet harsher land, where surface water was more likely to be tainted with alkali, potable ground water lay at greater depths, and the distances between water sources were longer. Since the handiest source, the Gila River, which paralleled a portion of the railroad's route, was stagnant and salty for much of the year, there was virtually no large reliable supply for hundreds of miles. The increased demand caused by the building of the Arizona line thus strained railroad water resources as far back west as Indio. To serve the construction front, Southern Pacific engineers designed and had built eight higher-capacity tankers, which were dispatched daily east from Yuma. Short even for its own use, the railroad initially had no surplus, and settlers at Gila Bend and other Arizona towns on the line at first had to import their water from great distances by mule train.

The acute water scarcity east of Yuma impelled the Southern Pacific to redouble its efforts to develop a regional water system after 1879. First, the company expanded the capacity of its Yuma works by operating the pumping engine through the night hours and installing larger tanks and a second barrel from the settling basins to the town. Actually, this was only the beginning of a continual series of improvements the company had to make over the next decades on its Yuma project. Also in 1879, a second major water facility was developed at Texas Hill, a way station sixty-three miles east of Yuma. During wet months, a pump lifted water from the Gila River to a large settling reservoir high on a hill, from which it flowed by gravity pipeline five miles down to the town, relieving shortages during some seasons for railroaders and settlers as far away as Yuma. Back on the California desert, where the limits of its own engineers and equipment had long since been reached, the Southern Pacific hired a specialized Chicago firm that sent in expert crews and the latest in machinery. By drilling from eighty-foot-high derricks, the contractor had brought in a series of new artesian wells by April 1879.<sup>20</sup>

After 1879, the Southern Pacific instituted a systematic program of water-surveying, well-drilling, and waterworks improvement by its own crews or outside contractors all along the 550-mile



line between Yuma and El Paso. By 1881, the company had managed to construct local water systems at 22 of the 45 stations on the 467-mile segment from Yuma to Deming, New Mexico, alone. Particularly along the Gila River, some wells had to be bored to unprecedented depths of 1,500 to 2,000 feet to descend below the brine and reach good water. In southern New Mexico, especially around Deming, the railroad in the early 1880s discovered and developed the first artesian fields in the district, stimulating considerable town and farm expansion there.<sup>21</sup>

At the same time as they denounced national, territorial, and local governments for doing nothing to meet the region's critical water needs, some citizens of the Southwest praised the railroad, not only for having made the first systematic attempt to develop water, but also for having proven to others that, although scarce on the surface, copious water supplies lay waiting under the desert. While some of the Southern Pacific's critics might persist in seeing the company as an "evil genius," editorialized Tucson's *Arizona Star* in 1881, its water development work had demonstrated that the railroad was "a progressive power," vital to the future of the region's mines, farms, and ranches.<sup>22</sup>

Some Southern Pacific water projects in the Southwest and Great Basin had grown by the turn-of-the-century decades into large complexes, encompassing many square miles of town and surrounding farm property. In the search for water in this harsh land, the railroad imported the latest in drilling, pumping, purification, and distribution equipment. This resulted in achievements in water production—well-depth, volume, and purity—beyond the reach of most other private and public agencies. Well into the twentieth century, the Southern Pacific Company was a pioneer in water technology and organization in the Far West, crucial to economic development and important in establishing models of water improvement within its territory.

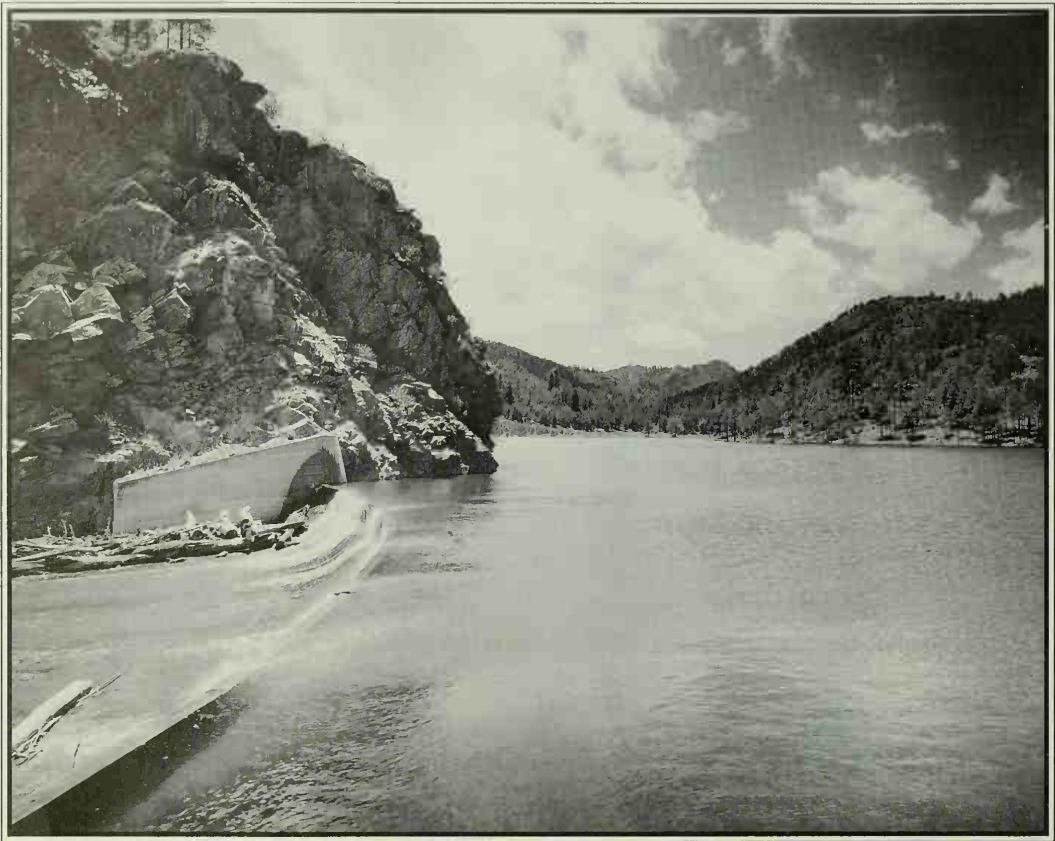
#### MODERNIZING SOUTHERN PACIFIC WATERWORKS: THE BONITO SYSTEM

The largest of the Southern Pacific's southwestern water systems was actually begun by a predecessor company. Building north

from El Paso through eastern New Mexico in the late 1890s, the El Paso & Northeastern Railroad was plagued by alkali- and gypsum-saturated ground water, which was unusable at stations, clogged locomotive boiler tubes, and raised operating and maintenance costs to ruinous levels. The company spent \$1 million drilling deeper wells and installing a chemical treatment plant, to no avail. To meet operational needs, as well as those of the 3,000 residents in the railroad-developed town of Alamogordo, the company founded the Alamogordo Water Works in 1903 and built a small pipeline to bring purer water from nearby mountains into the town. Partially because of persistent, severe water problems, however, the railway sold out in 1905 to the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad, owned by the Phelps Dodge Mining Corporation.<sup>23</sup>

With the greater capital resources of Phelps Dodge, the EP & SW, under the direction of William Ashton Hawkins, built an ambitious, coordinated railway water system serving a large area of eastern New Mexico. In the Sacramento Mountains east of its line, the railway purchased land with water rights along the Bonito River. After complex negotiation and litigation over water rights and right-of-way with private landowners and territorial and federal agencies, the company in 1907 finished the Nogal Reservoir and the Bonito Pipeline to transport impounded surface water to Carrizozo in a 170-mile conduit, 107 miles of which paralleled the rail tracks. By 1914, the EP & SW had built three major pipelines to bring run-off or springwater to major station towns on its route, including Carrizozo, Three Rivers, Tularosa, La Luz, and Alamogordo, and to farmers in their vicinities. The railway's water project had stimulated town and agricultural growth in a region hitherto restricted to open-range livestock grazing. When the Southern Pacific bought the EP & SW from Phelps Dodge in 1924, it inherited a large regional water system with more than 200 miles of major pipelines serving operations over the entire rail line from El Paso to Santa Rosa, as well as farmers, ranchers, and town dwellers in much of Lincoln County. The Southern Pacific continued to own, manage, and extend the system for the next three decades.<sup>24</sup>

Like the EP & SW, the Southern Pacific Company was required continually to expand and modernize its numerous water systems in the turn-of-the-century decades. Wells ran dry, and new ones had



Bonito Dam, east of Carrizozo, New Mexico, ca. 1950, built by the Southern Pacific as the major reservoir for the regional water system managed by its subsidiary, the El Paso & Southwestern. *Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.*

to be drilled constantly. Decaying wooden pipes were replaced with more durable and sanitary metal varieties. Wooden tanks were succeeded by larger brick and concrete reservoirs, which in turn had to be dredged regularly. New generations of kerosene, oil, and electrical pumps provided more power, and sophisticated filtration and purification plants delivered a purer product. The volume of water production increased in the attempt to keep pace with additional rail lines, booming traffic, larger locomotives and yards, growing towns, and multiplying farms and ranches. By 1900, the company had organized a specialized internal department, known as "the water service," to plan, construct, and maintain water projects. Into the 1920s, the railroad was still building waterworks to serve new townsites and farm districts sprouting along its routes. Throughout this period, the Southern Pacific also granted money, free transportation, and organizational assistance to agricultural colleges, such as Oregon State University and the

University of Arizona, to sponsor water development and irrigation experiments.<sup>25</sup>

In the early twentieth century, the Southern Pacific continued to be one of the largest and most organized water utilities in California and the Southwest, providing a supply for itself and many others, while continuing to set standards of efficient water development. All of this, of course, required large outlays of labor and capital. In only one partial measure of the great cost involved, the railroad was spending nearly \$50,000 per year by 1915 just to maintain its Arizona water lines.<sup>26</sup>

The scope and complexity of the Southern Pacific's activities were evident in its modernization of the EP & SW's water system after 1924. The Southern Pacific retained the services of William



Ashton Hawkins, the EP & SW's water manager, and embarked on extensive renovation and expansion of its inherited Lincoln County project. At great expense, the railroad replaced deteriorating wooden pipelines with metal and built a number of small supplemental collection and storage reservoirs. To make the system more reliable, the railroad in the late 1920s purchased additional land and mining claims from the federal government and private parties in the upper Bonito Canyon watershed, for the purpose of constructing a major reservoir capable of serving the entire region. However, remaining landowners in the area, particularly downstream settlers fearing that water diversion would reduce the flow in their artesian wells, opposed the project. When they sued in Chavez County, the railroad countersued in Lincoln County to establish its water rights. Ultimately, railroad attorneys prevailed in the lawsuits, and in the early 1930s Southern Pacific engineers completed the Bonito Reservoir at a cost exceeding \$1 million, not counting thousands spent in litigation.<sup>27</sup>

#### ABANDONING THE WATER BUSINESS

The Southern Pacific's southwestern water improvement program continued to grow for decades into the twentieth century, and the company remained one of the region's pioneers in technology and organization. But keeping up with burgeoning demand generated by growing rail operations, agriculture, and town populations proved to be a losing battle. In the absence of outside suppliers, the railroad could justify providing itself with the water necessary for operations, but running utilities for the public required huge capital outlays and maintenance costs. As had proven true for other private and public agencies, selling water seldom turned a profit for the company. Yet, though they had to be heavily subsidized from operating revenues, the company's ever-expanding water projects could rarely provide enough water to meet soaring needs. After investing decades of time and hundreds of thousands of dollars prospecting for water along the line between Indio and Yuma, for example, the company conceded defeat in 1920. "The hauling of water over this piece of desert track," the editor of the *Southern Pacific Bulletin* admitted to employees and

customers, "runs into an enormous expense and notwithstanding many attempts to locate water and establish water stations, the satisfactory supply is yet undiscovered." In the future, the company decided, it would shift its attention to developing locomotives that used less water.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, its control over such a scarce, yet vital, resource as water in an arid country, though it was by default, involved the Southern Pacific in clashes with many economic and political groups. As in the instance of the Bonito Reservoir, disputes over the railroad's water rights erupted throughout its territory, often spilling over into the courts. Also, there never seemed to be enough water to go around, and conflicts with customers broke out over water charges and services, particularly in times of shortage. No sooner had water begun to surge through the mains at Yuma in 1878, for example, than the Southern Pacific became embroiled in a dispute with one of its customers, the county government. When local officials insisted on paying their bill quarterly, instead of monthly as the railroad required, the company shut off water to the courthouse. This prompted the local newspaper to complain that the government was "a good debtor," and since it had extended the railroad many privileges, the company's actions seemed "narrow and contemptible."<sup>29</sup> Indeed, so much conflict with customers had occurred by 1918 that the Southern Pacific official in charge of water projects concluded in a report on the subject that trouble inevitably resulted when the company sold water to others. "There is continuous controversy with them," engineer W. Q. Barlow warned Vice President E. O. McCormick. "At the present time [we] have difficulty with the water situation at Wells, also at Mojave, brought about entirely by the practice [begun] years ago of selling water to outsiders." Barlow advised against any more water sales, even for the purpose of protecting railroad land-grant values.<sup>30</sup>

Even as it was forced to expand service in some areas, the Southern Pacific Company gradually withdrew from the water business in the early twentieth century. Although it sometimes continued to furnish water for its own operations, the railroad shut down its pipes to the outside as soon as private or public agencies emerged to take over. Frequently, the railway gave—or sold at far below value—its water rights, wells, pumps, purification

plants, pipelines, and mains to new water companies, municipal water departments, or irrigation districts. Thus, Southern Pacific waterworks often served as the foundation for the modern systems that were essential to later western development.

At the growing town of Yuma, for example, residents off the railroad's Madison Avenue main were still hauling water as late as the 1890s. In 1892, Hiram W. Blaisdell, with eastern financial backing, founded the Yuma Electric and Water Company, which received a town franchise to go into the water business. At first the water company purchased its water from the railroad and extended branches from the Madison main to reach customers in other neighborhoods. Blaisdell eventually installed his own pump at the river, but the product was so murky that citizens began mocking the company as the "Muddy Water System," and into the early 1900s, the Southern Pacific continued to sell water to the town. Finally in 1906, twenty-eight years after the railroad first pumped water from the Colorado River, the water company was able to acquire the Southern Pacific's distribution system and built a large, modern water plant. Yuma finally had its own waterworks.<sup>31</sup>

In this manner, it took decades to liquidate all the railway's water holdings. The largest, the old EP & SW system, was also the last to go. By the 1950s, diesels, using far less water, were replacing steam locomotives, while the growing city of Alamo and nearby Holloman Air Force Base needed far more water. Obviously eager to be relieved of its responsibility, the railroad in 1957 sold the entire multi-million-dollar project, including water rights and the Bonito Reservoir, to the city for \$25,000 and made a \$60,000 grant to the town of Corona, which was to be left out of the new municipal system. As had happened in the Imperial Valley, Yuma, Mojave, and elsewhere along Southern Pacific lines, the new public water system was a legacy of an earlier era, when the railroad was also the water company.<sup>32</sup>

Although it decided that it would no longer operate its own water utilities, the Southern Pacific did not lose its interest in water. If anything, finding reliable water sources became ever more crucial for the rapidly developing region after the 1880s. To resolve the problem in a more permanent way, however, the Southern Pacific, like other groups in its territory, increasingly worked to transfer

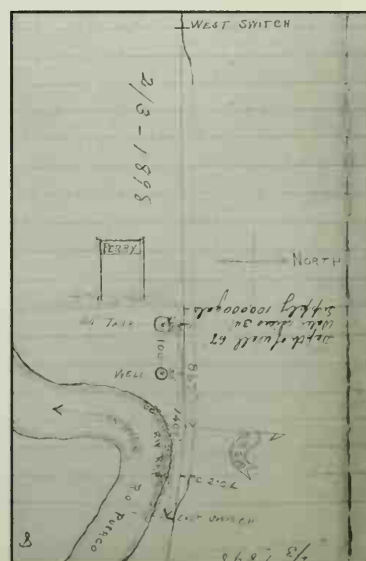
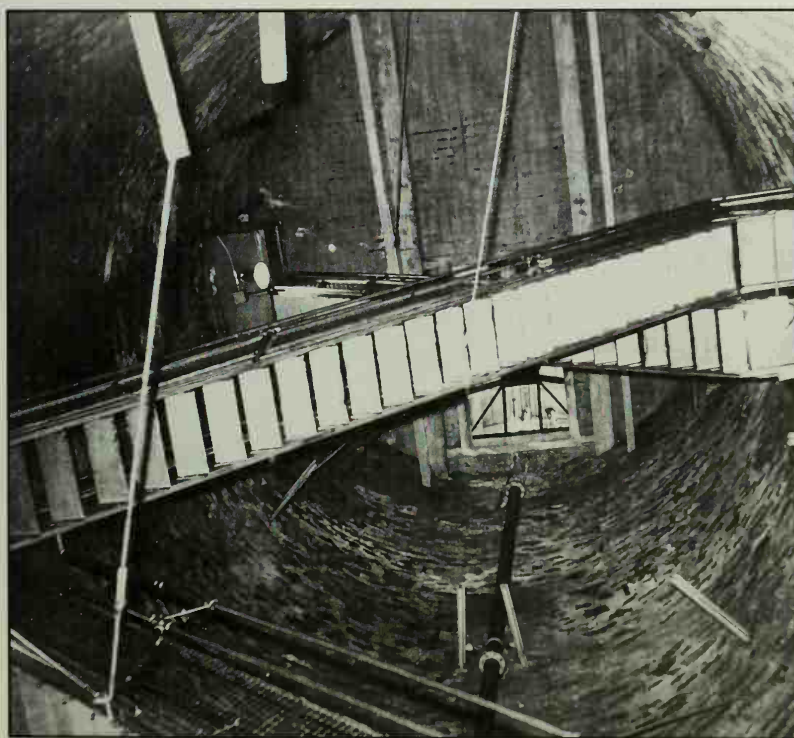
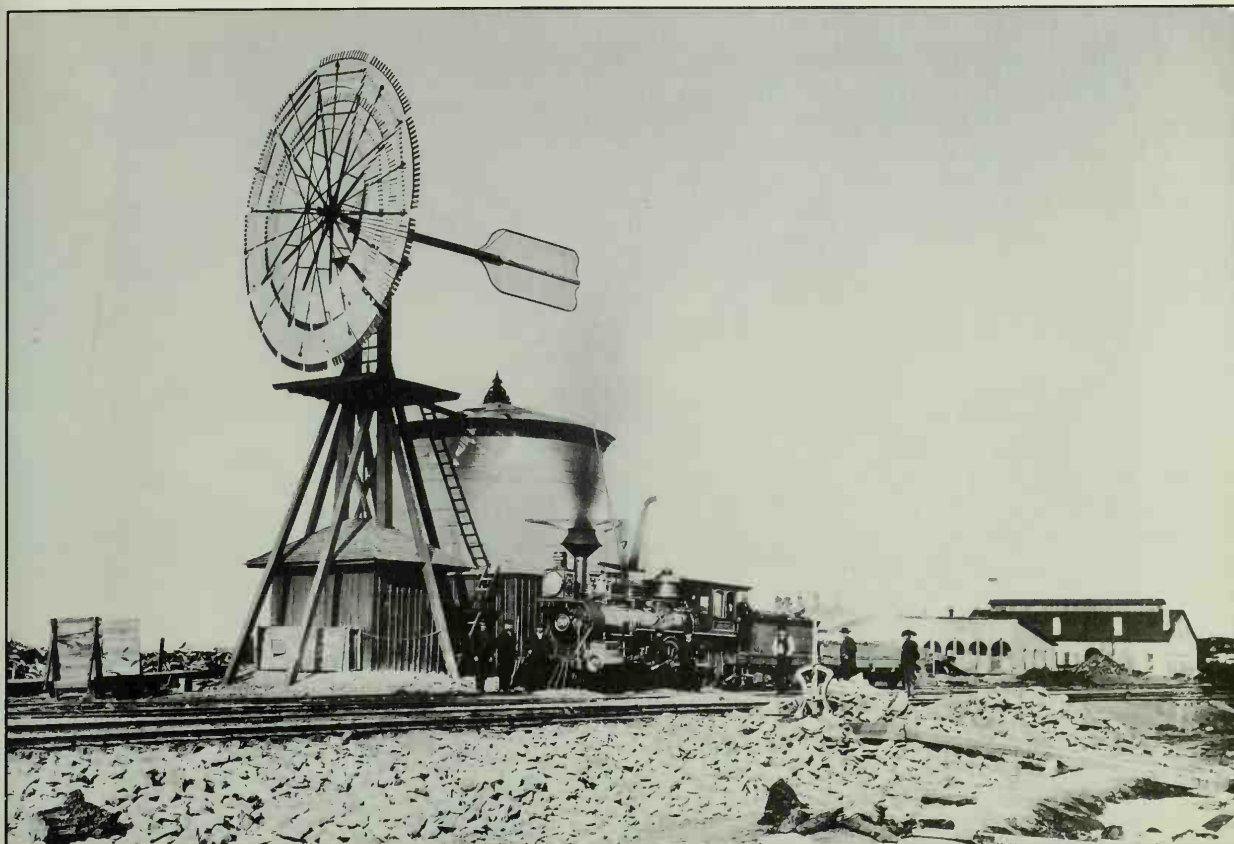
control over water to governments and to foster public agencies to finance, build, and manage large-scale regional systems, particularly for agriculture. While pursuing these goals, the Southern Pacific became a major influence on regional and national irrigation movements after 1880, but that is a subject for another day. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 136.*

*Editor of California History and Professor of History at California State University, Hayward, Richard J. Orsi is author of articles and reviews in California and western American history, compiler of A List of References for the History of Agriculture in California (1974), and coauthor of The Elusive Eden: A New History of California (1988). He is working on a forthcoming book on the Southern Pacific Company and the development of the American West.*

At right: Although historians have yet to tell the full story, other railroads besides the Southern Pacific were water pioneers in their arid territories. Above is the giant Union Pacific windmill and water tank at Laramie, Wyoming, as photographed in the late 1860s by official company photographer Andrew J. Russell shortly after its construction at a cost of \$10,000. *Courtesy Union Pacific Museum Collection (Image Number H-8-11).* Below is a recently-taken photograph looking up from the bottom of the world's largest hand-dug well. Thirty-two feet in diameter, 109 feet deep, and lined with a wall of native stone, the well was built to supply the west Kansas town of Greensburg by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad in 1887-1888. A famed local historical site, the well still supplies water to the town. *Courtesy Kansas State Historical Society.* The Santa Fe also constructed and managed numerous water facilities in northern New Mexico and Arizona, as well as in the California desert. Far right is a diagram of the railroad's water works, which included a well, pump, and tank, at Perry, Arizona, 1898. The drawing is from the field notebook of W. D. Nicholson, A T & SF water engineer, who designed and supervised construction of railroad wells, pumps, pipelines, and reservoirs in the region in the 1890s and early 1900s, particularly the Johnson Canyon Dam near Ashfork. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*









---

# Promoting the Golden West: Advertising and the Railroad

---

by Alfred Runte

---

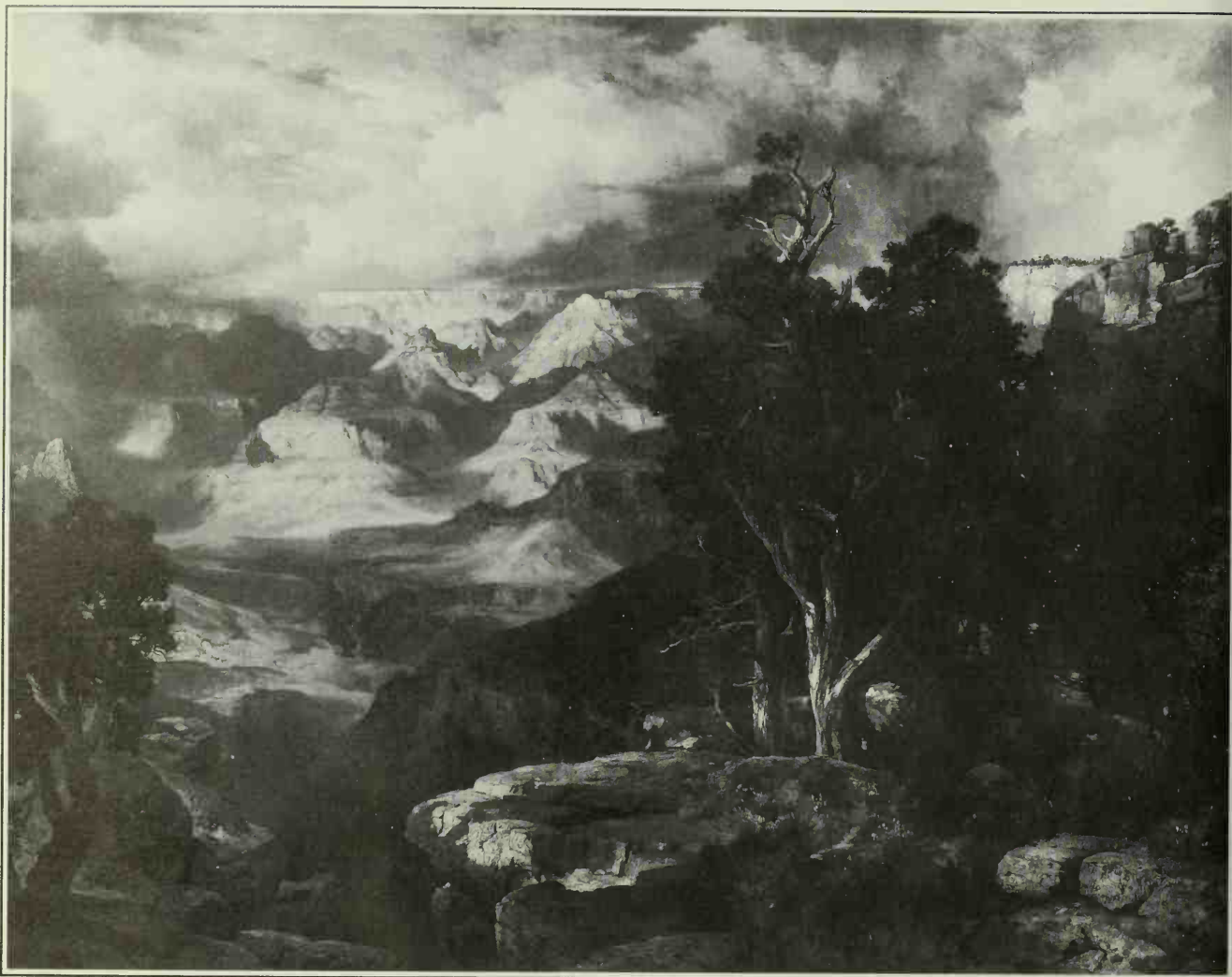
In these days of color television and lifelike photography, the unique artistry and elegance of rail travel promotion have long since been forgotten. Gone, after all, are America's great trains, those whose arrivals and departures excited daily comment. Explore carefully, then, the following pages. Note how it used to be during advertising's golden age, the period from roughly the turn of the century through the late 1950s. This was the time when all advertisers, including the western railroads, relied heavily on accomplished commercial artists. The railroads' objective was simple and straightforward—to persuade tourists, potential settlers, sportsmen, and health-seekers to book passage on company trains and coastal steamships. To encourage wanderlust, railroad art and advertising called upon many images, from breathtaking scenery to exotic native cultures, to evoke the desired sensations of mystery, adventure, and innocent romance. In the promotion of California in particular, the western railroads reached into the living rooms of the American public with the assurance that the anticipations of traveling did not lapse west of the Rocky Mountains. In California were wonders galore, from Yosemite and the High Sierra to the rugged Pacific Coast. Every train to California was indeed a magic carpet, a means to one of the most varied and exciting destinations on earth.

As railroad executives once knew intuitively, the major selling point of their passenger trains was not speed, but rather high adventure. As much as transportation, western trains were an experience. Accordingly, anything that added to the experience, most notably the establishment of national parks, was almost certain to win the support of leading rail officials. Thus, as early as 1871 and the discussion of creating Yellowstone National Park, Jay Cooke and Company, managers and financiers

of the Northern Pacific Railroad extension project, evinced a strong and growing interest in rail travel promotion. A \$500 loan from Cooke to the renowned painter Thomas Moran—allowing the artist to travel through Yellowstone—may be said to have launched the Northern Pacific's distinguished promotional work.<sup>1</sup>

In 1892 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway also invited Thomas Moran west to paint the Grand Canyon. Although the Grand Canyon would not receive protected status until 1908 as a national monument, the Santa Fe Railroad, like the Northern Pacific, proved instrumental in bringing another western wonderland to public attention.<sup>2</sup> So too, in California, the Southern Pacific Railroad began promotion on a grand scale in 1898 with the publication of *Sunset* magazine, under the direction of the company's passenger department. True to form, the very first issue, published in May 1898, featured Yosemite Valley, which the railroad had already been promoting for several decades.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, there is now little doubt that the Southern Pacific Railroad also figured prominently in the establishment of the national park around the valley in 1890.<sup>4</sup> As John Muir himself admitted to the Sierra Club at its annual meeting in 1895: "Even the soulless Southern Pacific R.R. Co., never counted on for anything good, helped nobly in pushing the bill for this park through Congress."<sup>5</sup>

For the next quarter century, the western railroads loosed a flood of stationery, postcards, calendars, timetables, guidebooks, and advertisements, each in some way distinctly representative of regional scenery and culture. Although people were unaware of it at the time, the peak in railroad travel was finally reached just prior to World War I; when rail travel promotion resumed after the war in the early 1920s, automobile travel was already making serious inroads into rail passenger service. No matter, the



Thomas Moran's painting of the Grand Canyon, commissioned by the Santa Fe Railroad, now hangs in the Santa Fe Art Collection at the company's headquarters in Chicago. *Courtesy Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company.*

railroads at least held their own during the decade. But then came the disruption of rail service caused by the Great Depression and the demands of World War II. Consequently, not until the late 1940s were the lines fully prepared to attempt recapturing the business they had long since lost to America's love affair with the private car.

Their efforts were nonetheless sincere and monumental. By the early 1950s the western trains had been completely reequipped with new sleepers, coaches, diners, and—most significant of all—vista-dome lounges and coaches. Predictably,

railroad promotion itself returned in all its color and elegance. Once more advertising focused on western scenery and the national parks, further highlighting the trains themselves as magic carpets of romance and adventure. Perhaps the country's all-time favorite train was the new *California Zephyr*, inaugurated in 1949 as a joint venture of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Denver, Rio Grande & Western, and the Western Pacific railroads. Its 2,000-mile journey from Chicago to Oakland included such breath-taking scenery as Colorado's Front Range and California's Feather River Canyon. Well into the 1950s, the *California Zephyr* set the standard for the restructuring and redesigning of every classic western passenger train.

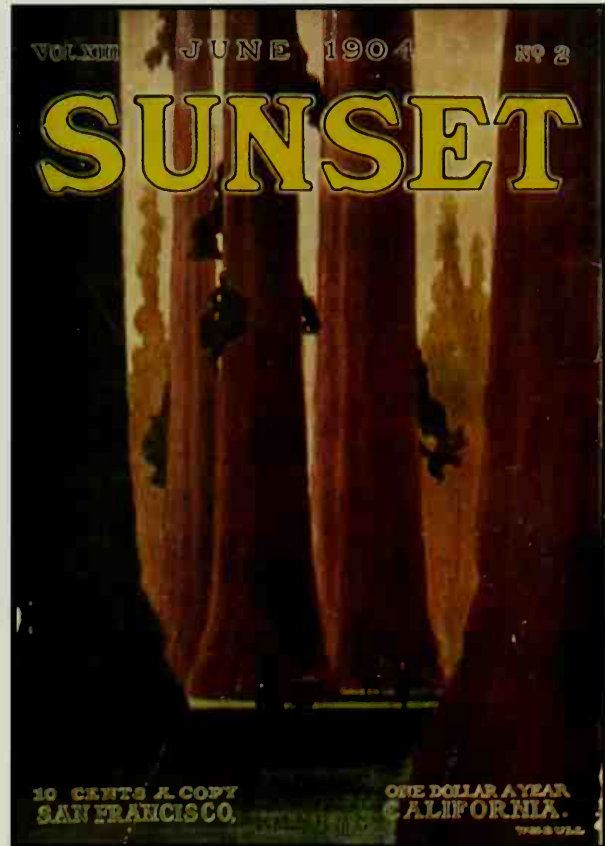
[Text continues on page 73]



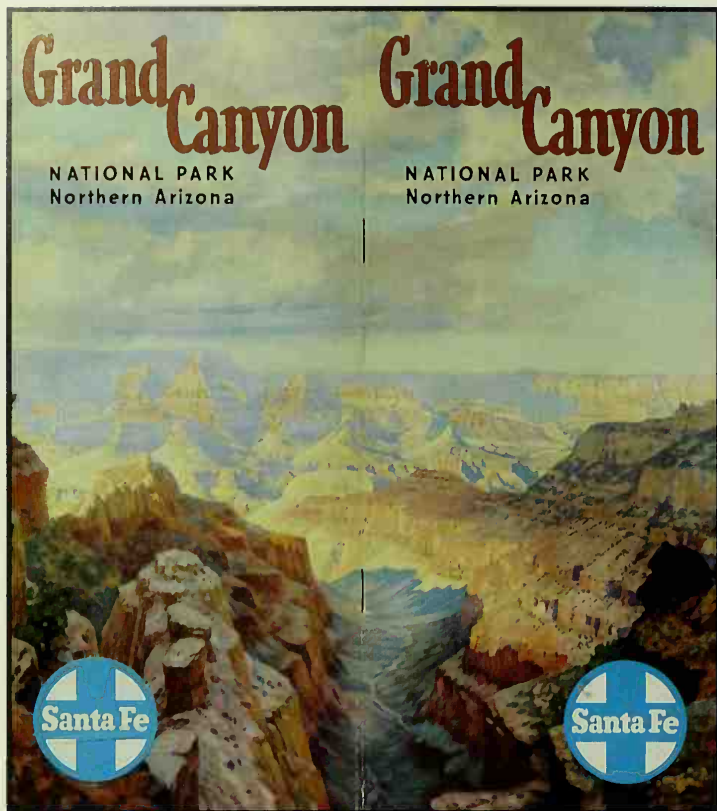
# Railroad Advertising of the Far West: A PORTFOLIO

Founded in 1898 and managed until 1914 by the Southern Pacific Company, *Sunset* took the lead in the railroad's campaign to promote tourism, settlement, and economic development in California and the Far West. For the magazine's staff, the Southern Pacific employed many of the era's leading authors and artists to depict the region's romance and opportunity.

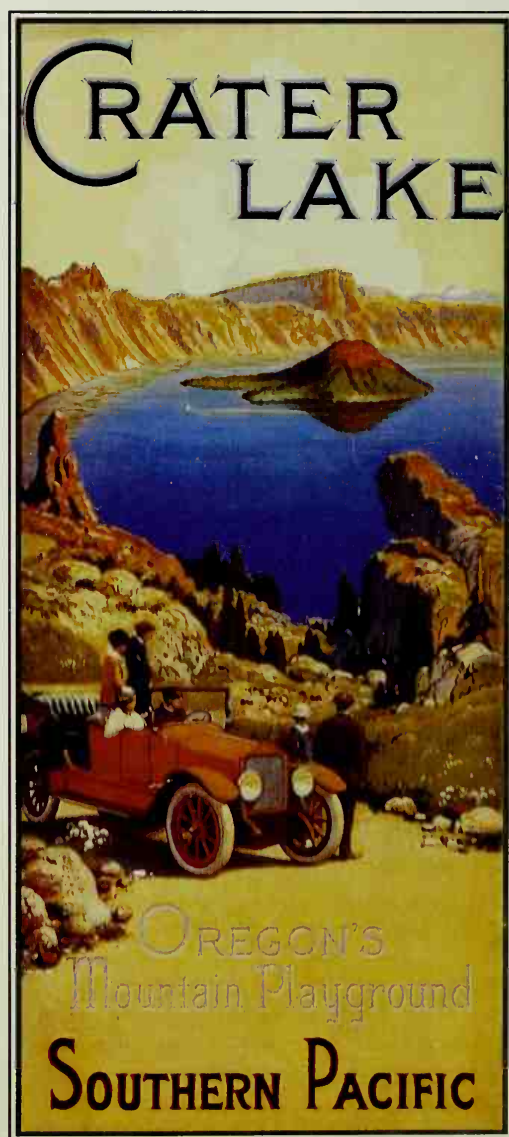
*Courtesy Sunset Publishing Corporation.*



"Apache Trail," by the famed California artist Maynard Dixon. Early in the twentieth century, it was common to think of Native Americans as a "vanishing race." Major western railroads, especially the Santa Fe, supported artists' and photographers' efforts to record native cultures before they slipped away. Often romanticized, such depictions nonetheless promoted a more positive image of Native Americans. Commissioned by the Southern Pacific, Maynard Dixon's painting of an Apache man, which graced the cover of a 1930 brochure advertising passenger trains through southern Arizona, evokes suggestions of the Indians' pride and endurance, even in the face of conquest and cultural loss. In the early 1900s, Dixon frequently provided art for Southern Pacific advertising, including numerous covers for *Sunset* magazine. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*



Railroad advertising rarely achieved greater color and elegance than when the national parks were the objects of promotion. In addition to promoting the national parks of California, principally Yosemite, the Southern Pacific supported the establishment in 1902 of Crater Lake National Park, Oregon, and the railroad made the new park a favorite attraction to lure tourists to the Pacific Northwest, as in this 1916 travel brochure (right). In California, the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe competed for Yosemite-bound traffic, and both roads publicized the park lavishly. In Arizona, however, the Santa Fe enjoyed exclusive rights to carry rail passengers to the South Rim of the Grand Canyon via its branch line from Williams to El Tovar. Accordingly, the Santa Fe, by means such as this 1953 pamphlet (above), encouraged all of its California-bound travelers to include a stopover at the Grand Canyon. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

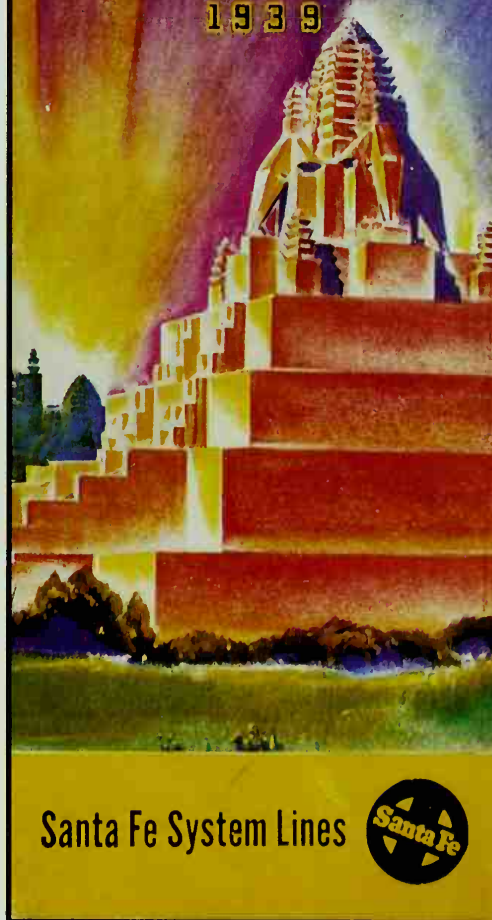




HOW TO SEE  
**CALIFORNIA**  
*and its*  
**EXPOSITIONS IN 1915**



**SAN FRANCISCO  
 WORLD'S FAIR  
 1939**



Whenever there was a special occasion where large numbers of people would gather—a festival, world's fair, trade exhibition, or major convention—one or more of the western railroads was sure to be among its principal supporters and publicists. During the 1915 season, the Union Pacific and other lines saturated the traveling public with advertising for the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco and the Panama California International Exposition, held simultaneously in the newly-constructed Spanish-Colonial-Revival style buildings in San Diego's Balboa Park (left). In 1939, the Santa Fe portrayed San Francisco's Golden Gate International Exposition as a display of all that was progressive and futuristic (above). *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

# California the Golden State



Rock Island Lines Rock Island Lines

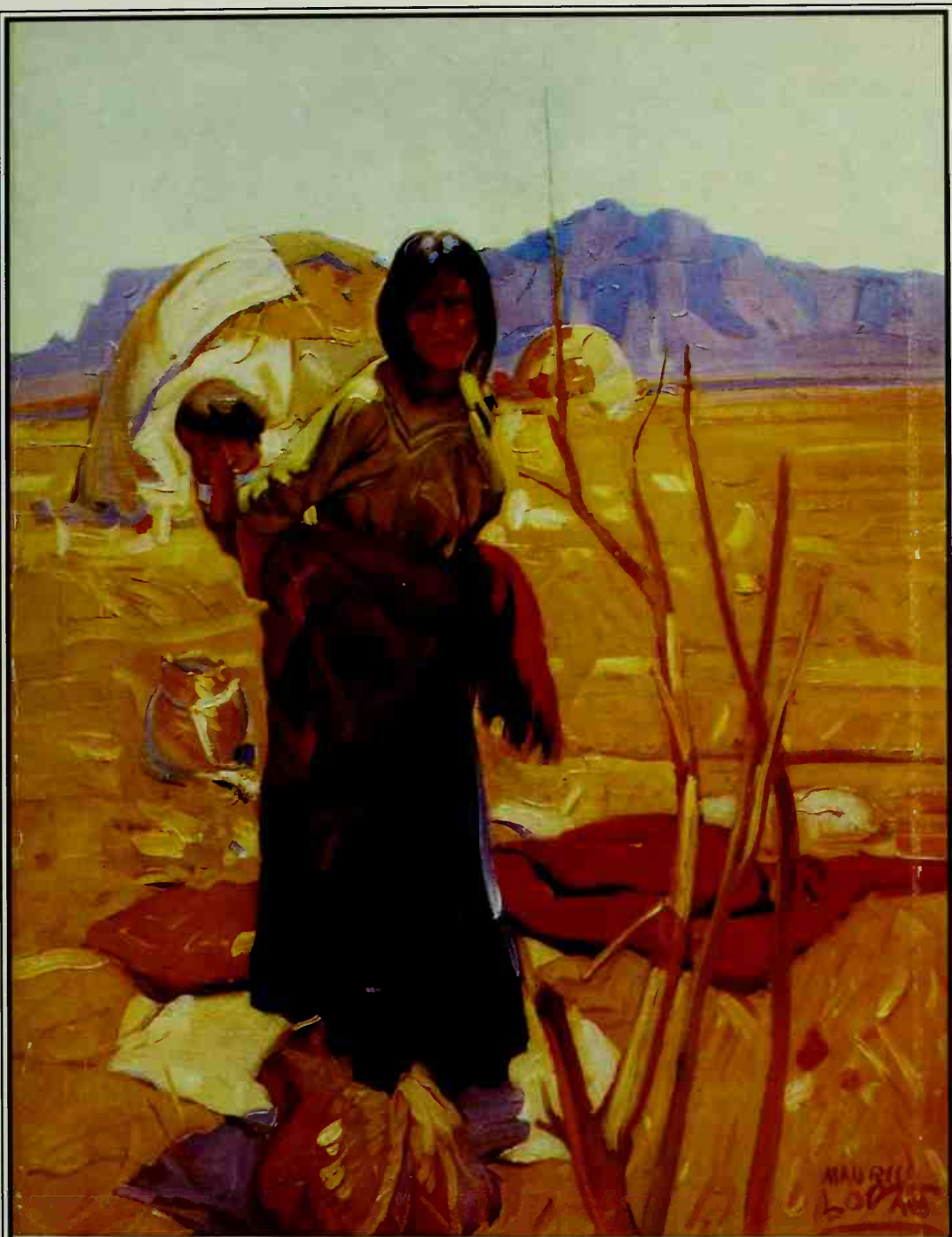
Among those who produced main-line landscapes for the major western railroads, few are better remembered than the artist Maurice Logan, who worked especially for the Southern Pacific, as in this painting of a Southwest Indian woman he did for the cover of a lavish large-format pictorial "View Book" (right) of scenes along the railroad's famed "Sunset Route" between New Orleans and San Francisco, ca. 1920. Logan contributed paintings of numerous other California and far western subjects for railroad advertising pamphlets in the 1920s and 1930s, including one of Arizona dude ranches (lower left, 1928) and one of the coast along the Santa Barbara Channel (upper left, 1927). *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

# Southern Arizona



Southern Pacific Southern Pacific



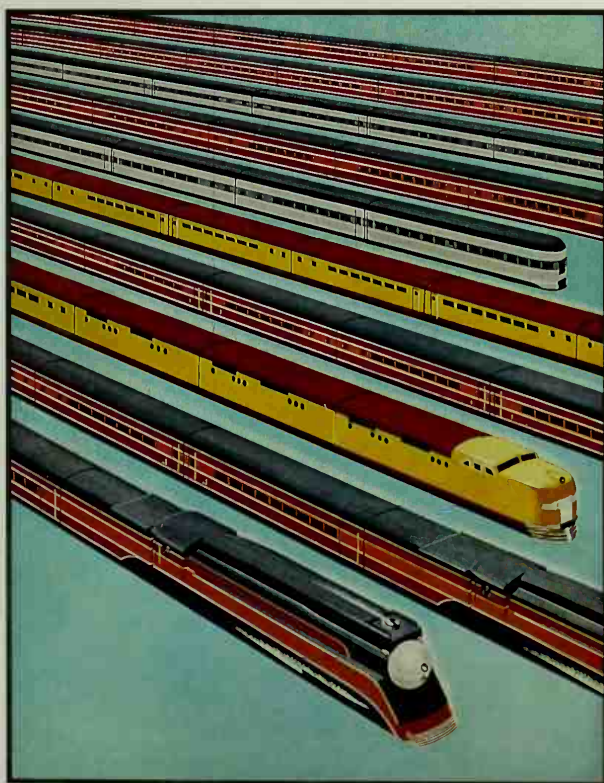


# SUNSET ROUTE

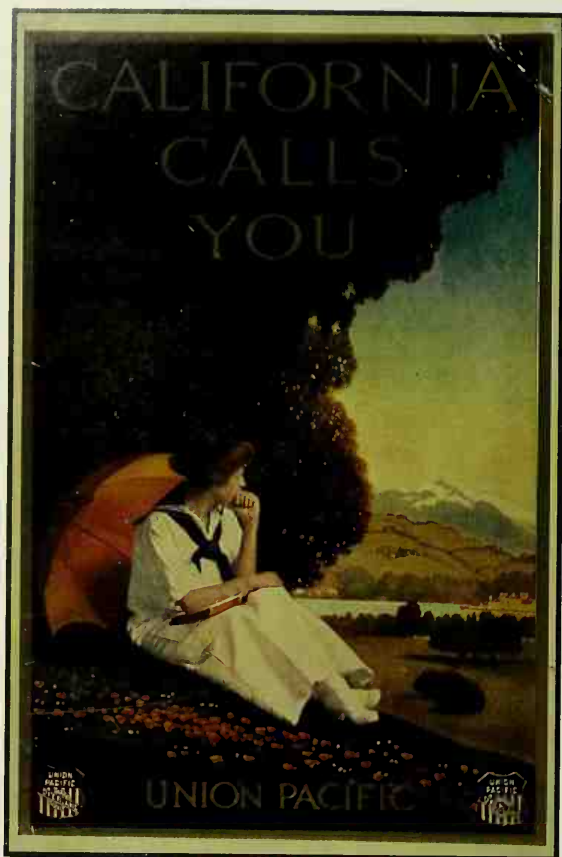
Perhaps the most lavish of railroad advertising art promoted the famous passenger trains that carried travelers to the Far West, often in the lap of luxury. Above is the cover from an early-twentieth-century pamphlet depicting the "Overland Limited," a cross-country train jointly operated by the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific railways, as it traversed the Lucin Cutoff across the Great Salt Lake. Below is a brochure (ca. late 1930s) that tried to lure passengers aboard one of the new streamliners of the period, the "City of Los Angeles," operated jointly between Chicago and Los Angeles by the Chicago & Northwestern and the Union Pacific. In addition to sumptuous food and sleeper service, the train offered passengers the comfort of air conditioning, the convenience of a passage of a mere thirty-nine and three-quarter hours, and such amenities as valet service, clothes washing and drycleaning, haircuts, shampoos, facial massages, and attendance by a registered nurse/stewardess. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*







Industrial design, like experience advertising, is a nearly-forgotten art. During the height of the streamliner era (1935-1965), the western railroads celebrated the aesthetic beauty, not just the efficient operation, of their passenger trains. Top: The conviction that technology might complement the western landscape is gloriously represented on the cover of this 1949 pamphlet inaugurating the Western Pacific's famed "California Zephyr," while the advertising text proclaimed that "Every mile is a scenic thrill, when you ride the California Zephyr." Bottom: A 1950 Southern Pacific brochure promised California travelers a choice from the company's many sleek streamliners. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*



Railroad commercial art depicting the varied attractions of California was certain to include the romance of early Spanish colonial settlement, as suggested by a 1950s Southern Pacific pamphlet featuring restored Mission Santa Barbara and Hispanic cultural survivals in the region (lower). Female charms also typically adorned the pages of railroad advertising. The sedate, maidenlike figure pictured on an early-twentieth-century Union Pacific booklet (upper) contrasts with the lively dancer on the cover of the more modern Southern Pacific pamphlet (lower) and testifies to the changing attitudes toward women in American culture. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*





By 1960, the vista dome in particular was standard equipment on every major route. "Look Up; Look Down; Look All Around," the *Zephyr* itself proudly admonished its patrons. Truly, in the invention of the vista dome, the western railroads had found the perfect marriage between the best in regional scenery and the best in rail passenger design.<sup>6</sup>

But suddenly, that heritage became history. Virtually overnight, America's railroads had a change of heart about their passenger business. Put simply, the trains failed to make a profit on all but the most popular routes. It was partly, critics charged, the railroads' own fault. They scrapped many basic amenities and the lure of adventure advertising just as their new equipment and promotions were starting to work. In either case, even among the few western railroads still committed to rail passenger service, only one or two name passenger trains survived by the end of the 1960s.

Since May 1, 1971, a nationwide rail passenger network has survived under the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, popularly known as Amtrak. In testimony to the continuing popularity of its long-distance western routes—now rented from the original railroads—fully three-fifths of all Amtrak revenues are generated outside city corridors. In the West, the average distance traveled is 1,000 miles; in the Northeast Corridor between

Washington, D.C., and Boston, it is barely 100. In other words, ridership in the West is ten times more lucrative per passenger than ridership in the Northeast. To be sure, the twenty percent of Amtrak's business that generally travels in the West and South is worth far more to the company than all of the rest of Amtrak's riders combined.<sup>7</sup>

If Amtrak were a private corporation, its response would be obvious—to place its greatest emphasis on the long-distance trains, those that are the least sensitive to delays, operating constraints, and airline competition, but that still generate the largest revenues. But Amtrak is quasi-public, not private. Its management feels compelled to invest in potential voters as well as self-supporting riders. As long as half of Amtrak's total ridership comes from the Northeast Corridor, politics more than economics will determine which portion of the country receives the most service.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps this scenario was inevitable; still, rail passenger enthusiasts cannot help wondering what would happen if Amtrak gave the western trains the attention their historic significance suggests they in fact deserve. The western trains are already sold out for the summer season months in advance. No less than in the past, tourists heading west by rail revel in the beauty of the landscape, in the life and changing kaleidoscope of new people and

Typical of early graphic art used by California railroads is this 1880 brochure produced by the Central and Southern Pacific railroads to advertise the tourist attractions of central and northern California. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*



places. Granted, the riders are modern, but their emotions and expectations are very much the same. It follows that the heritage of discovery, not simple economics, is Amtrak's true hope for profitability and viability in the years to come.

California in particular is still fortunate to enjoy some of the best of Amtrak's trains. Although bearing little resemblance to the original configuration of five vista domes (and no longer routed through the Feather River Canyon), Amtrak's version of the *California Zephyr* remains one of the most popular rides in the country, offering the American River

Canyon, Donner Pass, Donner Lake, and the Truckee River Canyon in grand compensation for its historical passage of the Sierra farther north. Similarly, the *Coast Starlight*, operating between Los Angeles and Seattle via Oakland, parallels the rolling breakers of the Pacific Ocean for 110 miles between Oxnard and Surf, California. Sixty and more years after Maurice Logan produced evocative paintings for Southern Pacific Railroad pamphlets, the coast route continues to thrill more than a half million rail passengers annually.<sup>9</sup>

The point again is that traveling by rail is still



*Sunset Magazine* booth of the Harriman Lines (Southern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads) at the international exposition in London, 1909. Since their founding in the early 1860s, both the Southern and Union Pacific companies provided patronage for important western artists to document construction and to furnish images for advertising. The great photographers Alfred Hart and Carleton Watkins often worked for various Southern Pacific lines, while Andrew J. Russell photographed the building of the Union Pacific's portion of the first transcontinental railway. Later, in 1898, the Southern Pacific founded *Sunset* as its leading instrument of regional advertising. The magazine commissioned or purchased work by the best writers and artists. To lure tourists to journey to the American West, the magazine's 1909 London booth displayed a Watkins photograph of Vernal Falls in Yosemite National Park (framed and hanging above the doorway) and two paintings (the cowboy and the Indian mounted on a horse) by the great western artist Maynard Dixon, a frequent contributor to *Sunset*. Courtesy Southern Pacific Transportation Company.





considered by its patrons to be an *experience*. So too, the examples of railroad art reproduced on these pages have long been referred to as “experience advertising.” The financial motives of the railroads and the practical uses of rail travel for the passengers are deliberately absent or understated. It is the scenes, the experience, that are meant to do the selling.

Such attempts at understated selling are still common to the travel industry; however, color photographs have replaced paintings as the primary means of illustration. Lost, as a result, is something of that former sense of anticipation, that wonderful feeling of fantasy that only works of art can fully arouse. Unlike modern photography, the paintings of yesteryear heightened one’s expectations of mystery and romance. Photography can be too revealing, robbing its subject matter of all powers of suggestion.

Such is the price of accuracy. Indeed, with tourism everywhere on the rise, transportation companies might well reconsider those colorful lessons from the past.<sup>10</sup> Tourists still seek romance and high adventure. When the railroads of North America

A billboard along San Francisco’s Main Street in 1949 advertised the Southern Pacific’s new streamliner service to Portland, for a fare that certainly evokes an earlier era. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

knew how to market such intangibles, profits rather than losses were consistently the rule. Only the commitment to imaginative advertising, not the public’s appreciation of it, has somehow slipped away. It follows that the road back to profitability—and adventure—lies in the truth of that once familiar slogan: “Getting there is half the fun.” CHS

*See notes beginning on page 138.*

Alfred Runte is a public historian and author living in Seattle. A specialist on the national parks, he received his Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Santa Barbara. His highly-acclaimed *National Parks: The American Experience* (University of Nebraska Press, 1979) has now appeared in a second, revised edition (1987), and he has also recently revised his popular *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks* (Roberts Rinehart, 1990). Runte’s latest work is *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

---

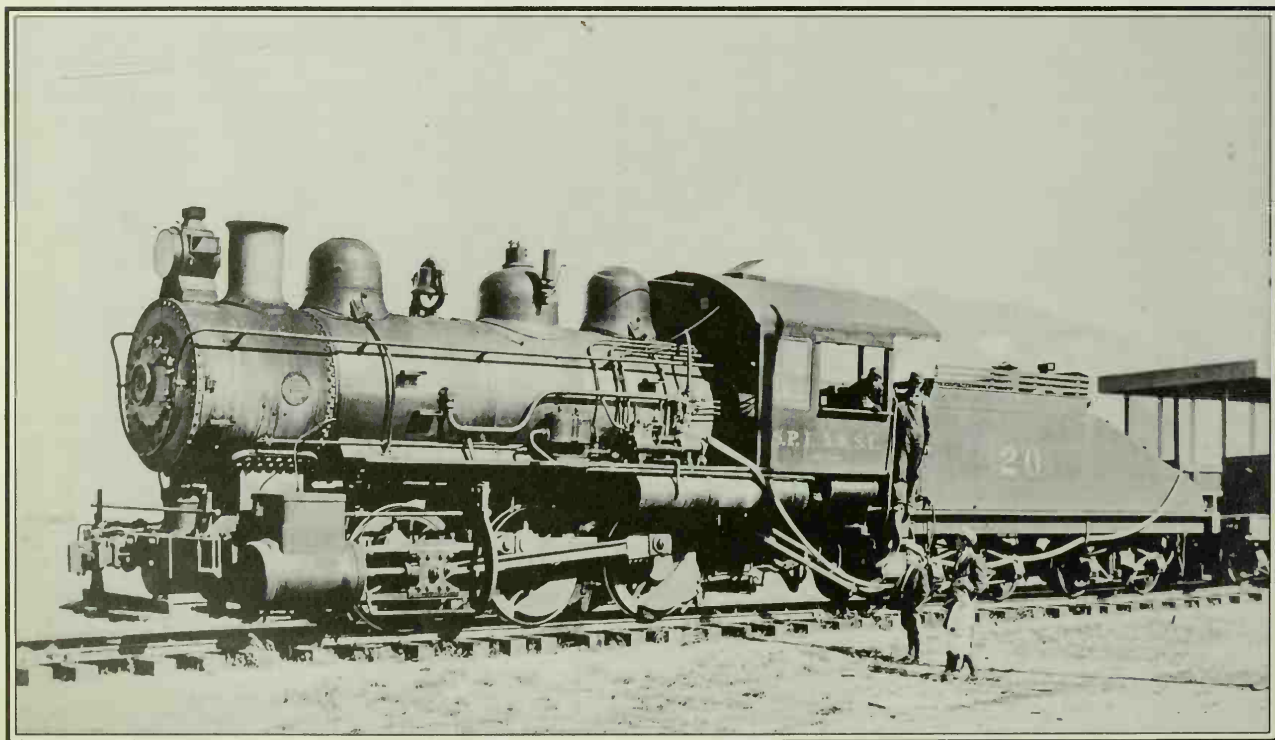
---

# FROM THE CITY OF ANGELS TO THE CITY OF SAINTS: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City

*by Edward Leo Lyman*

---

---



A turn-of-the-century Baldwin 0-6-0 locomotive engine on the San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad. Common in early American railroading, such engines were primarily used for switching, in this case probably at the Salt Lake City yards. *Courtesy Wilbur Smith Collection, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City.*



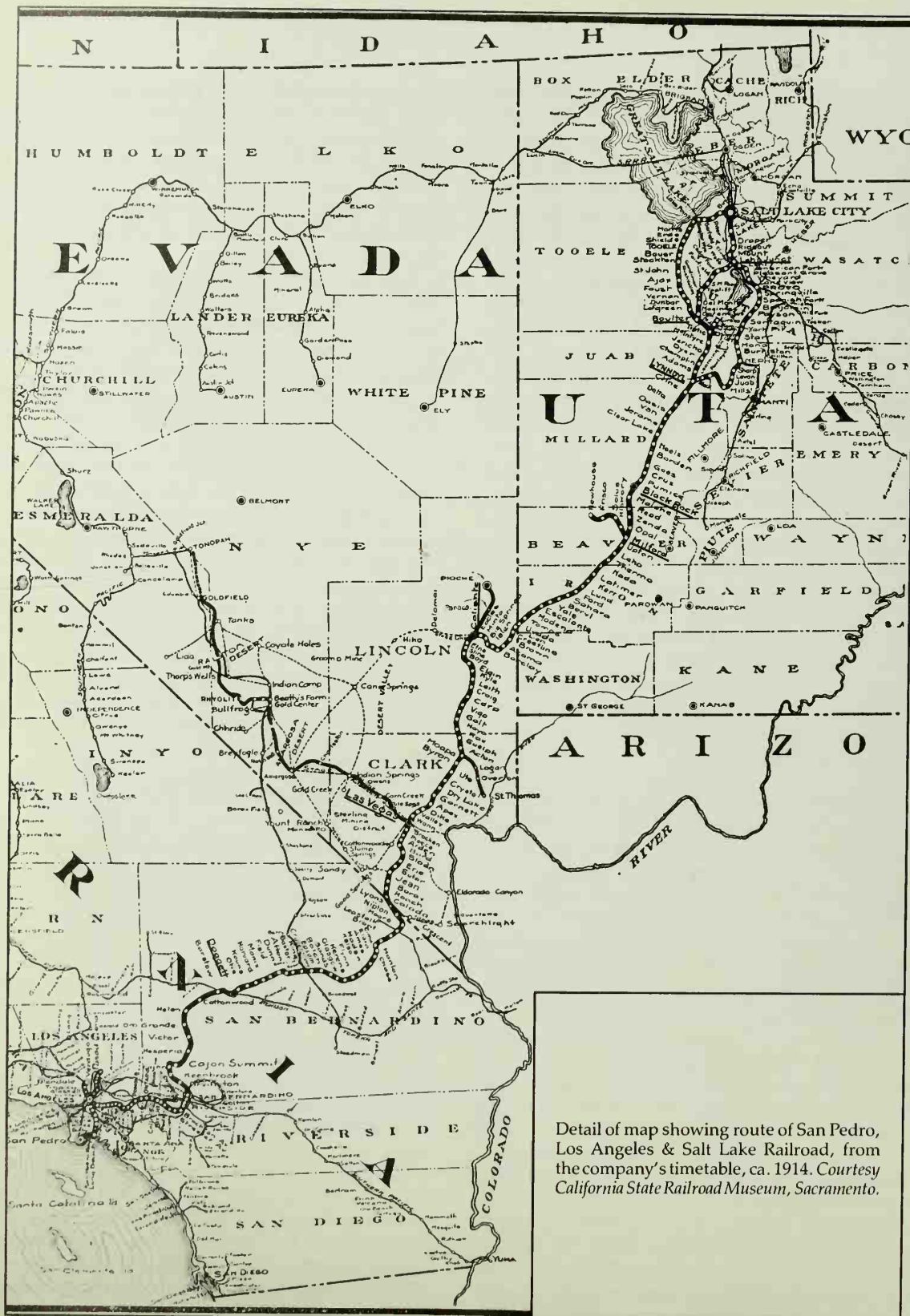
In the several decades after the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, five others, along with a variety of branch lines, covered the Far West with an impressive transportation network. Yet for more than another third of a century, a large region of southern Utah, Nevada, and southern California remained untouched by any railroad. Although a wide array of promoters, mining entrepreneurs, and engineers proposed railroad projects transversing the area, none came to fruition until 1905. Besides the region's small population and forbidding aridity, another major reason for this lack of development was the persistent determination of Collis P. Huntington that no such railroad would be built. As one of the original backers of the Central Pacific Railroad built from Sacramento to Promontory Point, Utah, and of two subsequent Southern Pacific lines intentionally blocking competitors from entering California, Huntington had made it his personal business to maintain a virtual monopoly on rail transportation into the state. To say that he prevented a Salt Lake to Los Angeles railroad line all by himself would disregard other important factors, such as a complex inter-corporate rivalry and two major financial depressions, but no such line was completed in his lifetime and his almost-invisible hand may be discerned in the failure of one proposed rival project after another.

Soon after completion of the first Central Pacific/Union Pacific transcontinental railroad, Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders, with the cooperation of the Union Pacific, opened a branch road from the main line at Ogden to Salt Lake City, some forty miles to the south. But financial difficulties, partly arising from unpaid construction contracts for earlier grading of some of the most difficult mountain roadbeds on the Union Pacific roadway, compelled Young to consider selling the new Utah Central Railway. When Huntington heard of Young's inclination, he made an offer that almost persuaded the Mormon president to divest himself of his railroad interests. This undoubtedly alarmed Union Pacific officials, who promptly sought to convince Young that with the upsurge of mining activity, the Utah Central would soon be a most profitable proposition, "too valuable to pass out of [Young's] control." The Mormons did retain possession of the line, but had difficulty raising sufficient capital to extend it beyond Salt Lake City toward the mining regions farther to the south. When Bishop John Sharp, the most active Mormon

agent in promoting such railroad schemes, sought such funds in 1872, Huntington again appeared with an offer to purchase the entire line. Declining, the Mormons finally received grudging aid from the financially troubled Union Pacific in building to Juab County, near the important Tintic mining district, but only halfway to the more desirable Beaver County mines.<sup>1</sup>

At about that time, Brigham Young's promoter son, John W., incorporated the Utah Western Railroad to extend south by a more westerly route from the Great Salt Lake toward the Pioche mines of southern Nevada. This enterprise aspired to complete the Salt Lake, Sevier Valley and Pioche Railroad, organized two years previously but still mostly dormant. The timing was unfortunate, since the mid-1870s was a time of financial depression, caused at least partly by overexpansion of American railroads. Early in 1878 the Western defaulted on its bond payments, and some two years later, the infant railroad was purchased at foreclosure sale by a Union Pacific subsidiary known as the Utah and Nevada Railroad. The parent company felt compelled to involve itself in such a purchase because the Denver and Rio Grande Western was just then entering Utah and the rival railroad's Colorado managers were examining the possibility of connecting with the Nevada mines, possibly through the troubled Utah Western.<sup>2</sup>

Meantime, in 1875, Nevada Senator John P. Jones commenced construction of the Los Angeles and Independence Railroad from Santa Monica harbor through Cajon Pass toward the Panamint and other California desert mining districts in which Jones had large interests. Throughout the year, California newspapers mentioned the possibility of extending that roadway to connect with the Utah Central. In fact, at year's end, Jones's agents held a public meeting in Los Angeles to solicit cash subscriptions for beginning a railroad line for 120 miles northeastward into the desert. It was understood that Jones and his associate Jay Gould would build the remaining 400 miles, if southern Californians would back the project at its inception. The implication was clear that if some \$400,000 were not raised from the local citizenry, Jones might be compelled to allow his partially-completed railroad to fall into the hands of the Central Pacific. Huntington had pledged to "do [his] best to cave [Jones] down the bank." Although his subsequent financial demise was more because of reverses on the Comstock Lode, Jones was soon obliged to sell his railroad property to Huntington and his



Detail of map showing route of San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad, from the company's timetable, ca. 1914. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.



associates, who showed no inclination to carry on such construction.<sup>3</sup>

Gould persisted in his interest in Utah railroad projects, and with the aid of another financial magnate of equal national stature, Jay Cooke, he considerably bolstered the Utah Central Railroad. Cooke acquired the immensely productive Horn Silver mining property at Frisco, Beaver County, and immediately pressed for rail service to the district. With the Mormon leaders agreeing to join Cooke in providing half the capital for such an extension, Gould supplied the remaining amount. The Utah Central was thus completed to Milford, near Frisco, in June 1880.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout this period there were numerous proposals and rumored promotions of railroads through southern Utah into Nevada and on to California, or the other way around. Among the most persistent were those associating the Denver and Rio Grande Western with various possible links to the Pacific Coast. In 1880 that company showed great interest in branching off from its line to Salt Lake City to reach through Salina Canyon in central Utah and on toward the coast. At one point the Union Pacific felt compelled to purchase the otherwise worthless Nevada Central Railroad to help block the Colorado rival from using it as part of an independent link to the Central Pacific that would thereby parallel the Union Pacific.<sup>5</sup>

Union Pacific Railroad managers were thoroughly committed to keeping any competition from encroaching on what they considered their domain in Utah. The company also expressed interest in extending its lines southward into southern California. But such a move would not likely be undertaken unless another railroad threatened to intrude into the region's transportation market. This situation was unacceptable to Bishop Sharp, who in the early 1880s acted as vice president of one of the several new railroad projects aiming to use the Utah Central to tie central California with Colorado. As a member of the Union Pacific corporate board of directors, Sharp also began to press the Union Pacific to connect with Los Angeles and thus to control what was coming to be recognized as the largest region in the United States not yet tapped by railroad transportation. Union Pacific officials respected Sharp and tried to accommodate him when they could, but in their weak financial condition they mainly continued to delay any serious plans for expansion in that direction.<sup>6</sup>

In the early autumn of 1887, an independent and broadly-supported new movement to implement the oft-discussed Los Angeles to Salt Lake City railroad project was incorporated. The leading promoters were Isaac Trumbo—who was beginning eight years of service to Mormon leaders as a lobbyist in the cause of Utah statehood—along with his mentor, former San Francisco assessor Alexander Badlam, Jr., and railroad builder H. R. Houghton. They were nominally backed by the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, including many of Utah's most prominent businessmen and political figures, who were among the subscribers for \$5,000 each in stock in what was called the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad Company. Prominent New York engineer General C. H. Roser examined the proposed route across the desert from Utah and expressed optimism at the prospects. But engineering reports examining the projected route tunneling through the San Gabriel Mountains appear to have discouraged the promoters. Although there was still some discussion of the railroad at the end of 1888, Roser admitted that recent promises of the Union Pacific to complete the connection of the Utah Central into California had hindered their own venture. Although few believed the larger road was serious about extending so far, the threat may have helped stall the smaller promotion.<sup>7</sup>

From another perspective, there is some evidence that Trumbo's railroad was in actuality a "dummy" project aimed at discouraging legitimate construction attempts. Throughout the 1887 promotion period, the Salt Lake *Herald*, which Trumbo was utilizing in the statehood fight, was compelled to deny that the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad was simply a paper project of the Southern/Central Pacific aimed at protecting their monopoly from real competition. The *Herald* argued correctly that Leland Stanford and Huntington were the last of those who would desire such a road, but the newspaper may have evaded the point of the critics that such was exactly the reason for the dummy promotion. In mid-December, the Salt Lake paper denounced San Francisco newspaper allegations that the known friendship of Trumbo and Houghton with Southern Pacific officials (Trumbo was later one of the executors of Stanford's estate) was proof of the questionable connection. Yet the rumors persisted. One article in the San Francisco *Call*, January 26, 1888, although based on circumstantial



Railroad surveyors' camp identified as Marl Springs, California. This camp, near the closest source of potable water—ten miles from the rail route—illustrates the adversity of rugged, arid, and isolated conditions railroads like the SP, LA & SL typically confronted as they laid trackage throughout the western United States. *Courtesy Ferron-Bracken Collection, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Library.*

evidence, was particularly persuasive in arguing that Huntington and his associates were backing the Trumbo/Houghton project in order to keep Jay Gould from reaching California via his control of the Missouri Pacific, Denver and Rio Grande, and Utah Central railways. Whatever the truth of the newspaper account, no further progress was made on either the Salt Lake and Los Angeles or the Rio Grande project through the remainder of 1888.<sup>8</sup>

**B**y early 1888, however, the persistent warnings by Bishop John Sharp to Union Pacific headquarters about the opposing railroad promotion schemes may have finally induced President Charles Francis Adams to act. While stating the company still lacked construction funds, he

ordered surveys and other studies of the area. As Union Pacific engineers and geologists examined the possibilities, they focused considerable attention on the coal and iron deposits of Iron County, southeast of Milford. They also considered routes that would tap the seemingly vast potential of the Deep Creek mining districts in extreme western Utah. Besides this, they were among the first to point out that Meadow Valley Wash was the most feasible passageway through the only difficult terrain on the route to California. Union Pacific engineers also quickly understood that the grade into California by that route was at least a third lower than any existing transcontinental railroad line and that, because the route was shorter, a full day could be cut from a railroad trip between Los Angeles and Chicago.<sup>9</sup>



These considerations, along with the temporarily improved financial condition of the company in 1889, induced Adams to approve a series of expansion projects, including extension of the Utah Southern into Nevada. In the spring and summer of 1890, grading commenced across the state line into Clover Valley, which necessitated digging six small tunnels. And engineers laid out an excellent passageway through an otherwise impassible one hundred miles of badlands utilizing the Meadow Valley Wash. But despite widespread public optimism and assurances from Union Pacific, the company suspended all construction in the autumn.<sup>10</sup>

There were ominous hints that the project had been thwarted by Collis P. Huntington and his Central/Southern Pacific associates. The local newspaper for the Nevada construction area, the *Pioche Weekly Record*, alleged that construction had ceased on orders from corporate headquarters at Omaha, as a result of a "compromise of the Union Pacific and Huntington." Gould did resume control of Union Pacific at that point and halted all new construction. He was engaged in several cooperative steamship ventures with Huntington, and according to Gould's most recent biographer, Maury Klein, the two aimed at a gigantic and harmonious railroad combination including both Union and Central/Southern Pacific lines. Under such circumstances, a competitive road constructed by a Union Pacific subsidiary could hardly be expected to continue.<sup>11</sup>

Huntington may have threatened Gould, as some have alleged, but it is more likely that he was more circumspect. His reaction to a scheme projected by Isaac Blake, a Colorado oil and railroad promoter, illustrates the aloof style typical of his declining years. On March 22, 1893, Huntington notified his nephew Henry of a New York conversation he had recently held with Blake, head of the Nevada Southern Railroad. Blake was planning to build his road from the main Atlantic and Pacific/Santa Fe line near Goffs northward past the California mining camp of Vanderbilt in the New York Mountains and on into the Keystone mining region near Good Springs, Nevada, and perhaps, eventually, Huntington suspected, to Iron County, Utah, where the Blake interests reportedly had excellent coal mining claims. In fact, Blake appears to have revealed his project to Huntington, as he sought Southern Pacific coal contracts.

But Blake's scheme failed to engage old Hunt-



Civil engineer Walter R. Bracken surveys isolated western terrain for the San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad, 1901. *Courtesy Ferron-Bracken Collection, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Library.*

ington, who instructed his western associates to search more diligently for their own coal fields in southern Utah and, when these were found, to build their own railroad from their Mojave, California, railroad junction through the Nevada and Utah region, perhaps before Blake's plans could be materialized, or at least before they were financially successful. In the meantime the Huntingtons engaged an operative named Fasheira to investigate the potential rival's progress. The resultant report convinced Collis that Blake was probably not building farther at present than the northeastern California Mojave Desert mining region and that there was no pressing need for quick action by the Southern Pacific Company. Huntington, however, did concede interest in a long-term railroad project extending into the area in question, confessing the need for more readily available coal supplies and a more efficient outlet for southern California fruit shipments east.<sup>12</sup>

A few months later, Henry E. Huntington discovered that a grading company had already contracted to build a railroad from Blake, near Goffs, to Cedar Springs in Iron County, Utah, as soon as some financial details were completed. Young Huntington suspected that the work was actually being done on behalf of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. Fortunately for the Huntingtons, this project was being promoted at the worst of all times, just after the onset of the panic of 1893, and the new railroad company, still headed by Blake, went into bankruptcy a year later, just after reaching the summit of the major grade on the route near Vanderbilt and Manvel. In the meantime, the Huntingtons demonstrated nothing more than lively interest in the rival venture, wishing to thwart its progress, but at least in the West, doing nothing to block such development.<sup>13</sup>

The financial depression evoked a unique reaction from the Mormon hierarchy in mid-1893. Concerned with the dual problems of unemployment among their people and threatened loss of control over the financial destiny of their domain, church leaders actively promoted several major economic undertakings, including electric power generation, sugar and iron manufacturing, and railroad construction, under the corporate umbrella of the Utah Company. A new Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad was an integral part of these plans. Again Isaac Trumbo was a financial agent for the project, but this time, because Leland Stanford had died earlier in 1893, it was now in opposition to Collis P. Huntington. Although the new railway project made little progress because of insufficient funds, the scheme was fully exploited by lobbyist Trumbo and his associates in gathering support for Utah statehood. After the agents made undue promises to outside politicians, however, church authorities distanced themselves from the project. Soon after statehood legislation passed Congress in July 1894, the lobbyists issued further press notice of the imminent beginnings of the renewed Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad. But, again, the project was mostly talk.<sup>14</sup>

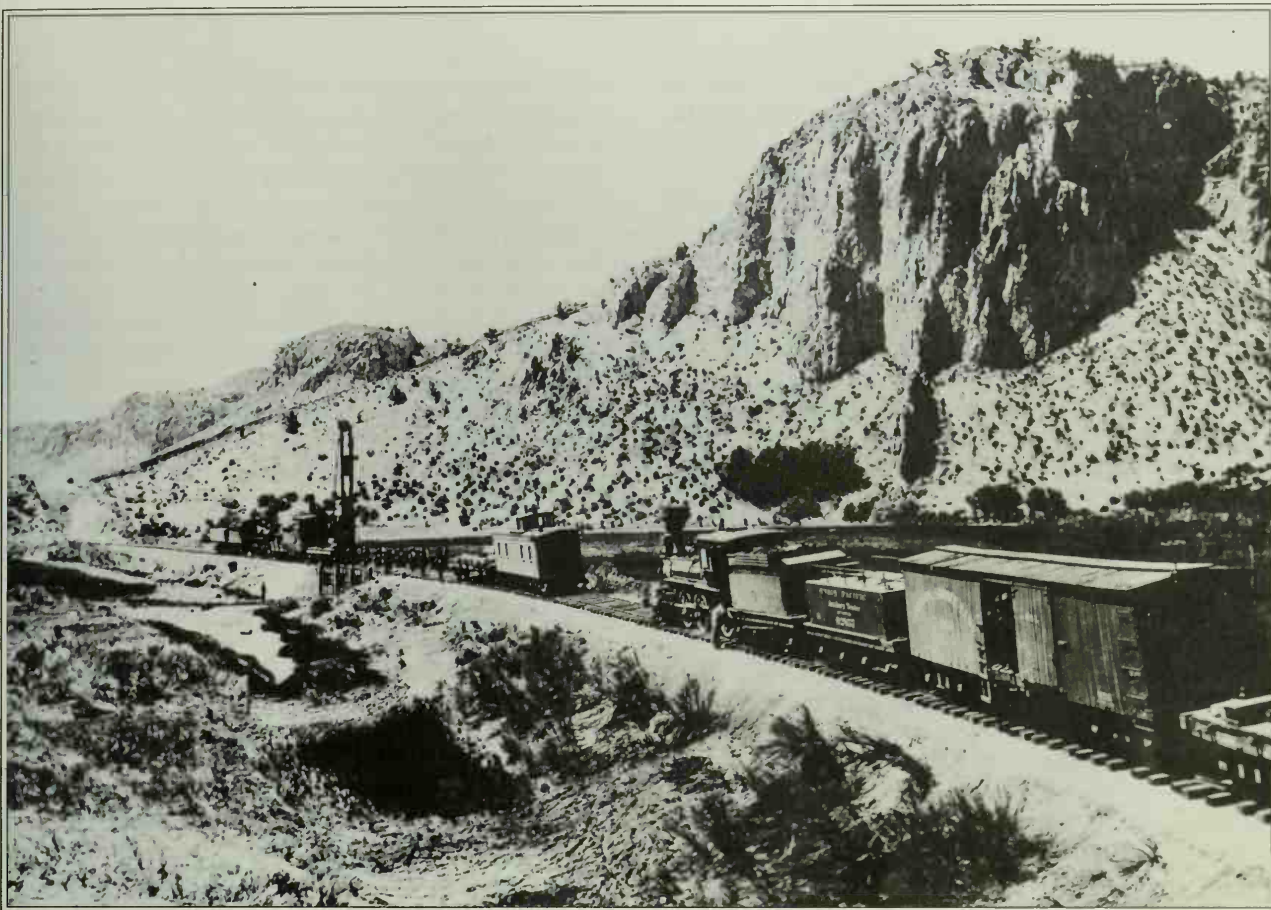
Perhaps the most impressive and extensive plan of the entire period took shape in 1895. A group of Mormon businessmen, including three of the Cannon family, George Q., Frank J., and Abraham H., journeyed to St. Louis to meet with a group of prominent midwestern financiers. Their original intent appears to have been sale of bonds in the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad, along with

other Utah Company enterprises. In this they were disappointed, but the meetings opened new avenues with great potential for future promotion and investment. Abraham H. Cannon soon met with Theo F. Meyer to discuss a proposal for a railway through southern Utah. Concluding it best to maintain this project separate from the Utah Company, they mapped out the possibilities for a railway to utilize the mining potential along the route all the way to southern California. Designated to be manager of the undertaking, Cannon was urged to solicit subsidies from benefitting individuals and communities in the areas to be tapped and to further investigate the options available. Among the first people he approached, while still in the Midwest, was S. H. H. Clark, former general manager and corporate president of the Union Pacific Railroad and now acting as one of the receivers of that recently-bankrupt company. Clark assured the group that he would give them all the help and encouragement possible in any enterprise that might reach the Pacific Coast, and he stated that his company would appreciate such an alliance.<sup>15</sup>

Returning to Utah, Cannon began weighing the relative merits of proposed railroad routes. Despite the strong urging by Professor Marcus Jones, author of an optimistic report on the Deep Creek region, Cannon and his associates soon focused most of their attention on Iron County. This was at least partially due to the persistent urging of former Mormon Bishop Thomas Taylor, holder of many coal and iron options in the area. The defunct Utah Company also had such options readily available to the new company. A primary consideration was the shortage of iron, coal, and steel in southern California and the great demand for those products on the Pacific Coast.<sup>16</sup>

As the enterprise gathered momentum in 1895, Meyer conferred with Denver and Rio Grande officials about the possibility of a connection with their line in central Utah, perhaps at Cove Fort. Simultaneously, Cannon and his southern Utah associate, Robert C. Lund, investigated the possibility of acquiring the Sanpete Valley Railroad, which reached from the main Denver and Rio Grande line into the Salina area, not far from the proposed junction with the new line. Similarly, conferences with Attorney LeGrande Young, who represented the bondholders of the Utah Central Railroad and its extensions, assured the possibility of either a favorable purchase or lease of that small railroad. Of great additional encouragement, Mayor Robert N. Baskin of Salt Lake City assured that





San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake construction crews east of Islen, Nevada, ca. 1901. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento, Union Pacific Railroad Collection.*

there was little doubt the company could secure a portion of the old pioneer fort block just west of the center of the city as a depot site, as soon as there was evidence of the success for the railroad.

Another step in the direction of success was securing the approval and backing of the hierarchy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Second ranking church official George Q. Cannon termed the company's prospects "dazzling," and with his support, the church First Presidency was soon listed among the officers of the new company, soon officially named the Utah and California Railroad. Abraham Cannon composed a circular letter signed by the First Presidency to the stake presidents in southern Utah, a sure way to guarantee all possible cooperation from the Mormons in the region.<sup>17</sup>

By mid-1895, Robert Brewster Stanton, a California mining promoter, became associated with the company, bringing with him a preliminary survey of an impressively feasible railroad route to southern California. More importantly, in early July,

Stanton informed Abraham Cannon that the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco had been instructed by leading government officials back home to select a Pacific Coast seaport as a beach-head for expanding trade with the United States. Because of the monopolistic hold other railroads had on San Francisco and Puget Sound, the Japanese favored San Diego, provided assurance could be secured for favorable railroad arrangements from the seaport to Salt Lake City and points east. Upon hearing of these possibilities, Abraham Cannon's associates urged him to visit California and further the project on these lines. At San Francisco the following month, Abraham Cannon met Consul Saburo Kaya, who had previously visited Salt Lake City and expressed approval of what he had seen of Mormon initiative. He pledged that with proper guarantees regarding the seaport and

railroad facilities, financial help for the railroad could be obtained from Japan, along with a trade of vast potential.<sup>18</sup>

In August in Los Angeles, Cannon also received some commitment of support from chamber of commerce president W. C. Patterson. The city was then entering the bitterest phase of the "free harbor fight," a struggle by some business and political leaders to get government subsidies for San Pedro harbor improvement, in opposition to Collis P. Huntington's attempt to improve the Santa Monica harbor. After examination of the rival sites, Cannon favored San Pedro and on advice from Patterson sought to confer with agents of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway about a possible alliance that would give the Utah and California Railroad ready-made access to a Pacific Coast harbor. Although none of the corporate heads were then in the city, general manager Burnett confirmed his company's willingness to extend its line into the California desert to Granite Springs, over a hundred miles from Los Angeles, if the Utah people would join them there. Cannon and his associates also expressed interest in the possibilities of a branch line into the San Joaquin Valley and a junction with the Valley Road, which had right-of-way connections into San Francisco. While visiting California, Cannon also considered several proposals for entry into San Diego.<sup>19</sup>

Amidst these developments, a rival scheme being promoted by prominent citizens from San Diego posed some trouble. An attempt was being made to revive Isaac Blake's defunct Nevada Southern Railroad, under the leadership of San Diego Mayor William H. Carlson. Carlson's control was precarious, however, based as it was only on his acquisition of Blake's individual interest after the assets of the company had already been sold at sheriff's auction to General R. W. Woodbury of Colorado. Woodbury and his associates intended to extend the road as soon as they had clear title. Carlson's new company, called the Southern California and Salt Lake Railroad, had until mid-April 1896 to pay off debts totaling \$400,000, which Woodbury's group agreed to accept in exchange for control of the railroad property.<sup>20</sup> Carlson and several of his company associates, including attorney A. B. Hotchkiss, sometime state legislative lobbyist Henry Vrooman, and railroad surveyor L. H. Long, were all known to be close associates of the Southern Pacific Railroad. On several occasions at public promotional meetings and in interviews with California newspapers, Carlson was specifically asked

if his organization was a "front for Collis P. Huntington." These questions were evaded, rather than directly denied.<sup>21</sup>

As Abraham H. Cannon's California associate, Stanton assured him that the San Diego scheme originated with an unscrupulous real estate dealer and that the entire project could be easily ruined by a simple press release, if Carlson's company ever became a serious rival. But since Carlson never raised the requisite funds to clear the property's title, the challenge collapsed. Woodbury did organize the California Eastern Railroad and began extending it beyond Manvel and Vanderbilt, California, but the project remained entirely local and therefore served as no threat to Cannon's project.<sup>22</sup>

The Los Angeles *Times*, certainly no friend of Huntington's, dismissed the implication that the Carlson project was related to the Southern Pacific with the argument that Huntington would not be associated with anything so unsubstantial as that proposed railroad. And at that time, Huntington and his associates were pursuing a far more effective means of thwarting serious rival projects from approaching Los Angeles through their attempt to block construction of a free harbor at San Pedro. In the bitter public struggle, led by *Times* editor Harrison Gray Otis and California Democratic U.S. Senator Stephen Mallory White, some of the unnoticed silent partners were in fact members of the rival railroad corporation, the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad, which stood to gain immeasurably if San Pedro were designated as the government-financed, southern California seaport. The railroad possessed some of the most valuable rights-of-way possible through the center of booming Los Angeles, and the company's holdings at San Pedro harbor were particularly of immense strategic value.<sup>23</sup>

The terminal company's plans for extension northwestward were stalled by the controversy over which harbor would finally be designated for the federal subsidy. As the leading Los Angeles spokesman, Thomas E. Gibbon, confessed in the spring of 1896, the primary aim of the company had always been to become the western terminus of a railroad to Salt Lake City and eastward by some existing transcontinental connections. All had been progressing well until 1892, when Huntington commenced opposition to the already-approved government project at San Pedro. After alluding to overtures currently being made from Utah promoters, Gibbon warned "I think I can safely say . . . if the location of the deep-water harbor at San Pedro is



defeated, this will end for many years at least, the possibility of a railroad being constructed between here and Salt Lake." Gibbon's prediction proved correct, at least for the remainder of the decade. Although San Pedro won approval, Huntington, through high-placed friends such as Secretary of War Russell Alger, amazingly delayed beginning of construction until 1899. Throughout this time, Gibbon sought financial backing for the Terminal Railroad extension, but only in that later year did he begin to see some success.<sup>24</sup>

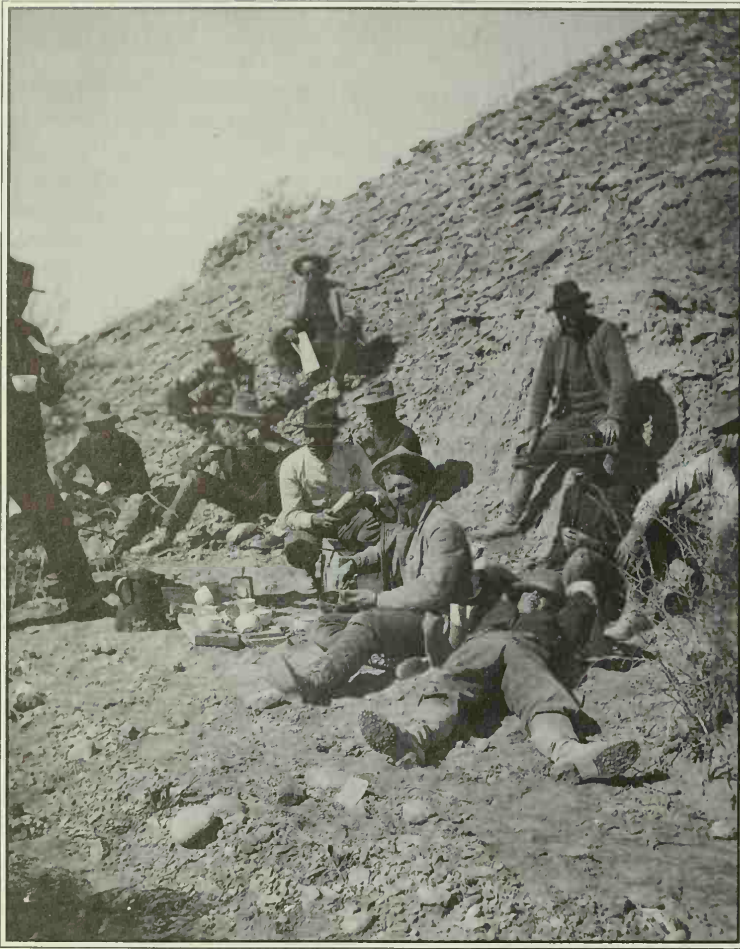
Meantime, reports continued optimistic that the Salt Lake City end of the enterprise was flourishing. By the early summer of 1896 all appeared ready for success. The Utah and California Railroad engaged Henry Maxwell McCartney, the engineer who had surveyed the Nevada portion of the proposed route for the Oregon Short Line/Union Pacific a half-dozen years before. He was on the scene making his final plans and estimates in June and early July. But on July 19, Abraham H. Cannon, the popular young manager of the company, responsible for coalescing the disparate elements and plans, died suddenly, leaving the project in shambles. Although there were no apparent public announcements, McCartney's daybook reflects the fate of the company. On August 19, 1896, he noted "word in P.M. [afternoon by telegraph] that directors had decided to shut down all railroad work." McCartney and his associates returned to Salt Lake City, presumably to receive a final paycheck. Within a week the engineer accepted other employment, and the brilliantly-conceived Utah and California Railroad collapsed, Japanese connection and all.<sup>25</sup>

**Y**et, one of the promoters of the defunct Utah and California company, St. George lawyer Robert C. Lund, did not stop pressing for a Los Angeles link. Before long he allied with other ambitious young Mormon promoters, Charles W. Nibley and David Eccles, who had built a branch railroad in Oregon, and A. W. McCune, a wealthy mining figure particularly familiar with the southern Nevada potential. Their new company, the Utah and Pacific, was incorporated on August 19, 1898, with McCune as president, and immediately began track-laying from the old terminus at Milford southward on the grade constructed in 1890 by the Union Pacific. Reports that the materials and rolling stock used in the project had originated with the Union Pacific subsidiary, the Oregon Short Line, revealed a cordial relationship long before it was divulged that the larger company held an

option to purchase the new road at any time. As the Utah and Pacific Railroad approached completion of its task of building the railroad to the Utah-Nevada state line at Uvada, the Oregon Short Line organized a Nevada subsidiary, the Utah, Nevada and California Railroad, to continue construction across Lincoln County, Nevada. However, this project did not get under way soon enough to prevent rivals from throwing up a formidable obstacle to continued progress.<sup>26</sup>

In the autumn of 1897, Collis P. Huntington and his California associates had sent survey crews into Utah and Nevada led by experienced engineers L. H. Long and D. D. Griffith. Reportedly searching for coal, these crews also sought the most feasible railroad routes through the area to southern California. With impressive foresight, Long laid right-of-way claim to the unused grade and tunnels of the earlier Oregon Short Line/Union Pacific Railroad venture in Clover Valley, Nevada. Public notice of this in late 1898 appeared to thwart the UP's planned extension into southern California.<sup>27</sup>

This time Collis P. Huntington seemed more serious than ever about building a railroad from Utah to southern California. His surveyors presented detailed reports on the two most probable routes from the central Utah branch line of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad near Marysville over the only mountains blocking entry into southern Nevada. Southern Pacific officials' secrecy in their movements gave rise to much newspaper speculation as to their purposes. At a time when it appeared, even to Huntington, that he might lose control of the government-financed and deeply indebted Central Pacific branch of his transportation empire, it was essential for him to plan for an alternative connection between the remaining Southern Pacific portion of the system in southern California and the Intermountain West and Midwest. Also, since Huntington and others of his company had recently investigated Utah mineral deposits, there was the strong continuing possibility of his developing the iron and coal resources through establishing a manufacturing center at either end of the line.<sup>28</sup> It is clear that by 1899 both the Union Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande Western, perhaps along with other major railroad companies, were serious about construction of independent railroad lines to southern California. But after Huntington's survey crews for the time being appeared to have blocked rivals at the most strategic location on the route, the Southern Pacific, despite speculation to the contrary, again ceased to



A rare, spontaneous photograph captures a railroad crew stopping for coffee, resting wherever the rocky earth is most bearable. Outfitted in sturdy gear to withstand the sun, wind, and loose gravel, such workers tolerated harsh, rugged conditions as their labor eventually linked the West and paved the way for organized settlement. *Courtesy Ferron-Bracken Collection, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Library.*

evidence intent to build this line itself, unless once more pressed by rivals.<sup>29</sup>

During the entire thirty-year period in which Collis P. Huntington closely guarded his Pacific Coast monopoly, it was broken only temporarily by the entrance of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad into southern California in 1885. And that threat was promptly alleviated through traffic and construction agreements by which the two former rivals carefully apportioned their service areas and passenger and freight rates. Literally dozens of smaller railroad promoters had threatened to enter Huntington's realm. But as one of these, former Utah railroader James Campbell, admitted after a failed attempt, "no railroad could be built between Salt Lake and Los Angeles without the consent of [the managers of] the Santa Fe or Southern Pacific roads, unless the project had home [independent inside] money with which to build." Having attempted to promote a small railroad from Kramer Junction on the main Santa Fe-Southern Pacific

line northward to the booming mining camp of Randsburg, California, Campbell suddenly found that the larger established railroads were able to "shut off the money" expected from eastern sources of capital. Later, after he had essentially relinquished control of his project to one of these railroad corporations, "the money came immediately." Though difficult to document, this ability to influence eastern sources of finance may have been Huntington's ultimate weapon in the long struggle to keep competition out.<sup>30</sup>

Certainly T. E. Gibbon, leading promoter of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway, noted a similar financial condition, but in the late 1890s resolved his problem, as Campbell had suggested, through independent capital. After failing in the original plan to connect at Salt Lake City with the Union Pacific, which by the time the free harbor fight was concluded was in deep financial difficulty, the promoters of the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad sought funds to build independently toward eastern



connections. But as Gibbon recalled, when he solicited financial backing from the New York bond markets, he discovered "all doors shut." Southern Pacific and Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe reorganization paper had so flooded the bond-handling houses that "not one of the ordinary channels" for selling railroad bonds was available. Instead, those brokerage houses acted as opponents. Gibbon observed that established railroad lines that might have been interested in a separate connection with the Pacific Coast "dared not risk any disturbance of the amicable relations then existing" with the powers controlling the railroads to California. Clearly, Huntington and his associates exerted vast influence in the eastern financial circles they had so long frequented.<sup>31</sup>

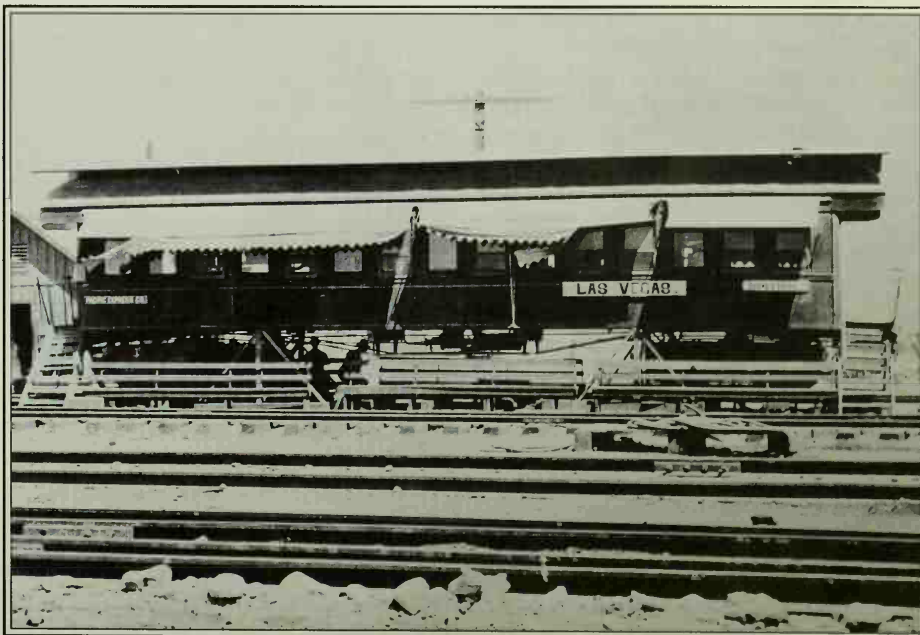
After such discouragements, Gibbon concluded that his only hope was to seek western capital, untrammelled by market or corporate restrictions, which in January 1899 his corporate partners consented to allow him to do. He approached Montana copper king, William Andrews Clark, through his southern-California-based brother, J. Ross Clark. After more than a year of careful investigation—during which the Huntingtons did their best to discourage him through a paid industrial spy, J. A. Holibird—George B. Leighton, president of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway Company, announced on August 22, 1900, that Clark had allied

his vast financial resources with those of the original promoters in a determined effort to build an independent new railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City.<sup>32</sup>

Clark had every reason to expect cooperation from all western railroads except the Southern Pacific. He had recently traveled in Europe with J. P. Morgan, a large owner of Union Pacific stock, and was on equally friendly terms with Jay Gould's successor-son, George J. Gould, who was then increasing his control over the Denver and Rio Grande system. The Montana mining magnate had been in several close business associations with James J. Hill, who largely controlled the Great Northern Railroad and was gaining domination over the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, which currently planned to extend its main line from Guernsey, Wyoming, to Salt Lake City. This latter road was the most likely of the three potential routes eastward with which Clark could ally his new company.<sup>33</sup>

From the beginning, Gibbon, Clark, and other promoters of the newly-incorporated San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad aimed at acquiring the existing, partially-graded sections of roadbed the defunct Utah and California had acquired a decade earlier in Nevada. But it was quickly apparent that the allied Oregon Short Line and Union Pacific Railroad companies were still

When the San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad completed trackage through Las Vegas, its first station "depot" was a converted railroad car, shown here about 1905. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento, Union Pacific Railroad Collection.*



not interested in conceding transportation rights through the area to a competing company. The focal point of conflicts over which of the rivals could capture the new route was the Clover Valley-Meadow Valley Wash area of southeastern Nevada. After the Oregon Short Line had abandoned construction there in 1890, the Lincoln County Commission levied taxes on the partially-built property and eventually seized it for non-payment. In 1896, Abraham H. Cannon's Utah and California Railroad made tentative arrangements to purchase the right-of-way for back taxes. On March 4, 1901, C. O. Whittemore, attorney for the Clark railroad, appeared before the county commissioners in behalf of his client, who had secured some rights from the assigns of the defunct company. He successfully persuaded the Lincoln County officials to relinquish their claims to the right-of-way on condition the new company construct a functioning railway from Uvada, Utah, to Culver Wells Ranch (Caliente) within six months. However, the Oregon Short line promptly stepped forward to argue that through subsidiary lines, the Utah and Pacific and the Utah, Nevada and California, their company had last worked on the roadbed and still had a valid title thereto.<sup>34</sup> The question of which company had superior claims to the existing grade was to be a legal football tossed from the branch federal land office at Carson City to the state and federal courts and Department of the Interior, at Washington, D. C., with seemingly little consistency or logic among their decisions. The initial verdict by the land office favored Clark's San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City Railroad. But the Short Line attorney, Parley L. Williams of Salt Lake City, was actually elated, explaining that the Carson office decisions were overruled eighty percent of the time when reviewed by higher authorities.<sup>35</sup>

Immediately after the Carson City decision, Clark attorney Whittemore hurried to the Uvada railroad head and proceeded to the contested grade areas, where he quickly positioned the Clark company employees to hold their position forcibly. The Short Line opponents arrived soon thereafter and began successfully wooing San Pedro teamsters away with offers of daily wages as high as twenty dollars per day per team. On Sunday afternoon, April 7, 1901, Short Line teams challenged the San Pedro's small remaining crew, charging up onto the grade, where they were met by Clark workmen, who beat them back with raised shovel handles. The Short Line employees, supervised by J. H. Young, also

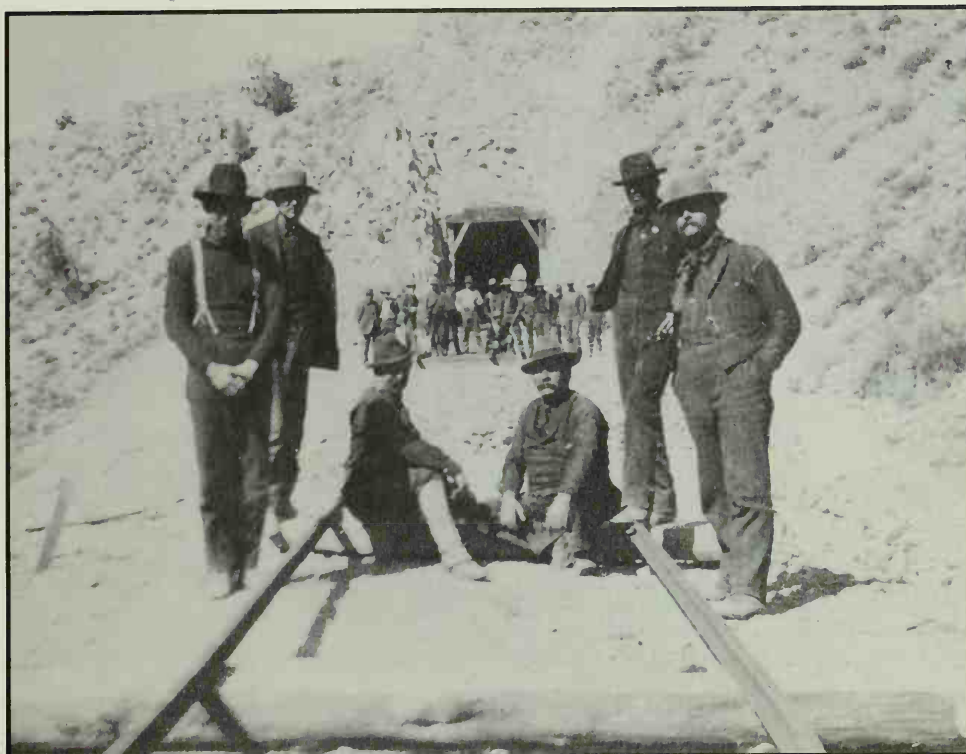
used shovel handles to urge their horses and mules onward against the firm resistance. This see-saw "war" for the roadbed continued for about twenty minutes, until the superior numbers of the Short Line forces prevailed and swept the Whittemore men back to a rear position farther down the grade.<sup>36</sup>

That night, both sides vied at the nearby town of Panaca for every available man and team, but no further confrontation followed in the ensuing days. Each company continued work on the stretches of roadway it possessed, and each expressed determination to continue indefinitely, whatever its rivals did. The only local newspaper, the *Lincoln County Record*, definitely sided with the San Pedro company, observing that the "prevailing opinion in the vicinity was that the Oregon Short Line has not any idea of building to Los Angeles, . . . [and] would never have scratched the roadbed" had not their domain been threatened by the Clark company.<sup>37</sup>

Tensions remained high, as each side increased its manpower (and, it was rumored, its firepower). Owing to delays in trestle construction near Uvada, the Short Line track-laying crews were slowed for several weeks, giving the Clark forces plenty of time not only to extend their grades, but prepare to resist the arrival of Short Line crews. They erected a barricade at the cut just north of the first of six previously-constructed tunnels in the Clover Valley area. On the last Friday in April, the most extended "battle" of the conflict over the Clover Valley-Meadow Valley passage took place. That afternoon, the Short Line forces began to distribute ties along the line of their grade. When they came to the Clark company barricade, they were told they could not place ties or rails on that part of the roadway. At about 2:00 P.M., some thirty-two wagons loaded with ties lined up to storm the grade. The Clark people had seventy men determined to prevent such intrusion. The Short Line leader, Col. H. B. Maxson, was assisted by Lincoln County Sheriff Jake Johnson. Although he was sheriff of Millard County, Utah, San Pedro leader Virgil Kelly claimed no jurisdiction in the dispute other than as a loyal temporary employee of the Clark forces. That was his justification for resisting the encroachments of the invaders, in which he persisted even when the Nevada sheriff showed him a dispatch from the local district attorney informing Johnson of a court decision rendered the previous day in favor of the Short Line. The Clark forces refused to recognize the document



San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake work crews pose for photo at unfinished tracks near where "battles" occurred in Clover Valley, Nevada, between their company and the Oregon Short Line. *Courtesy Ferron-Bracken Collection, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Library.*



as sufficient and continued their resistance. In the ensuing contest, as each Short Line wagon attempted to run up onto the grade, Clark men met and dragged the teams by the reins back down the slope. Finally, although Short Line men were spread out some three-quarters of a mile, by uniting in simultaneous onslaughts, several Short Line wagons broke through to the top of the grade. At that point, after two hours, hostilities ceased, probably from exhaustion. Both sides conferred and agreed that the Short Line could work on two additional miles of roadway, while the Clark men waited for more official word on the court decision that had intervened.<sup>38</sup>

The contesting companies had each retained an impressive staff of attorneys for the seemingly endless legal skirmishes. But after the one preliminary victory in the Carson City land office, the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City Railroad lost at every turn. The Lincoln County commissioners hedged on their commitment to grant clear title to the old roadbed they apparently had sold to Utah and California and its successors. This may well have been influenced by the decision of future U. S. Supreme Court Justice Willis Van Devanter, then assistant attorney general for the Department of Interior, who decided that the Oregon

Short Line's prior claim to the old right-of-way was legally intact. Also, U. S. Circuit Judge T. P. Hawley of Carson City issued an injunction against the San Pedro's further interference with the Oregon Short Line's track-laying efforts. It was formal notice of this injunction that essentially stalled San Pedro resistance on the grades.<sup>39</sup>

Although each side boasted of alternate routes should they lose the yet unresolved contests over rights-of-way in the Meadow Valley Wash, there was in fact no other practical route through that portion of the state. The San Pedro clearly possessed some of the disputed roadway, along with other advantages, and although there were reports of further Short Line grade-jumping, cooperation between the rival railroads soon began to occur. The Oregon Short Line had lost most records and many maps in an office fire at Salt Lake City. The San Pedro company did not thereafter object to delays in the court proceedings to allow time for replacement of materials essential to the Short Line's case. This led later in the autumn of 1901 to a wise concession on both sides to cooperate in further surveys in Meadow Valley Wash.<sup>40</sup>

The preliminary surveys of each company had not considered the presence of the other, and when

the two lines were superimposed, the companies discovered that in one sixty-mile stretch of canyon, one roadway would cross the other no less than twenty-six times. Congress had long-since determined that in narrow defiles such as this wash, the company with the prior right-of-way must grant to the second user the right to travel over its tracks, with neither able to block passage of the other. Although the mutual surveys indicated that two roadways could in fact be laid all the way through the contested area without a single crossing, they would be very close, and no one (but the consumers) really wanted parallel tracks through the relatively sparsely-settled customer area.<sup>41</sup>

**D**uring the same time as the right-of-way battle in Lincoln County, a far more momentous struggle was taking place in the East. Edward H. Harriman was emerging from relative obscurity to become the virtual czar of transcontinental railroad transportation just as that industry was reaching its most profitable zenith. By the late 1890s, Harriman had gained control of the Illinois Central and the Union Pacific, among other roads. Probably the first to recognize the aggressiveness of Harriman's expansionist tactics, Collis P. Huntington resisted his initial onslaught on the southwestern empire the older Huntington had been consolidating for much of his lifetime. But after maintaining a virtual monopoly for most of thirty years, Huntington's grip was loosened in the only possible manner, through his death in August 1900. After several months of inside struggle and uncertainty, as important blocks of stock held by the estates of deceased Central/Southern Pacific partners changed hands, Huntington's heirs decided to divest themselves of their own large stockholdings. By February 1901, Harriman and his associates gained control and rapidly moved toward uniting the Southern Pacific with the long-standing partner-rival Union Pacific under one management. With the Southern Pacific no longer offering its former resistance after 1901, the Union Pacific was free, through its subsidiary Oregon Short Line, to undertake the construction contest against the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake line.<sup>42</sup>

After securing control over the Southern and Union Pacific roads, Harriman persuaded his new associates among the owners of the other western railroads to place him on the boards of directors of the Northern Pacific and Burlington lines and, through Morgan's Northern Securities trust, the

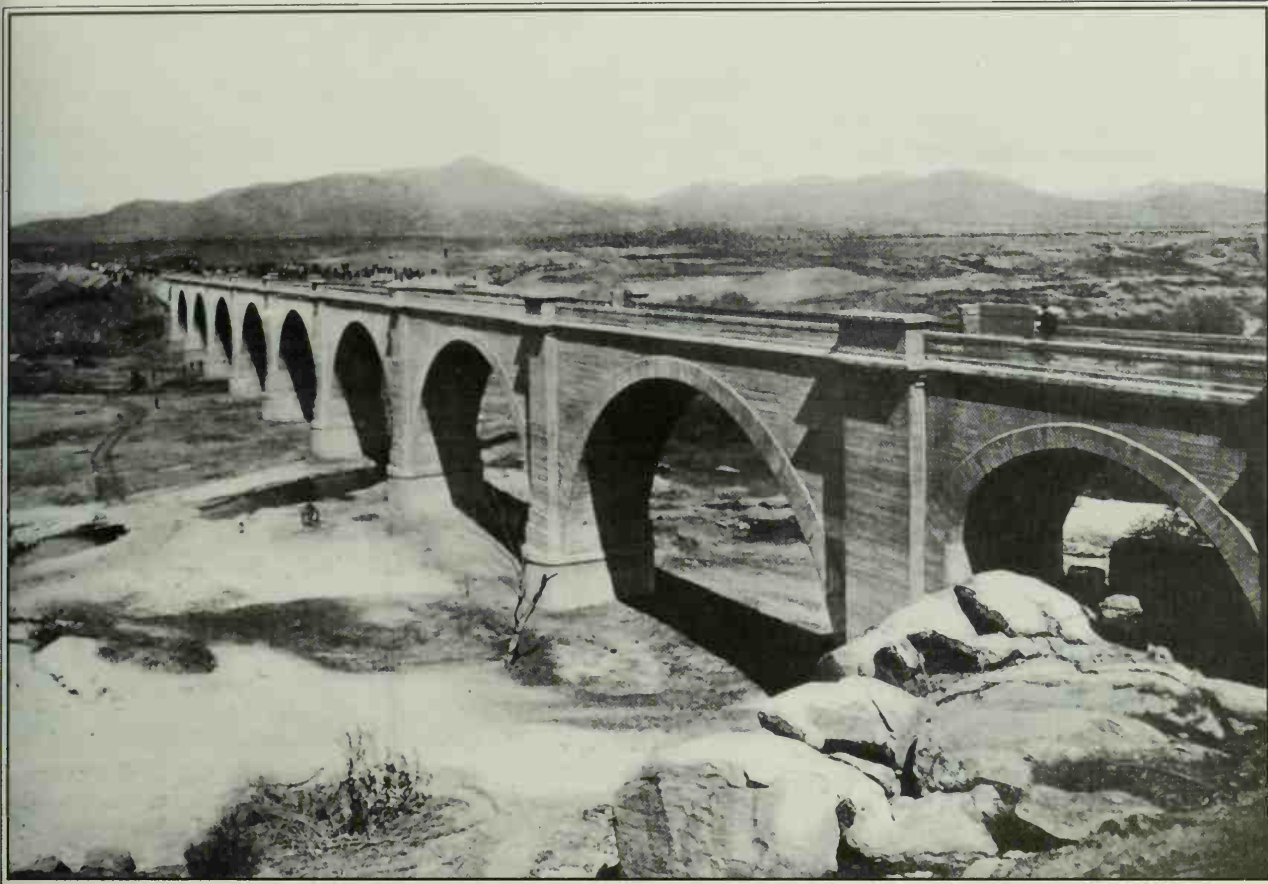
Great Northern. He was equally successful in gaining power within the Denver and Rio Grande and Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe systems. Thus, William A. Clark was surrounded by a one-man colossus far more powerful than Collis P. Huntington. Clark had done everything necessary to break Huntington's stranglehold before he died, except the actual construction of the competing railroad. But in an ironic twist of fate, as soon as Clark's power and persistence had loosed the grip of the so-called "octopus," it reappeared more formidably than ever. Despite a continued show of bravado and independence, Clark was practical enough to realize he could not compete against the largest corporate combination yet assembled. His only alternative was to ally with the Harriman forces.<sup>43</sup>

After extended preliminary negotiations between J. C. Stubbs for Harriman and T. E. Gibbon for Clark, the two principals settled on a detailed contract of agreement, much of which would not be made public for some time. To save face, or perhaps to cover temporarily the vast extent of Harriman's acquisitions, Clark persisted in denying anything but complete victory over Harriman. Clark claimed he was not only to complete the railroad unimpeded, but was to secure control of the southern portion of the Oregon Short Line through a ninety-nine-year lease. It was not until after completion of the railroad and the investigation of Harriman by Theodore Roosevelt's rejuvenated Interstate Commerce Commission a few years later that the full implications of the agreement came to light.<sup>44</sup>

Meantime, as construction on the lines across the Nevada and California deserts began in earnest, Salt Lake City lavished its most elaborate honors upon Clark and his associates, praising the project as the "great civilizer" of an entire new region. Observers at both ends of the roadway predicted great economic stimulation, particularly by opening a mining region some compared to the Mesabi iron range of Minnesota. The half-completed breakwater at San Pedro also elicited praise as "a harbor second to none" and a key to making the railroad enterprise profitable for the populace of the entire region.<sup>45</sup>

By early 1903, the grading and track-laying had already proceeded in southern California as far eastward from San Pedro and Los Angeles as Riverside County. There, failure of eastern steel suppliers and the ready availability of local cement





Concrete viaduct across the Santa Ana River at Jurupa Narrows near Riverside, California. Still in use, the bridge was at one time the largest structure of its kind in the world. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

induced construction of the longest concrete bridge yet attempted, across the wide Santa Ana River bed. Since Cajon Pass was, like Meadow Valley Wash, the only practicable passageway for the railroad, Clark, with Harriman's backing, negotiated an agreement to share the existing track-age from Riverside to Daggett with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. But rather than use another extensive stretch of that line farther eastward, and thereby necessitate a steeper grade when the roadway did separate and turn northward, the new railway essentially paralleled the cooperating railroad for a considerable distance before the San Pedro veered north toward what would soon be designated as Clark County, Nevada, after the key railroad promoter.<sup>46</sup>

Coincidentally, much of the decision-making on the final grade across Nevada was left to Henry M. McCartney, who had surveyed the region at least twice before for earlier railroad ventures. On occasion, he was actually able to drive survey stakes right next to still-existing markers he had placed

years before. The desert took its toll in lives of men and livestock and challenged the ingenuity of seekers of both temporary and permanent supplies of water. But all was accomplished with sufficient dispatch to earn William A. Clark a local reputation as one able to accomplish almost anything. The final spike was driven without much ceremony south of the burgeoning railroad town of Las Vegas, Nevada, in closer proximity to present-day Jean, on January 30, 1905.<sup>47</sup>

In 1907, the Interstate Commerce Commission commenced extensive investigations into E. H. Harriman's railroad activities. During the California portion of these hearings, led by the commissioner from California, Franklin K. Lane, the public was finally apprised of just how thoroughly Harriman dominated the promoters and managers of

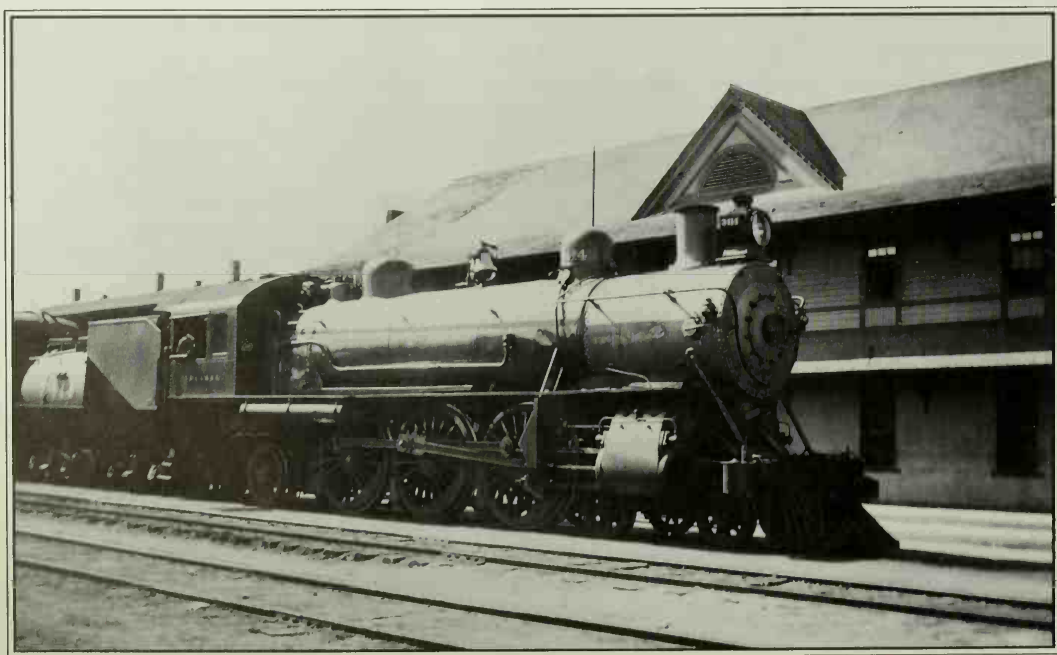
the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City Railroad. Under oath, J. Ross Clark and Thomas E. Gibbon reluctantly divulged that Harriman held the ultimate control in all essential matters. The key agreement was that the Salt Lake Company was prohibited from dealing with any other carriers on better terms than it got from the Southern Pacific-Union Pacific. This was interpreted to mean, in the words of the Los Angeles *Examiner*, "that the quality of the service over the Salt Lake was not to be any better than that of the Southern Pacific line, or that the Salt Lake was not to give any quicker service from Los Angeles and Salt Lake City than could be made over the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific by way of Sacramento." Thus the possible twenty-four-hour savings in running time by the new route was nullified by the dictates of one of the most domineering of business monopolists.<sup>48</sup>

After decades of struggle, the dream of a railroad from the City of the Angels to the City of the Saints had been fulfilled, and it

certainly enhanced settlement and mining development along its route. But compared to the lavish predictions of extensive economic stimulation, the immediate results were modest at best. The reality of inadequate water supply was a major factor in limiting all but sporadic agricultural development, and by that time, mining was generally no longer as profitable as it had been when mineral prices, particularly for silver, were consistently higher. As for Iron County, Utah, pivotal in many earlier economic projections, its iron ore would eventually reach steel mill blast furnaces in southern California, but not nearly as promptly or as extensively as predicted. Also the poorer-than-expected quality of southern Utah coal and the vast local abundance of California petroleum that was quickly adapted to transportation, domestic, and industrial use in the southland region, prevented the coal industry from having any appreciable impact there. But undoubtedly, one additional important factor in the absence of greater immediate economic effect by completion of the new railroad was the continued stranglehold the Harriman Lines railroad monopoly maintained over the entire transportation system before it was broken up by anti-trust litigation in 1913. It had appeared briefly a decade earlier that William A. Clark would open true

---

San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake engine No. 3414, at the Barstow station, 1908. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.







With a stately new railroad depot and several established businesses, Las Vegas, ca. 1910, stands as an "oasis in the desert," but with no hint yet of its modern-day growth. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

competition with the other western roads, but in fact that would have to wait until a later time, after World War I.<sup>49</sup> The long-range view of the Los Angeles-Salt Lake City railroad project indicates that, although it came of age at nearly the same time as the trucking industry, and thereby was not nearly as instrumental as it might have been a generation earlier, it has ultimately been of incalculable value in tying an important region closer to the nation with bands of steel. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 139.*

*Edward Leo Lyman received a Ph.D. in history from the University of California Riverside, and teaches at Victor Valley College. He has published extensively in Western American and Mormon history and is presently working on a biography of Collis P. Huntington. An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch meetings at Portland, Oregon, in August, 1989.*

---

---

# THE PAPER TRAIL OF THE IRON HORSE:

## The California State Railroad Museum Library

*by Blaine Peterson Lamb and Ellen Halteman Schwartz*

---

---

When Gilbert Harold Kneiss, founding chairman of the Pacific Coast Chapter of the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society obtained the former Virginia & Truckee Railroad locomotive No. 21, *J. W. Bowker*, and the venerable Nevada Central Railroad coach, *Silver State*, in 1938, he began a chain of events that would result in the creation in California of the nation's leading interpretive railroad museum. Over the next three decades, the chapter acquired more than three dozen vintage locomotives and cars. In addition to preserving this historic equipment from vandals and scrappers, the chapter sought to exhibit and interpret it to the public. Original plans called for a museum in San Francisco, but when this endeavor proved unsuccessful, a group of Sacramentans stepped forward with the idea of establishing the museum in the capital city. Negotiations with the California Department of Parks and Recreation in the late 1960s resulted in a decision to locate the museum in Old Sacramento State Historic Park.

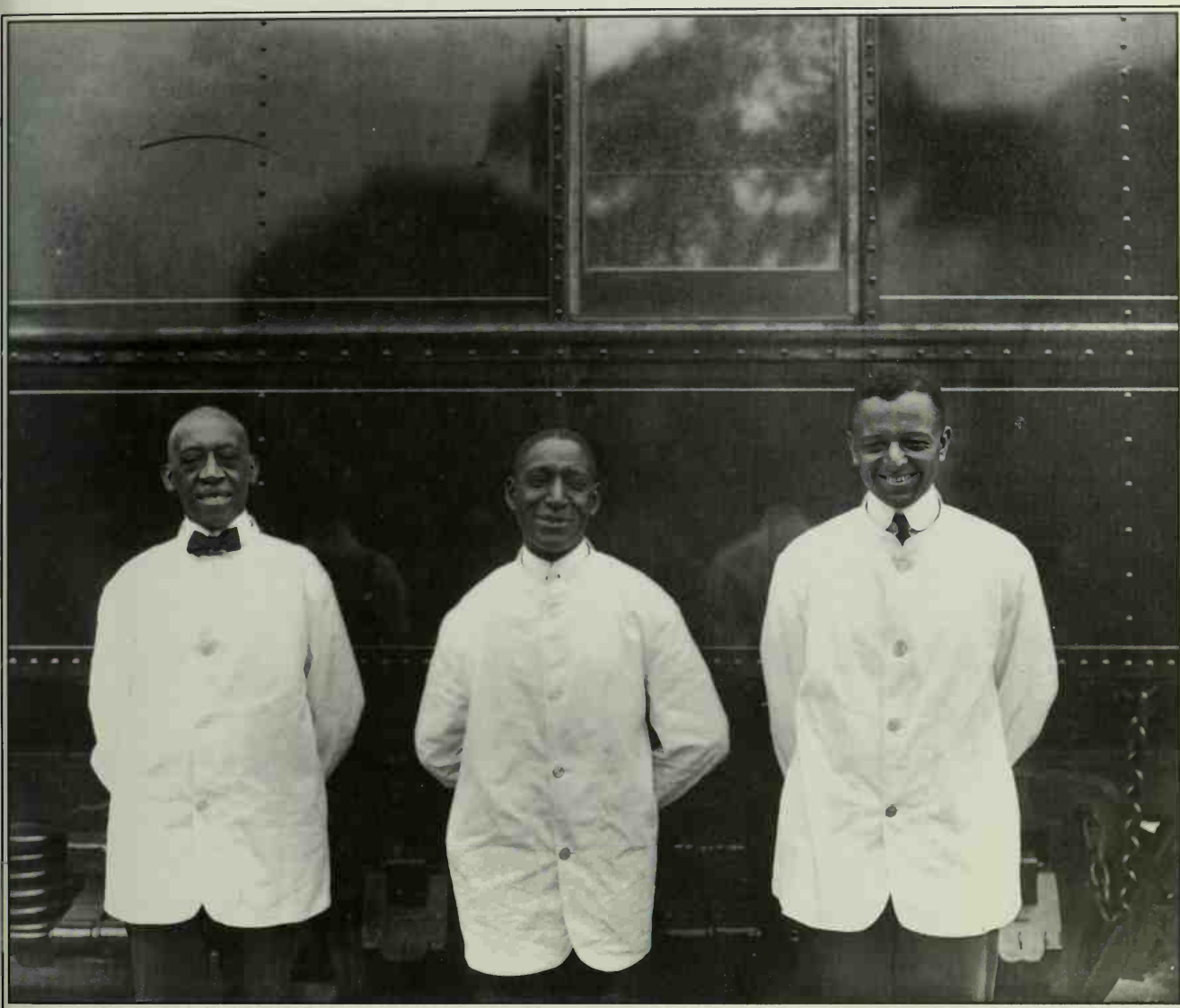
In 1969, the chapter gift-deeded to the state thirteen pieces of equipment (the first of thirty-three pieces eventually given) for exhibit at the proposed facility. Political support and state funding for the project were secured, and in July 1976, the first phase of the California State Railroad Museum, the reconstructed 1876 Central Pacific Railroad Passenger Station, opened. Five years later, on May 2, 1981, the Museum of Railroad History, a 100,000-square-foot building housing multi-media presentations, two theaters, twenty-one meticulously restored locomotives and cars, and more than forty

interpretive exhibits, opened amid the celebrations of *Railfair Sacramento 1981*.

The library and archives had been an integral component of the California State Railroad Museum since the project's inception. It was clear to the founders that a thoughtfully assembled collection of published, manuscript, and pictorial materials, available for public reference use, would not only enhance the museum's services but also support its restoration and educational programs. With this goal in mind, as locomotives, uniforms, lanterns, and a myriad of artifacts were gathered for the museum, the collections staff acquired donations of books, periodicals, photographs, manuscript materials, corporate publications, and ephemera, forming the nucleus of the California State Railroad Museum Library. At first, library collections remained in an off-site collections management facility. Eventually, some were moved to the planned site of the library in the Big Four Building when it was completed, adjacent to the Museum of Railroad History. When the librarian joined the staff one week prior to the museum's gala grand opening, the nineteenth-century-style reading room and the modern rare book vault were filled with hundreds of archival storage cartons, waiting to "become" the library. In the subsequent ten years, the library staff has created a preeminent center for the study of railroad history.

The focus of the library's collecting has been the history of railroads and railroading in California and the adjacent states from the 1850s to the present. Collections also cover selected railroad topics throughout North America, including Canada,





Railroading is a career that crosses age as well as racial lines. In this view, printed from the original glass-plate negative, three generations of Pullman employees exemplify the pride and good humor that secured for sleeping car attendants, porters, and dining car waiters a permanent place in railroad history and lore. This and other illustrations in this article are examples of the rich visual images collected by the California State Railroad Museum Archives and Library. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*



Mexico, and Central America. Emphasis is on acquiring materials relating to the economic, social, political, cultural, technological, and environmental impacts that the industry has had, and continues to have, on the region. The library supports the museum's interpretive goals, as well, through the collection of materials on the development of railroad technology.

The collection has been assembled primarily through donations from individual and corporate benefactors. Gifts range in size from a single menu saved from a memorable vacation on the *California Zephyr* train to more than 2,000 cartons of books, periodicals, and ephemera—the remaining stock of the late California and Nevada railroadiana dealer, Grahame H. Hardy. Railroads, unions, and equipment manufacturers contribute financial, operational, equipment, and personnel records to the library for preservation and use.

A major event in the history of any community occurred with the arrival of the railroad. In the case of Oakland, California, its second transcontinental rail connection came on August 22, 1910, when a Western Pacific Railway train steamed into town amid appropriate festivities. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

The state and the non-profit California State Railroad Museum Foundation provide for the purchase of selected additions through their Opportunity Acquisition Program.

The deposit of the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society research collection at the California State Railroad Museum in 1982 considerably expanded the library's resources. Founded in 1921, the society was the first organization in North America to focus on railroad history, and it has



been a pioneer in promoting transportation and technological studies. The society's collection reflects its nationwide constituency, offering photographic and printed documentation for over 3,000 North American railroads. The society funds a part-time archivist, in residence at the Railroad Museum, to process its collection and provide reference services.

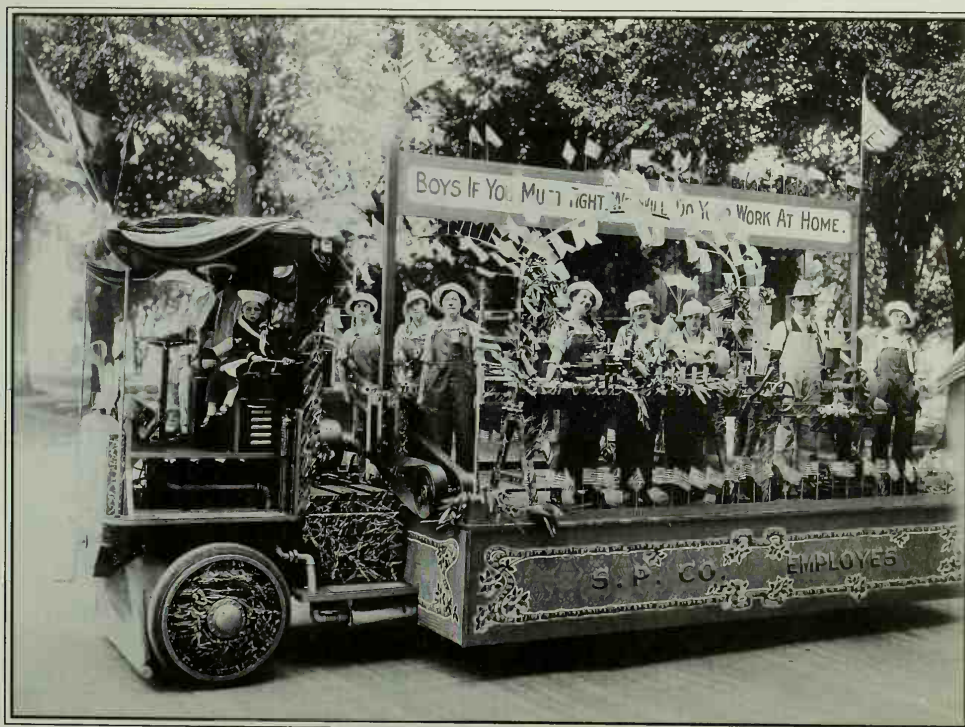
Railroads have provided subject matter for authors since a steam locomotive, the British-built *Stourbridge Lion*, first operated on this continent at Honsdale, Pennsylvania, August 8, 1829. The library's book collection numbers over 5,000 titles ranging from corporate histories, regional surveys, and engineering and technological treatises to pic-

torial accounts of a single railroad or a geographic area and how-to volumes for modelers. Periodicals, both corporate and commercial, document a wide variety of railroad-related endeavors. There are over 720 titles in the library's serials collection. The oldest issue is *The American Railroad Journal* for February 25, 1832, the most recent, the current month's *Trains* magazine.

Specialized reference works provide information for historical, equipment, and genealogical research. Henry V. Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, issued annually from 1868, and Moody's various railroad manuals, issued annually from 1900, provide summary histories of North American railroads. Annual reports issued by nearly 250 railroads supplement these business references. Corporate coverage extends from the 1837 second annual report of the Western Rail Road Corporation (Massachusetts) to reports issued in the 1980s by the short-lived Santa Fe Southern Pacific Corporation. Train, route, and schedule information can be traced in *The Official Guide of the Railways*, published monthly since 1868 and containing the passenger schedules of over 700 North American

---

As workers at the Southern Pacific's Sacramento General Shops traded in their overalls and tools for army olive drab and rifles in 1917, women of the community demonstrated their willingness and ability to keep the railroad rolling. This process would be repeated on an even larger scale during World War II. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*



railroads. The library has two issues per year prior to 1904, and nearly all issues since then.

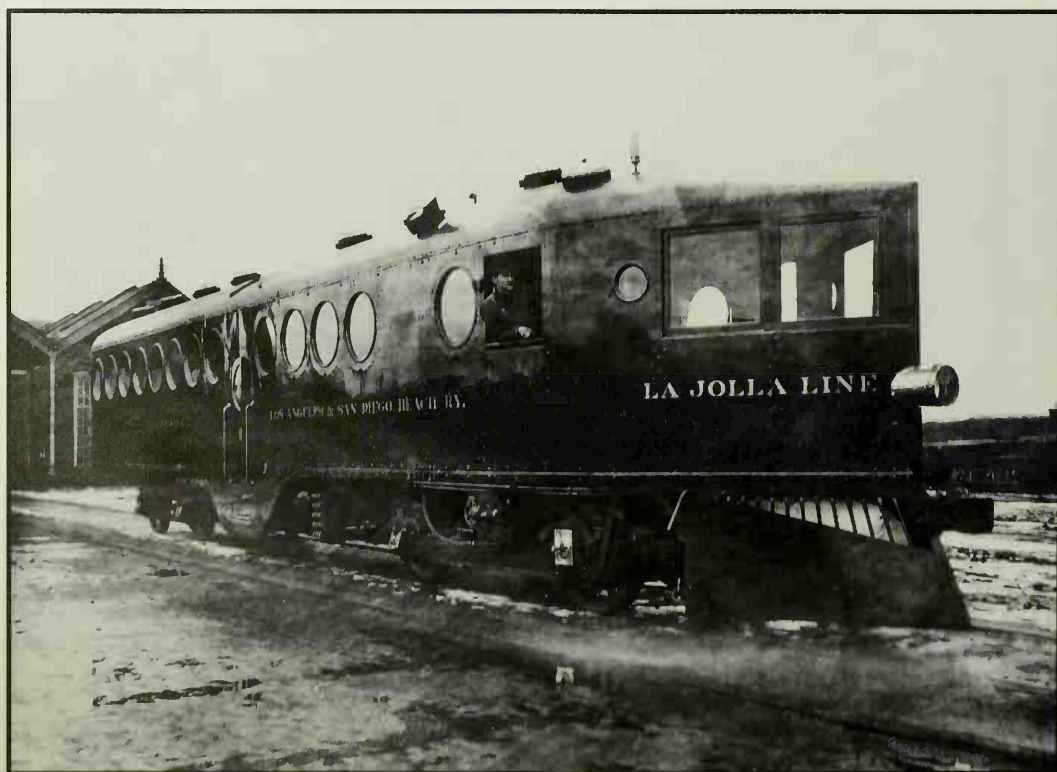
The railroad industry has furthered the careers of many prominent men and women and supported countless rank and file workers. References such as *The Biographical Directory of the Railway Officials of America* (issued irregularly between 1885 and 1922), *Who's Who in Railroading in North America* (issued irregularly between 1930 and 1968) and the current *Who's Who in Railroading and Rail Transit* provide basic career and biographical details for upper-level management personnel. *The Pocket List of Railroad Officials*, once truly pocket-size, has since 1895 provided concise listings of railroad management on a quarterly basis. Depending upon the size of the railroad, entries might reach further down the corporate ladder, documenting a more varied sampling of railroad employees. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway and Southern Pacific Railroad have donated many superseded employment files. Other personnel information can be found in the library's holdings of company magazines,

corporate seniority lists, and regularly issued listings of officers and station agents. Separate biographical files also cover such disparate railroad personalities as hobo "Hood River" Blackie and railway raconteur Lucius Beebe.

Much railroad research centers around the study of operating equipment. The photographs, drawings, diagrams, specifications, glossaries, and descriptive texts published in the *Car Builders' Dictionary* and *Locomotive Dictionary* provide a wealth

---

A forerunner of the streamlined train, sharp-prowed McKeen Motor Cars saw service on short and branch lines where passenger traffic would not justify using a locomotive and coaches. This view of Los Angeles & San Diego Beach Railway motor car No. 2 was taken at McKeen's Omaha, Nebraska, plant during the first decade of the twentieth century. This line began service in 1887 as the San Diego and Old Town and had extended nearly sixteen miles north to La Jolla by its abandonment in 1917. Union Pacific Railroad photo. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.





of mechanical information. The library has a complete set of both series, issued on an irregular basis since the late 1800s. The hefty tomes, some reaching 1,500 pages, originally kept railroad personnel abreast of current practices and advances within the industry. *The Official Railway Equipment Register*, published monthly beginning in 1885 and quarterly since 1937, lists in tabular form details of car ownership, markings and numbers, and dimensions and capacity for North American railroads.

Railroads have been prolific in documenting and promoting themselves. The library's corporate collections refer to over 1,000 companies. In some files, there may be only a newspaper clipping; in others, such as Western Pacific, there are hundreds of references. Timetables, both employee and public, give train and schedule information. Rule books define operating procedures for various departments such as transportation, maintenance-of-way, or passenger. Classification and assignment books inventory locomotives and rolling stock. Artistically designed and printed brochures promote the pleasure and convenience of train travel. Historical information can also be gleaned from such diverse documents as menus, stationery, rail passes, membership cards, certificates, and forms.

The library's subject files cover topics such as movies, miniature railroads, rail and spikes, hobos, and railroad terminology. Topics broader in scope, but with a railroad connection, are found in files relating to manufacturers, associations, clubs and unions, tourist and land promotions, fairs, and railway and technology museums. The trade catalogue collection contains product information for more than 700 manufacturers. Every conceivable item related to the construction, operation, and maintenance of a railroad can be found in the catalogues. An extensive collection of California rail enthusiast organization by-laws, membership lists, and excursion announcements complements the information available in the library's holdings of club newsletters. The Railroad Museum's history is preserved in clippings files, as well as in extensive visual and written documentation of its restoration programs.

Railroad-related subjects have been captured on nearly every photographic format. The California State Railroad Museum Library contains examples of all, from daguerreotype and glass plate to color slide, from stereograph to videocassette. There are

over 2,500 railroads listed in the library's photograph catalogue, and within the first weeks of the library's opening in 1981, it became apparent that these rich photographic resources would be in great demand. Since most requests relate to a particular railroad and nearly all of the photographs can be identified by railroad, corporate names became the key to organizing the library's more than one million images. If the quantity of photographs for a particular railroad warrants, they are further subdivided alphabetically by subject, based on railroad-specific topics and standard library headings. Photographs of locomotives are separated into categories such as steam, diesel, and electric, and then arranged by the roster number assigned to each engine by the railroad. Buildings such as stations or roundhouses are classified by state and city. Rolling stock is divided into freight, maintenance-of-way, or passenger, and then by type of equipment. Identified portraits, whether of a single track worker or a lineup of the Southern Pacific baseball team, are indexed in a separate portrait file.

As with its published materials, the library's photographic collections have been formed primarily from donations. Gifts range in size from a family album to official corporate files. The Southern Pacific Engineering Department print file contains rare views of construction in Oregon, California, and Arizona during the early twentieth century. Hundreds of builders' photographs display Santa Fe's freight car production. Donations from the collections of several San Francisco Bay Area railroad enthusiasts, including those of Paul Darrell, Gilbert H. Kneiss, Stanley F. Merritt, and Louis L. Stein, Jr., have been catalogued. In 1986 the library's photographic holdings increased significantly with the donation of the Gerald Martin Best collection. In addition to a career as a Hollywood sound engineer for Warner Brothers and Disney Studios, Best was the author of numerous books, including *Iron Horses to Promontory*, *Mexican Narrow Gauge*, and *Nevada County Narrow Gauge*. Best's lifelong passion for railroad photography resulted in a collection of over 55,000 black-and-white negatives, documenting more than 2,500 railroads.

Full-size drawings, especially those produced by manufacturers, are the most desirable source for construction details. The library's drawings holdings are extensive, with the collections of the Lima Locomotive Works (over 50,000 items) and





the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway (over 25,000 items) forming the largest. Early California builders are represented by examples from Carter Brothers, Golden Gate and Miners Iron Works, and the Union Iron Works. Researchers also have access to information regarding the Baldwin Locomotive Works, H. K. Porter Company, Union Pacific Railroad, and the Vulcan Iron Works through microfilm of collections from other institutions. Drawings by many other North American railroads and manufacturers are also available. These include renderings not only of locomotives and cars but also of bridges, boats, stations, turntables, roundhouses, water towers, motor cars, and a multitude of obscure but essential parts. Specification sheets and diagram books provide additional information about design and construction.

Over 1,000 catalogued maps make up the library's cartographic collections. Covering a period from the 1850s to the 1970s, the maps are largely ink-on-linen manuscript maps, and they encompass the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway in the Southwest and the Southern Pacific Railroad in northern and central California and Nevada, as well as numerous short lines and industrial railroads. The maps illustrate track locations, station plans, profiles, and rights-of-way. Of special importance to this collection is a fragile rendering showing possible railroad routes across the Sierra Nevada that has been attributed to Theodore Dehone Judah, the first chief engineer of the Central Pacific Railroad in the early 1860s.

Archival and manuscript collections range in size from one item to several hundred cartons. The financial and administrative records of several California and far western railroads form the core of the library's archival holdings. In particular, the records of the Southern Pacific Railroad, its predecessors and subsidiary companies prior to 1920, and the executive files of the Western Pacific Railroad serve as cornerstones of the archives. The manuscript collections contain personal papers, drafts, and research notes of railroad writers and historians, as well as a wide variety of railroad-related documents and records accumulated by private collectors.

The California State Railroad Museum Library has an abundance of every form of railroad record. Finding aids have been developed for each type of material. Some, such as the majority of the manuscript collections, have typewritten inventories. Others are available through the library's automated databases or traditional card catalogue. While materials from the California State Railroad Museum Library collections do not circulate, all are available for research use in the reading room. A librarian and two archivists provide reference services. Reference requests are also handled by telephone and mail. Full reproduction services, including photocopy, photographic, and blueline, are available. The address of the California State Railroad Museum Library is 111 I Street, Sacramento, CA 95814, (916) 323-8073. The library is open for research by the public Tuesday through Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m., state holidays excepted.

*(A list of major collections at the California State Railroad Museum Library appears on the following pages.)*

---

*Blaine Peterson Lamb, Archivist of the California State Railroad Museum, is a graduate of the University of San Diego, where he also obtained a master's degree in history. In addition, he holds a Ph.D. in history from Arizona State University. His articles and reviews have appeared in the Journal of the West, Journal of Arizona History, Journal of San Diego History and Western Historical Quarterly.*

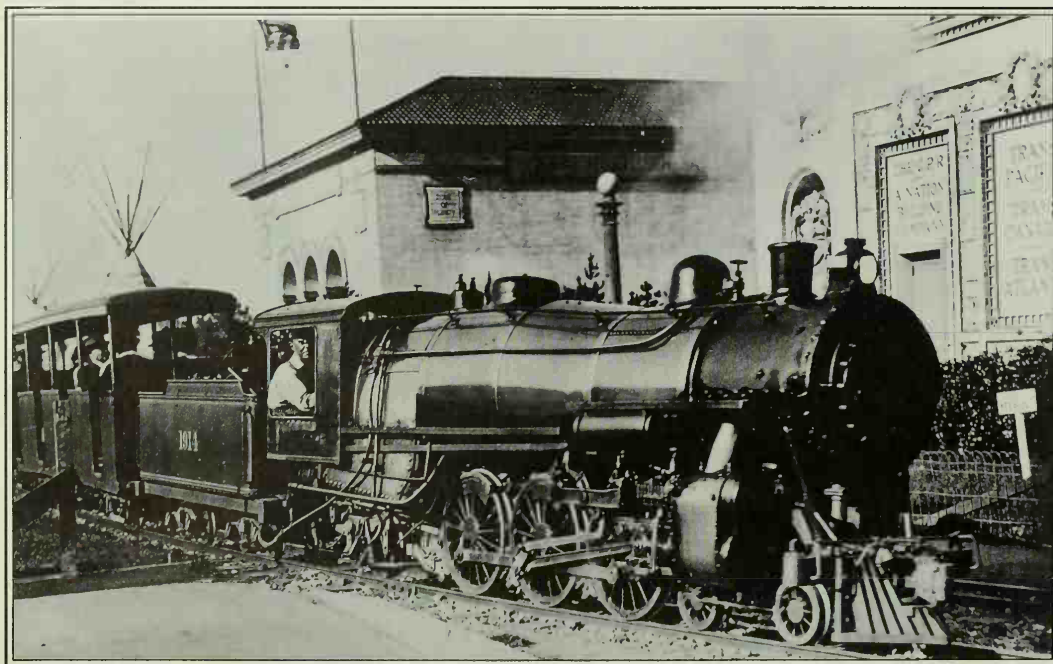
*Ellen Halteman Schwartz, Librarian of the California State Railroad Museum, is a graduate of Washington University in St. Louis. She holds two master's degrees, in Library Science from the University of California, Berkeley, and in Art History from the University of California, Davis. She is the author of several publications relating to California art, including the recently-issued Northern California Art Exhibition Catalogues (1878-1915): A Descriptive Checklist & Index. Her next book is a history of the San Francisco Art Association and an index to its exhibitions for the period 1872 to 1915.*

## CHECKLIST OF MAJOR COLLECTIONS California State Railroad Museum

The entries that follow represent a cross-section of the library's major holdings of archives, manuscripts, maps, and drawings. They are arranged alphabetically by the name of the collection. The body of each entry contains a brief discussion of the individual or corporate entity involved and a description of the collection. As some materials are stored off-site, an advance telephone or written inquiry to the library regarding specific reference requests is advised.

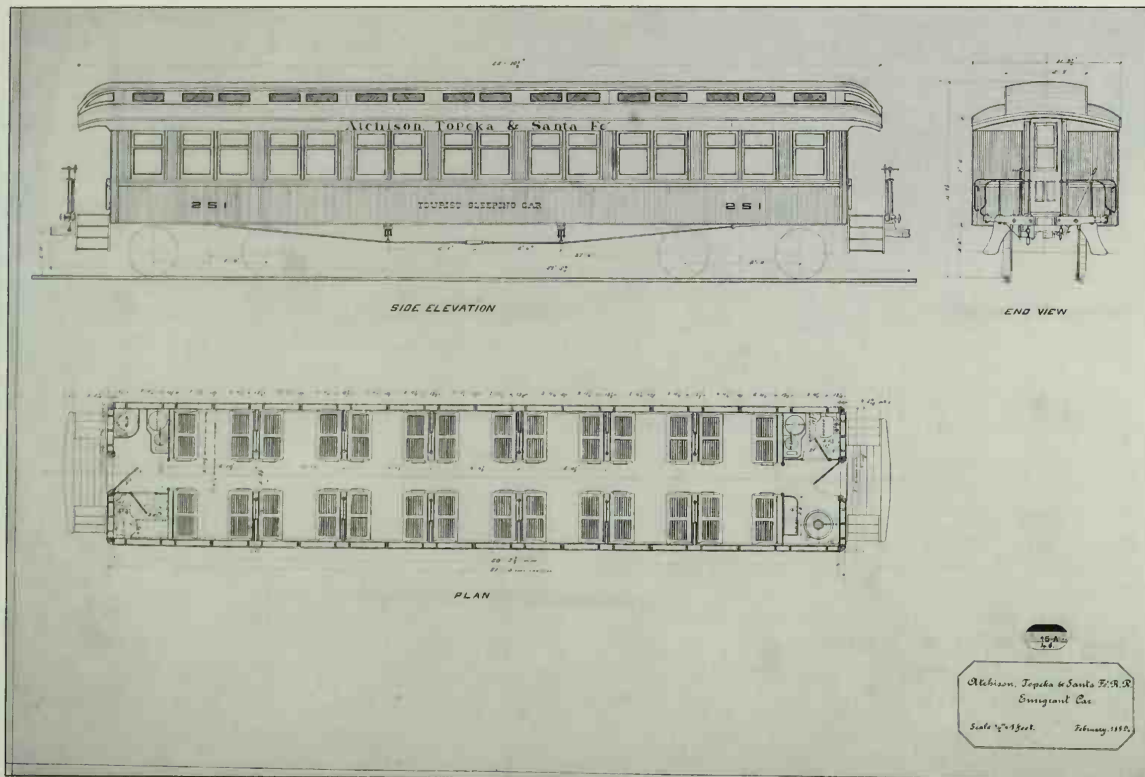
### Arcata & Mad River Railroad Papers, 1885-1935 MS 1.71

Incorporated in 1881, the Arcata & Mad River Railroad served lumbering interests in northwestern California for over one hundred years. The line was abandoned in 1985. The railroad was narrow-gauge until 1933, at which time it was converted to standard-gauge. The collection consists of letters, invoices, vouchers, circulars, receipts, manifests, and legal documents.



Overfair Railway Pacific-type locomotive No. 1914 pulls a trainload of excursionists past the Great Northern Railway and Canadian Pacific Railroad pavilions at San Francisco's 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Designed and built by Oakland resident Louis M. MacDermot, this miniature pike ran on nineteen-inch-gauge track along the bay, the northern boundary of the Exposition grounds. Another Overfair locomotive, the No. 1915, is being restored for display at the California State Railroad Museum's ten-year anniversary celebration, *Railfair '91*, May 3 to 12, 1991. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.





### Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Maps, Engineering Notebooks, and Drawings, 1870s-1970s

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway was California's third transcontinental rail connection. It began building west from Topeka, Kansas, in 1869 and reached San Diego in 1885. Over the next two decades, the Santa Fe extended its trackage throughout the coastal region of southern California and through the San Joaquin Valley to San Francisco Bay. The maps are mostly ink on linen and encompass the Santa Fe's coast-bound lines from Albuquerque, New Mexico, to San Diego and San Francisco. Predecessor and subsidiary companies include the San Francisco & San Joaquin Valley Railway, California Southern Railway, Southern California Railway, Santa Fe, Prescott & Phoenix Railway, and Eastern Railway of New Mexico. While the maps contain useful information, such as the locations of tracks, depots, and associated structures, some serve also as fine examples of the cartographer's art, with intricate lettering and attention to detail. The engineering notebooks also relate to the Coast Lines and consist of sketchbooks and inventories kept by engineers and surveyors during the location, building, and later resurveying of the Santa Fe's routes across the Southwest and California. Many of the notebooks include plans and pencil sketches of depots,

Frequently requested by modelers and railroad equipment preservationists, ink-on-linen drawings, such as this 1889 Santa Fe Railway emigrant car, comprise an important portion of the California State Railroad Museum Library's collection. Hard wood seats offered spartan accommodation to passengers during the week-long trip from the Midwest to their new homes and farms in California. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Collection. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

shops, bridges, water tanks, section gang housing, privies, and other structures, while others concentrate on topographical features, track locations, and rights-of-way. In addition, there are a few diaries and other accounts that indicate the type of work done by the engineers and describe life in survey and construction camps a century ago. The library's Santa Fe Railway holdings also contain over 25,000 original rolling stock drawings. The majority of these are ink or pencil on linen, originating from the Santa Fe's Topeka, Kansas, shops and covering a period from the late 1880s to the mid-twentieth century. Both passenger and freight equipment are included among the rolling stock drawings.

### **Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway**

Personnel Records, 1890s-ca. 1950

Typewritten sheets record work histories of over 20,000 Santa Fe employees in southern California and Arizona. Firemen, brakemen, conductors, switchmen, yardmen, laborers, and station and office workers are among the positions recorded. Personal information may include date and location of birth, physical description, and social security number. Descendants may unwittingly uncover "black sheep" through lists of demerits and reprimands. Several alphabetical sequences are missing and entries in the bound volumes are not in alphabetical order. These records have been filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah.

### **Best, Gerald Martin**

Papers, 1932-1981

MS 16

Railroad historian and photographer Gerald Martin Best (1895-1985) pursued a career as a pioneer in motion picture sound technology. While in the motion picture industry, he also found time to amass a collection of tens of thousands of railroad photographs, primarily of locomotives on lines throughout North America, and to write two books on railroad history. After retirement, he continued to photograph and write, authoring ten additional books and several articles on railroads in the western United States, as well as in Hawaii and Mexico. His last article appeared in *Railroad History* following his death in 1985 at the age of ninety. The Best Papers consist of correspondence, research notes, and railroad equipment rosters relating to his published and unpublished writings. A large collection of photographs complements the papers.

### **Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Pacific Division, No. 110**

Records, 1869-1933

MS 22

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers came into existence on May 8, 1863, in Detroit, Michigan. Organized into local divisions, the Brotherhood soon attracted members throughout the country. Pacific Division, No. 110, formed in December 1869 in Rocklin, California, consisted of engineers employed by the Central Pacific Railroad. The following June, the division moved to its permanent home in Sacramento, and over the years it attracted members from other railroads as they became established in the Sacramento area. Records include minute books, correspondence, cash books, and dues and assessments ledgers containing information on the division's organization, officers, membership, finances, and responses to major labor issues such as the 1894 Pullman Strike.

### **Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen**

Records, 1890-1962

MS 3

Although the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was

founded on December 1, 1873, to provide mutual support for railroad firemen, it did not become involved in labor-management issues until later in the nineteenth century. By 1900, the organization had also changed its name to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen to allow engineers to hold membership. In 1969 it became a part of the United Transportation Union. The collection includes reports on national labor relations issues, general chairman's reports on labor disputes on the Southern Pacific, El Paso and Southwestern, and Northwestern Pacific Railroads, and a 1913 report on the electrification of the Southern Pacific's East San Francisco Bay suburban lines that also contains information on operating practices on the Pacific Electric Railway.

### **California Traction Project**

Report, 1907

MS 1.41

The report discusses the feasibility of constructing a rail line from San Francisco Bay in Marin County to serve Napa, Lake, Yolo, and Sacramento counties. The project was never undertaken.

### **Central Pacific Railroad**

Chinese Payroll, 1865

MS 1.92

The payroll sheet, dated April 1865, provides information on wages for Chinese construction gangs building the Central Pacific Railroad over the Sierra Nevada.

### **Central Pacific Railroad**

Drawings, 1860s-1880s

This collection of over 1,600 drawings consists primarily of plans for steam locomotives and equipment for Sacramento shops facilities. Most date from the 1870s, and some may be the work of the Central Pacific's General Master Mechanic, Andrew Jackson Stevens (1833-1888). During his tenure at the Sacramento Shops from 1870 until his death, Stevens oversaw the design and development of numerous mechanical appliances for locomotives and cars. The devices depicted in these drawings were fabricated and installed at an industrial complex that included locomotive and car shops, brass, iron and steel foundries, and a lumber mill.

### **Central Pacific Railroad**

Station Plan Book, ca. 1880

MS 24

The volume contains hand-drawn pen-and-ink plans and maps for stations along the Central Pacific Railroad's Salt Lake and Humboldt divisions and a portion of the Truckee Division in Utah and Nevada.

### **Central Pacific Railroad, Land Department**

Letters, 1871-1874

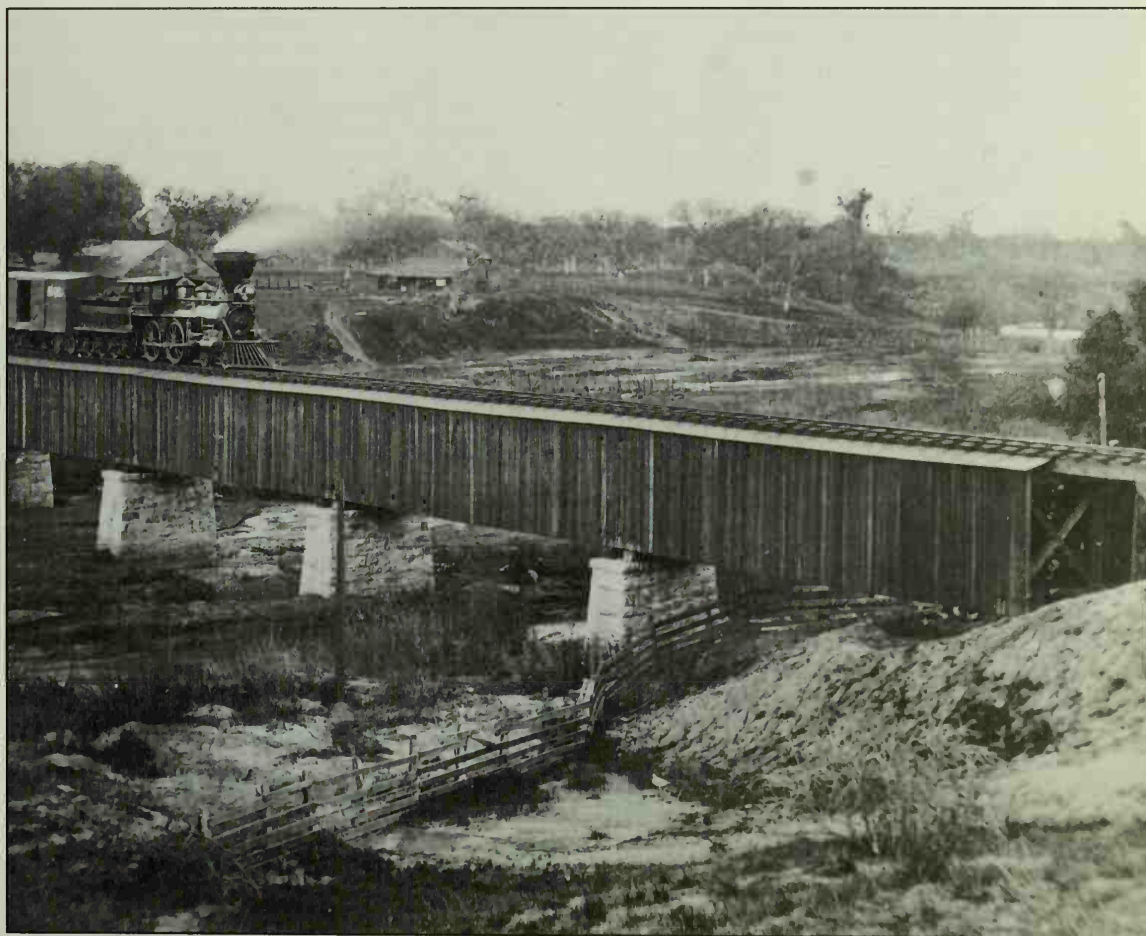
MS 1.58

The volume contains 155 letters, mostly from Central Pacific Railroad land agent B. B. Redding in Sacramento, concerning land disputes and litigation involving the California and Oregon Railroad.



From the beginning, railroads learned the value of promotion and publicity. Between 1865 and 1869, the Central Pacific Railroad hired pioneer California photographer Alfred A. Hart (1816-1908) to produce commercially available stereoscopic views of the line's construction and scenery along its route. The first payment to Hart (right), authorized by Central Pacific legal advisor Edwin Bryant Crocker, is among several records of the photographer's service preserved in the library's Central Pacific and Southern Pacific voucher collection. In this half of a Hart stereograph (below), a Central Pacific locomotive leads a train across the Dry Creek bridge, seventeen miles east of Sacramento. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

Voucher No. _____	Refers to Abstract No. _____
CENTRAL PACIFIC RAIL ROAD COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA	
1866.	To <i>A. A. Hart Dr.</i>
CHARGED TO	
<i>June 20 32 negatives for stereographic views - \$150.00</i>	
Received <i>Jan 2</i> 1866, of the	
CENTRAL PACIFIC RAIL ROAD COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA, the sum of <i>one hundred &amp; fifty</i> Dollars,	
in full of the above Account	
<i>\$150-</i>	



### **Chico Electric Railway**

Records, 1904-1905

MS 5

The Chico Electric Railway was organized in 1904 through the efforts of the Diamond Match Company. Service in the Chico area began in January of the following year. The line later became part of the Northern Electric Railway. The records include the by-laws, journal, ledger, and letters relating to the organization of the company.

### **Clar, Raymond L.**

Collection, 1885-1887

MS 1.5

The collection consists of letters from Collis Potter Huntington, Leland Stanford, and Charles Crocker, mostly concerning a loan made to the Southern Pacific Company.

### **Eureka and Palisade Railroad**

Records, 1876-1903

MS 13

The Eureka and Palisade Railroad came into existence in 1873 to provide transportation in Nevada between the mining camp of Eureka and the Central Pacific Railroad at Palisade. In 1912 its name was changed to the Eureka-Nevada Railway. Abandonment of the line occurred in 1938. Letters, forms, and invoices relating to daily operation of the railroad comprise the collection.

### **Gordon, Mary Lou**

Letter, 1964

MS 1.36

The letter from Mary Lou Gordon, director of passenger services for the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, transmits a qualifications sheet for applicants for "Zephyrette" positions on the *California Zephyr* train.

### **Hall-Scott Motor Car Company**

Drawings, 1905-1926

Organized in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1910, the Hall-Scott Motor Car Company manufactured a total of twenty-three gasoline and distillate powered cars for short line railroads in the United States, including the Holton Inter-Urban Railway in the Imperial Valley of southern California, the Stockton Terminal and Eastern Railroad, and the Nevada Copper Belt, as well as for lines in Canada and China. In addition, the company built trailers, marine and aviation engines, and buses. Blueprint and pencil-on-paper side elevations, cross sections, and detail drawings of rail motor cars, locomotives, coaches, trailers, and freight equipment make up the collection. Some of the drawings relate to work done by the company's founders before its incorporation.

### **Haskin, D. C.**

Papers, 1867-1868

MS 1.32 and 1.110

D. C. Haskin was a tracklaying contractor for the California Pacific Railroad between Vallejo and Fairfield-Suisun. The papers relate to a claim against him.

### **Heintzelman, Taylor W.**

Letters, 1909

MS 1.111

Taylor W. Heintzelman (died 1918) began his railroad career in 1865 as an apprentice in the machine shop of the Cincinnati and Chicago Air Line Railway. After working for the St. Paul and Sioux City and the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City railways, he entered the service of the Southern Pacific Railroad at Sacramento as a master mechanic in 1888. He later became superintendent of motive power. The letters concern patents obtained by Heintzelman for locomotive and railroad car appliances.

### **Judah, Theodore Dehone and Family**

Collection, 1850-1950

MS 2

Theodore Dehone Judah (1826-1863) was the most ardent promoter of the construction of a transcontinental railroad in antebellum California. He convinced the "Big Four"—Sacramento merchants Leland Stanford, Collis Potter Huntington, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins—to launch the Central Pacific Railroad in 1861, with himself as chief engineer. Judah later broke with his partners and died of yellow fever in 1863 at age 37, while on a trip to the East to raise funds to buy back the Central Pacific. Included in the collection are a handwritten biographical memoir of Theodore Judah, possibly written by his wife, Anna Pierce Judah, business and personal letters to and from Theodore and Anna Judah, the script of a radio play entitled *Crazy Judah*, photographs, and books from Theodore Judah's library.

### **Kneiss, Gilbert Harold**

Collection, 1861-1964

MS 17

Gilbert Harold Kneiss (1899-1964) was a writer, historian, and public relations executive with the Western Pacific Railroad. In addition, as founding chairman of the Pacific Coast Chapter of the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, he became a pioneer in historic railroad preservation. The collection consists largely of railroad records accumulated by Kneiss prior to his death in 1964, including papers relating to the construction and early history of the Western Pacific. The correspondence of the Western Pacific's first president, Edward T. Jeffery, its vice-president and chief engineer Virgil Bogue, and other officials during the period prior to 1916 make up a large portion of the collection. It also contains letterpress books of the management of the Nevada Central Railroad (1881-1890), train registers and shipping registers of the Virginia & Truckee Railroad (1872-1897), individual documents from a number of western railroads, Kneiss's research notebooks on California and Nevada railroads, and his business and personal papers.

### **Lawser, Mary Louise**

Papers and Drawings, 1941-1957

MS 19

During the 1940s and 1950s, Mary Louise Lawser (1908-1985) furnished interior designs and artwork for streamline



Right: When word of the violence associated with the national Pullman Strike reached the Southern Pacific Railroad in California during the summer of 1894, warnings to be prepared for trouble went forth from the company's management.

104

Sacto July 7<sup>th</sup> 1894

The following, under date of July 6<sup>th</sup> is from  
Gen: Manager A. K. Downer, to Mr. Small, copy of which has been sent

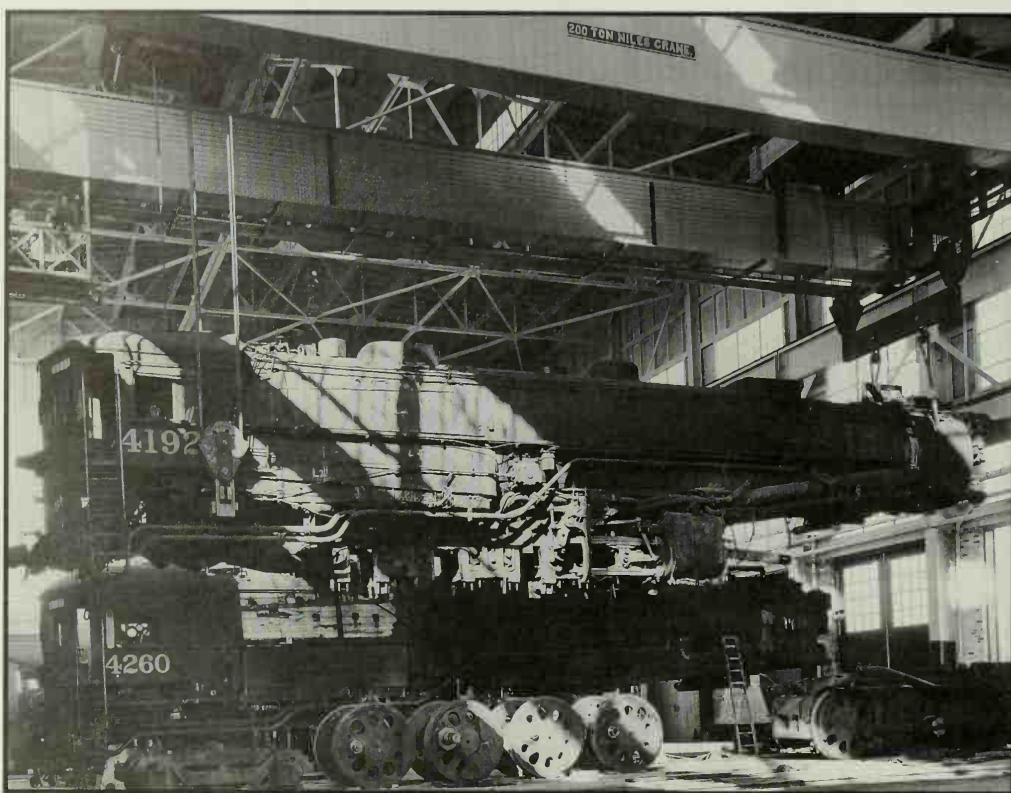
"Keep & report an accurate record of each & every case of damage to the Company's property occurring during the strike now in progress, noting down the circumstances and description of the property damaged, in full detail, together with the names & parties causing the damage where possible to ascertain them; also names of reliable & disinterested persons witnessing the damage. Keep & connect with these records & reports, careful accounts of the cost of repairing each case of damage caused by strikers or by Mob Violence or other unusual & unlawful interference with our property

Yours Truly  
W. B. Fitch MCB

W. B. Fitch,  
Foreman Painter  
The Above for your information  
Yours Truly  
W. B. Fitch  
Gen Foreman

Below: Emergency military encampment, Sacramento, July 1894. To minimize the danger to railroad property and to ensure the trains went through during the Pullman Strike, California National Guard and federal troops protected facilities in Sacramento and rode the locomotives and cars. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.





Completed in 1944 to ease the wartime strain on other repair facilities, Southern Pacific's Sparks, Nevada, erecting shop was capable of handling the line's largest engines, including the massive cab-forward locomotives that pulled Victory Trains over the Sierra Nevada. A 200-ton electric traveling crane easily lifted these behemoths up and over one of the eleven locomotive pits for overhaul. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

passenger cars built by Pullman and the Budd Company. Her projects included the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway's *El Capitan* train and the *California Zephyr* of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, Denver and Rio Grande, and Western Pacific railroads. The collection contains correspondence, pamphlets, and brochures, as well as original sketches and preliminary color renderings of murals for the cars of the Seaboard Air Line and the *California Zephyr*.

### Lima Locomotive Works

#### Drawings, 1878-1949

In 1878, the Lima Works of Allen County, Ohio, a builder of boilers, sawmill equipment, and steam traction engines, decided to begin the manufacture of railroad locomotives. Soon after entering this field, the firm started manufacturing geared Shay locomotives for logging, mining, and other industrial railroads. These engines proved exceedingly popular, and hundreds were built. After the turn of the century, Lima expanded into the production of full-size road engines and by the 1920s had developed a number of innovations in steam locomotive technology, leading to the "super power" concept that helped the company gain twenty percent of the market. With the decline of steam power after World War II, Lima

shifted to building diesel locomotives with indifferent success. Mergers with General Machinery of Hamilton, Ohio, and Lima's former arch-competitor, the Baldwin Locomotive Works, followed, but these did not result in a healthy company. Locomotive production at Lima ceased in 1951. The Lima Locomotive Works Collection consists of over 50,000 primarily ink-on-linen drawings. Almost all are of steam locomotives, both rod and geared, although there are a handful of diesel and gas engine drawings. Some of the drawings are side elevations, but the majority illustrate detail parts. In addition to the drawings, the collection contains specifications and manuscript indexes that list the drawings for locomotives ordered and constructed.



### **Mission Bay Roundhouse**

Log Books, 1943-1959

MS 30

The collection consists of foremen's log books and one locomotive departure times log for the Southern Pacific Railroad's Mission Bay roundhouse in San Francisco. The volumes describe tests and repairs on locomotives, tools and equipment used, accidents, and personnel matters during the period of transition between steam and diesel-electric motive power on the Southern Pacific.

### **Northern Electric Railway**

Records, 1912-1915

MS 6

The Northern Electric Railway Company operated almost 160 miles of track from Sacramento to Chico, California, with branches to Woodland, Colusa, Hamilton, Swanston, and Oroville, and an isolated branch between Suisun and Vacaville. The company was organized in 1907 and entered receivership in 1914. It was sold at auction four years later to the Sacramento Northern Railroad Company. The collection includes a transfer ledger documenting land sales in Sutter County by the Northern Electric and its real estate subsidiary, the Northern Realty Company, a consultant's report on the Northern Electric Railway, its subsidiaries, and its rail and river competitors, and miscellaneous financial papers.

### **Pullman Company**

Glass plate and film negatives, 1880s-1940s

Pullman's Palace Car Company was incorporated in 1867 in Illinois by George Mortimer Pullman. In addition to operating a sleeping car service on American railroad lines, the Pullman Company built railway passenger cars at its plants in Detroit and Pullman, Illinois, beginning in 1870. Upon completion, company photographers documented production by taking interior, exterior, and detail views of passenger and freight equipment. These views, from sleepers and coaches to ornate private and business cars, reveal the workmanship of one of America's foremost car manufacturers. The initial purchase of 2,060 glass plates was augmented in 1988 by a gift of over 1,000 negatives. A printed guide, arranged by Pullman negative number, is available.

### **Roberts Lumber Company**

Papers, 1913, 1917

MS 1.60

The papers are legal documents and letters pertaining to the foreclosure sale of the Roberts Lumber Company in Plumas County, California, to the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

### **Railroad Law Enforcement**

Collection, 1870-1977

MS 26

Included in the collection are correspondence between law enforcement officials, manuscripts, clippings, trial transcripts,

police reports, "wanted" circulars, photographs, scrapbooks, and printed matter relating to train robberies and other crimes associated with railroads in California and the West. It contains material on the derailment of the *City of San Francisco* train in Nevada in 1939, the murder trial of Pullman attendant Robert Folkes in the 1940s, and the exploits of such infamous individuals as the De Autremont brothers, Bill Miner, Chris Evans, and John Sontag.

### **San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railway**

Papers, 1895-1896

MS 1.3

The collection contains printed copies of the articles of incorporation of the San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railway, calls for stockholders' meetings, minutes and proceedings of a stockholders' meeting, and an order for a bond issue.

### **Shaw, Frederic Joseph**

Papers, 1914-1967

MS 45

Sausalito resident Frederic Joseph "Cap" Shaw (1883-1961), was an architect by profession, a writer by avocation. His three works, *Casey Jones' Locker*, *Little Railways of the World*, and *Oil Lamps and Iron Ponies*, are sought after by railroad book collectors. The collection contains correspondence between Shaw and various railroad personalities, including Lucius Beebe, Gerald Best, Paul Darrell, Walt Disney, William "Billy" Jones, and Albert Sheldon Pennoyer. Also included are rough drafts and manuscripts for Shaw's books, many of his published photographs, and several original ink-on-paper drawings, maps, and architectural plans.

### **Shelton Adjustable Double Deck Car Company**

Records, 1916-1928

MS 37

The Shelton Adjustable Double Deck Car Company was organized in San Francisco in 1916 to market a device invented by John B. Shelton for movable decks to be installed in railroad box, stock, and refrigerator cars. Over the years, the company succeeded in installing adjustable car decks on a few railroads for test purposes. None of the lines, however, ordered the devices, and the firm ceased operation in the 1930s. The collection consists of by-laws, minutes, stock sales books, patents, advertising and promotional literature, drawings, photographs, and salesmen's models of the car decks.

### **Sierra Valley and Mohawk Railroad**

Time Book, 1886-1887

MS 1.99

The Sierra Valley and Mohawk Railroad was a predecessor to a branch line of the Nevada-California-Oregon Railway in north-eastern California. Incorporated in 1885, it came under control of the N-C-O in 1900. The time book gives hours worked and wages paid during construction of the line and includes entries for Chinese workers.

**Sonoma County Railroad Company**  
Memorandum of Agreement, 1868  
MS 1.31

The memorandum transfers rights to build a railroad from Petaluma to Healdsburg from the Sonoma County Railroad Company to the San Francisco and Humboldt Bay Railroad. The line later became part of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad.

**Southern Pacific Company**  
Financial Records, Maps, and Drawings, ca. 1860-1960  
MS 10

Founded by the "Big Four"—Leland Stanford, Collis Potter Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker—the Central Pacific Railroad—later absorbed into the Southern Pacific—played a dominant role in the economies, politics, and societies of states from Oregon to Louisiana well into the twentieth century. As both "octopus" and benefactor, the Southern Pacific founded and shaped the growth of cities and towns, promoted agriculture and industry, furnished transportation to millions, and provided employment to thousands. At the same time, it corrupted legislatures, charged what the traffic would bear, and attempted to ruin competitors. The Railroad Museum's Southern Pacific Railroad records consist largely of financial documents, ledgers, journals, cash books, and vouchers for the Southern Pacific, Central Pacific, and over 150 predecessor and subsidiary companies in the western United States and Mexico prior to World War I. Among these are the Arizona Eastern, El Paso & Southwestern, Houston & Texas Central, Holton Inter-Urban, Maricopa & Phoenix, Nacozari, Nevada-California-Oregon, New Mexico & Arizona, Northwestern Pacific, Peninsular, San Diego & Arizona, Southern Pacific of Mexico, and Visalia Electric railroads. Also included in the collection are steam-era equipment records for the Southern Pacific and principal subsidiaries, locomotive specifications, station records, drawings of equipment and structures, maps of stations in northern and central California, and manuscript copies of reports filed by the Southern Pacific and subsidiary lines with the Interstate Commerce Commission and state railroad regulatory agencies.

**Southern Pacific Company, Sacramento Shops**  
Personnel Records, ca. 1900-1930

These 3x5 cards record information for more than 40,000 employees of the Sacramento Shops. Personnel information may include full name, date and location of birth, address, position, rate of pay, period of employment, and notations regarding previous work history. Cards for individuals whose surnames begin with letters H through K and T through Z are missing. These records have been filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah.

**Southern Pacific Company, Sacramento Shops**  
Record Books, 1914-1967  
MS 29

The collection consists of record books from the Southern Pacific Railroad's Sacramento General Shops describing work performed, and materials and blueprints used in repairing locomotives and constructing new locomotive boilers.

**Stein, Louis L., Jr.**  
Collection, 1860-1960  
MS 31

The collection represents railroad-related papers accumulated by Berkeley, California, pharmacist and local historian, Louis L. Stein, Jr. It consists of forms, waybills, train orders, letters, invoices, vouchers, and ephemera from over 180 western railroads. In addition, the collection contains legal case files of the San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railway, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, and Southern Pacific Railroad, dealing mostly with matters in the San Francisco Bay area, and correspondence files of Western Pacific Railway Vice-President and Chief Engineer Virgil Bogue, General Auditor J. F. Evans, and other officials involved in the construction of the line, 1905-1909.

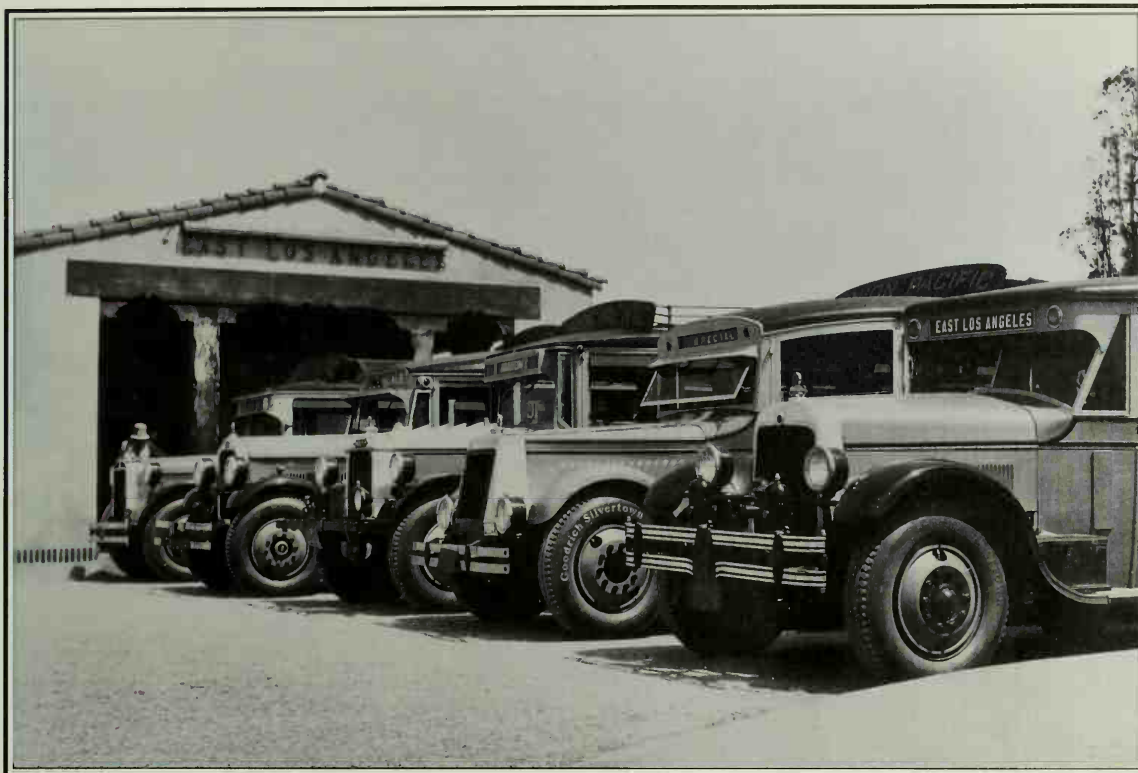
**Stockton and Copperopolis/Stockton and Visalia Railroads**  
Station Plan Book, ca. 1873  
MS 25

The Stockton and Copperopolis Railroad ran east from the San Joaquin River port of Stockton to the town of Milton. The Stockton and Visalia Railroad extended from Peters on the Stockton and Copperopolis Railroad to Oakdale. The lines were constructed and operated as independent companies in the 1860s and 1870s. They came under the control of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1874 and were later operated as branch lines of the Southern Pacific. The volume contains pen-and-ink maps showing locations of stations and surrounding buildings for both railroads. The cover is stamped "W. G. Curtis," who was superintendent of the Stockton and Copperopolis.

**Taylor, H. Lester**  
Collection, 1870-1977  
MS 35

Lester Taylor's reminiscences describe life as a station agent at South Vallejo, California, during the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, the collection contains letters and other documents relating to Taylor W. Heintzelman, the Southern Pacific Railroad's superintendent of motive power during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.





Buses and railroads are not always in competition. Here a portion of the Union Pacific Railroad's bus fleet stands ready to transport travelers detraining at the East Los Angeles station to various Southern California destinations. Union Pacific opened this Mission Revival-style combination rail and bus depot in May 1929. Union Pacific Railroad photo. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

## Union Iron Works

Drawings, 1869-1881

In 1849 San Francisco entrepreneurs James and Peter Donahue established the Union Iron Works, the Pacific Coast's first machine shop and foundry, to manufacture and repair parts for mining and maritime equipment. Between 1865 and 1882, as H. J. Booth & Company, and Prescott, Scott & Company, the firm also designed and built locomotives. Eleven ink-on-linen

drawings document locomotives and tenders constructed for such western companies as Bodie Railway and Lumber, Sierra Flume and Lumber, and the Virginia & Truckee Railroad. The Union Iron Works built only twenty-eight locomotives. Given the scarcity of pre-1906 records for San Francisco businesses, these drawings are particularly rare.

## Virginia & Truckee Railroad Locomotives No. 23 and 24

Drawings, 1895-1917

Virginia & Truckee Railroad locomotives No. 23 and 24 were built in 1876 by the Baldwin Locomotive Works. The Virginia & Truckee sold the engines in 1901 to the Boca & Loyalton Railroad, on which they served for fifteen years. Purchase of the Boca & Loyalton by the Western Pacific Railroad resulted in the scrapping of No. 23. No. 24, however, continued in service on the Western Pacific until 1924. The collection consists of Baldwin Locomotive Works blueprints of Virginia & Truckee locomotive No. 23, which also apply to its twin, No. 24. Annotations and other internal evidence describe modifications and maintenance performed on the No. 24 by the Western Pacific.



With the company's "Feather River Route" logo emblazoned on the drumhead, the Western Pacific Railroad employees' band poses proudly in new uniforms on the steps of the California State Capitol in Sacramento. The gold-leaf lettered drum featured in this 1926 photograph is on display in the California State Railroad Museum Library gallery. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*

### Virginia & Truckee Railway

Passenger Department Accounts, 1914-1921  
MS 44

The Virginia & Truckee Railroad was built during the period 1869-1872 to serve the mines and mills of Nevada's Comstock Lode. The line transported freight and passengers between Reno and Virginia City and Carson City. In 1900, the company's name was changed to Virginia & Truckee Railway. Although the mining industry declined in the region in the late nineteenth century, the railroad remained in operation until its abandonment in 1950. The collection consists of monthly reports of interline ticket sales and includes correspondence and accounting records from the office of Samuel Coleman Bigelow, the Virginia & Truckee's general passenger agent at Carson City from 1917 to 1945.

### Wagner, John ("Jack") Russell

Papers, 1945-1980  
MS 27

John ("Jack") Russell Wagner (died 1988) was a radio executive in northern California, as well as a writer and historian. The collection includes manuscripts, research notes, correspondence, and photographs relating to Wagner's publications on short line railroads in Nevada and California and on the central coast's Ocean Shore Railroad.

### Waldron, W. B.

Diary, 1867-1868  
MS 1.61

The pocket diary of W. B. Waldron, a master mechanic for the California Central Railroad, describes his work assignments, accidents on the railroad, financial matters, and social activities.



## **Weed Lumber Company**

### **Drawings, 1902-1925**

The Weed Lumber Company was founded by timber magnate Abner E. Weed. In 1903, the firm began construction of a railroad from the town of Weed to Swanston in Shasta County, California. Two years later, interests allied with the Southern Pacific Railroad purchased the main line, reconstituted it as the California Northeastern Railroad, and extended it toward Klamath Falls, Oregon. The route became a part of the Southern Pacific's Natron Cutoff. Weed Lumber maintained logging activities on spur lines until the Long-Bell Lumber Company assumed ownership in 1923. Long-Bell continued railroad logging, but eventually the center of operations shifted elsewhere. By the mid-1960s, all railroad logging in the region had ceased. The pen-and-pencil sketches, ink-on-linen drawings, and blueprints in the collection represent replacement parts and plans for the repair and rebuilding of locomotives by Weed Lumber and Long-Bell until 1925.

## **Western Pacific Railroad**

### **Presidential Files, 1903-1983**

MS 32

The Western Pacific Railway came into being in 1903 as a part of George Jay Gould's attempt to establish a transcontinental rail system under his control. Surveys began at once, with construction west from Salt Lake City and east from Oakland commencing in 1906. The line was completed in three years, with operations beginning in 1910. The Western Pacific Railway went into receivership in 1916, and the following year the Western Pacific Railroad was formed. During the period after 1916, the company acquired a number of branch lines and

subsidiary companies. A second bankruptcy occurred in 1935, and the Western Pacific did not emerge from this receivership for another ten years. The post-bankruptcy period for the Western Pacific saw a number of improvements, including the inauguration of the famed *California Zephyr* passenger train. The Western Pacific remained an independent company until 1982, when it merged into the Union Pacific Railroad. The collection consists of the policy and administrative files of the Western Pacific's chief executive from the time of the company's organization until the Union Pacific merger. It contains information on corporate reorganizations, finance, operations, freight and passenger equipment and services, branch line acquisitions and operations, real estate transactions, relations with government agencies, other railroads, and non-rail carriers, maintenance of facilities, and labor relations. Records of subsidiary railroads include the Central California Traction Company, Sacramento Northern, and Tidewater Southern. Most of the material covers the period since 1935, and some files are restricted.

## **Western Pacific Railroad**

### **Records, 1916-1955**

MS 43

The collection consists of financial ledgers, journals, abstracts, expenditure records, vouchers, and miscellaneous files from the Western Pacific Railroad, mostly covering the period between its first reorganization in 1916 and its second bankruptcy in 1935. In addition, financial ledgers from Western Pacific subsidiaries, the Tidewater Southern Railway and Deep Creek Railroad, are included. CHS

## Los Angeles and the Automobile

The Making of the Modern City

SCOTT L. BOTTLES

**New in paper**—"A stimulating case study for those concerned with understanding the automobile metropolis at its early formative stages."—*Growth and Change*  
\$12.95 paper

## Pioneer Urbanites

A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco

DOUGLAS HENRY DANIELS

**New in paper**—"A great deal of important information about 'cultured' black San Franciscans. . . . Moves us beyond the ghetto into an examination of the variety and complexity of black life in urban America."—*Journal of American History*  
\$11.95 paper

## California's Salmon and Steelhead

The Struggle to Restore an Imperiled Resource

Edited by ALAN LUFKIN

Lufkin documents the reasons for the California salmon's decline and offers practical suggestions for reversing this decline. He presents the story in human perspective: its broad historical, economic, cultural, and political facets, as well as the biological, are all treated.  
\$24.95

At  
bookstores  
or order  
toll-free  
1-800-  
822-6657.  
Visa &  
MasterCard  
only.

**University of California Press • Berkeley 94720**

## BEST NEW BOOKS ON WESTERN HISTORY

### THE ISLAND OF CALIFORNIA

A History of the Myth

by Dora Beale Polk

Ancient and medieval lore regarding rich and mysterious islands moved explorers from Cortés to Drake to Kino to seek the realities behind the myths of California's insularity. A pioneering work in California history.

\$39.50, 400 pages, hardcover with dustjacket.

### THE VOYAGE OF SUTIL AND

MEXICANA, 1792

The last Spanish exploration of the Northwest Coast of America

translated, with an introduction by John Kendrick  
The original account of this late Spanish voyage along the Washington and Canadian coastline. Much information on Indians and geography, George Vancouver, and supplemented with original drawings from the voyage.

\$32.50, hardcover with dustjacket

### THE WAGON TRAINS OF '44

A Comparative View of the Individual Caravans in the Emigration of 1844 to Oregon

by Thomas A. Rumer

This new study of the second year of major westward migration offers detailed chapters on individual companies, routes, leadership, Indians, health and more.

\$35.50, hardcover with dustjacket

### THIS EMIGRATING COMPANY

The 1844 Oregon Trail Journal of Jacob Hammer

Editorial Commentary by Thomas A. Rumer

A newly discovered, previously unpublished journal which makes a major contribution to the history of western migration. One of the few known narratives from 1844.

\$35.50, hardcover with dustjacket

P.O. Box 14707

Spokane, WA 99214

**THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY**

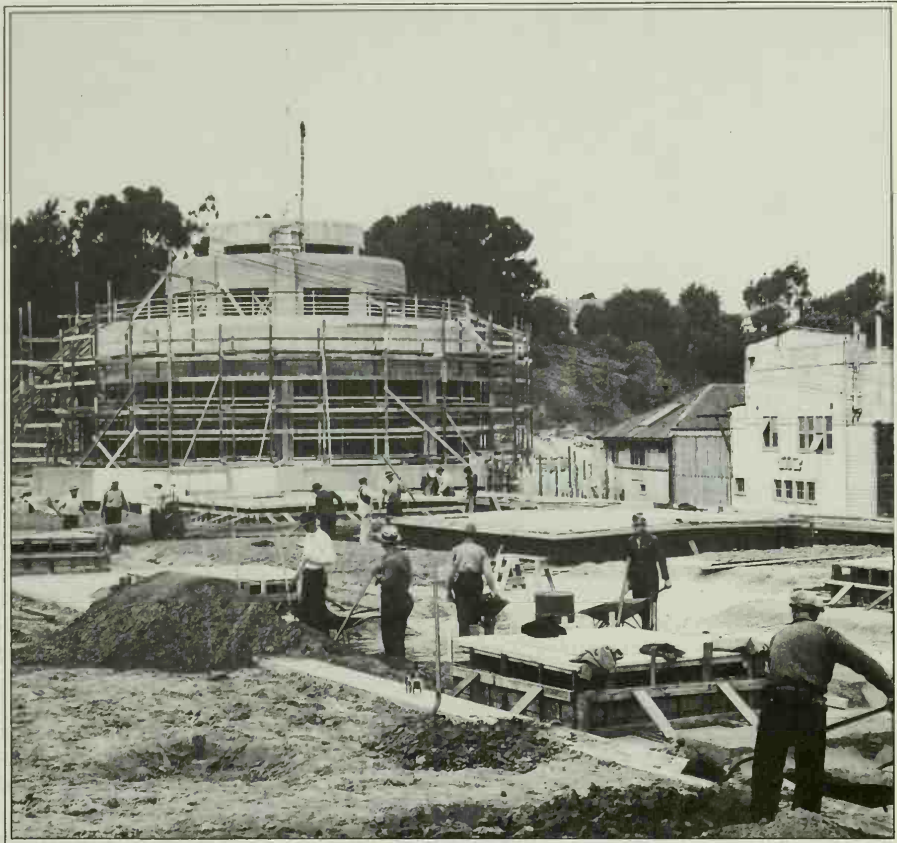
Publishers since 1902

CALL TOLL FREE

1 (800) 842-9286



*Edited by James J. Rawls*



## *To California by Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush.*

By James P. Delgado. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990, 237 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

## *Shipwrecks at the Golden Gate.*

By James Delgado and Stephen Haller. (Lagunitas, California: Lexikos, 1989, 168 pp., \$15.95 paper.)

## *The Panama Route, 1848-1869.*

By John Haskell Kemble. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990, 316 pp., \$24.95 cloth, originally published in 1943.)

*Reviewed by Robert J. Schwendinger, Executive Director, Maritime Humanities Center, author of many articles and two books on maritime history, including Ocean of Bitter Dreams: Maritime Relations Between China and the United States, 1850-1915.*

The San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park collects and preserves Pacific Coast maritime history through its library, museum, historic fleet, interpretive programs, and park facilities at city locations including Aquatic Park, Hyde Street Pier, and lower Fort Mason. This 1937 photograph shows WPA construction at Aquatic Park, which now houses the Maritime Museum, with its permanent and rotating exhibits, artifacts, photographs, and fine art collections. *Courtesy San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park.*

James P. Delgado's study is divided into several parts, mainly a history of the maritime trade up to 1848, travels to San Francisco from the East Coast of the United States by way of Cape Horn and the Isthmus, the development of the Port of San Francisco from 1849 to 1851, Benicia, Mare Island, and shipwrecks from 1848 to 1857 (the section is entitled "Maritime Disaster on the Argonaut Mind"). In his preface, Delgado states that he is aware of the available literature, the "wealth of historical studies" that document "the maritime saga of California's rush for gold." His intention, he writes, "is to offer a

comprehensive look at the Gold Rush from a mariner's perspective." Granting the large body of writing that is available, there is no question that his task was a difficult one, and while much of the study rings familiar in the reading, Delgado succeeds in adding new information to the saga. His careful research unearths fascinating information about the conditions of travel and the nature of social life forty-niners experienced during the voyages. His contribution to the "crossing the line" folklore is considerable and sheds new light on the popularity of the mariner's ritual in early passenger liners.

The section on development of the Port of San Francisco, with its overwhelming traffic problems, harried port collector, and the haphazard growth of the harbor into the bay, is particularly interesting: Delgado drew from his long encounter with the graveyard of ships along the Embarcadero. Equally interesting is the final chapter on shipwrecks.

Delgado is an able researcher and *To California by Sea* is a competent work. As for my reservations, there are several. Yet I prefer to suggest them for an expanded project that I expect Delgado might one day consider: 1. Include travel from *other* lands as well, including Asia. Delgado makes reference to other lands (pp. 23-24, 78-79), but then exclusively treats the United States' experience. The experiences of other nationalities *were* different; for example, the Chinese experience as passengers. Another example: the difficult routes, high mortality, and trials of the early Australian experience. We stem from an immigrant society and our roots are multicultural. 2. Mention is made of the crews who manned the vessels, but primarily as a troubling entity that had to be controlled for fear they would flee once in port. Their hardships—severe economic exploitation, punishment by the lash, lack of basic rights landsmen enjoyed, and the origins of such men at the time—should be included in a larger work to balance the concerns of the commercial community. 3. In discussing reactions to shipwrecks, Delgado writes: "The regret on land [in San Francisco] was not for lives lost and opportunities that would never be achieved . . . . The fear was that of not seeing the cargo invested in, safely arrive" (p. 145). The "fear" about the cargo is understandable, yet I would suggest a reconsideration of the first part of the assertion. In any case, it is hoped that a later consideration would learn from Jim Holliday (*The World Rushed In*), who, by showing the experience of the overland trek to California as well as *the responses* of those who were left behind, completes the circle of our national

consciousness and raises the experience to another dimension of human suffering and revelation.

Reservations aside, *To California by Sea* is a worthwhile study.

Delgado and Haller's *Shipwrecks At The Golden Gate* appears modeled after the works of Jim Gibbs, in which the disasters are represented in short write-ups—some as little as six and ten lines each—or in longer passages up to some 160 lines each (pp. 15, 96, 76). Always a difficult undertaking, writing of early shipwrecks is dependent on the available material, mainly the record in some newspaper article, without available follow-up, and/or in a terse shipwreck report. Finding more information is usually a frustrating and time-consuming experience. *Shipwrecks* treats ninety-five vessels, *but only* "shipwrecks underwater or buried beneath the sand" (p. vii). Divided into six main parts, the book includes the Farallon Islands, Ocean Beach, San Francisco Headlands/Golden Gate, Marin Coast, Bolinas Point area, and a concluding discussion on shipwreck archaeology. The book surpasses Gibbs's productions in its clarity and excellent photographs, in its interesting location maps, and in its fascinating concluding chapter—an addition that rounds out a satisfying read.

There is invariably the question as to *who* such a compilation is intended for—general readers, tourists, students, scholars, or treasure hunters. What criteria determines *how much* and *what kind* of information should be included, especially when ample documentation exists? In any case, such a book bears a responsibility greater than the individual targets. Each wreck is a cultural time capsule speaking not only of the physical event and technology, but also of the passengers, crew, and their time. The write-up on the wreck of the *City of Rio de Janeiro* is a case in point. The crew of the *Rio* was Chinese and the steamship was carrying Chinese passengers. The tragedy took place at a time when racism and anti-Chinese laws permeated the fabric of western society, and employers and transporters of Chinese were pariahs in the eyes of the anti-Chinese movement. Unfortunately, the authors attribute a statement to the wrong court, leave the reader with an injurious impression about the Chinese crew, and fail to mention that *two* courts had significant disagreement in their rulings about the shipwreck.

The authors state in a paraphrase that the *United States District Court* ruled that "despite the proven confidence of the crew . . . part of the blame for the heavy loss of life . . . lay in



the fact that the crew were Chinese and the officers white . . . that the crew did not understand the language of the officers in command." Therefore, the court, in its own words, Haller and Delgado continue, "'thought it not surprising that more boats were not lowered promptly and held the owners directly at fault for the inadequacy of the crew . . .'" (p. 79).

Actually, it was the *Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals* that issued the decisive ruling in 1904. It did not use terms like "proven confidence of the crew." The court echoed the strategy that the litigants who sued Pacific Mail used. They carefully attempted to avoid the unsupportable position that *all* Chinese sailors were incompetent, and focused their argument solely on the language differences between officers and crew. The appeal court's ruling found that the crew of the *Rio* was "wholly inefficient and incompetent, as the sad results proved . . . . We have no hesitation in holding that the ship was insufficiently manned, for the reason that the sailors were unable to understand and execute the orders made imperative by the exigency that unhappily arose, and resulted so disastrously to life, as well as property."

It was an earlier court ruling in 1903 by Judge John De Haven of the *District Court of Northern California* that found the crew "competent," and the judge fixed the blame for the tragedy solely on Captain Ward and Pilot Jordan. De Haven wrote: "the contention [of the litigants] is that they [Chinese crew] did not understand our language, and because of this they did not and could not understand the orders to lower the boats . . . and [that the Chinese crew] could only receive orders through the Chinese boatswains, who could [understand English]. But the evidence shows there was no difficulty in communicating orders to the Chinese in this way. Orders at sea are usually first given to subordinate officers, and by them communicated to the crew" (*Ocean of Bitter Dreams*, p. 166).

*Shipwrecks* is an otherwise attractive, informative work that could expand its scope in succeeding editions.

The late John Haskell Kemble's study about the Panama route still endures. The study's unity and incredible detail will be of value for a long time to come. This reprint is a fine memorial to a gentleman and scholar of the sea. Kudos go out to the University of South Carolina Press for keeping his legacy alive. Kemble's and Delgado's works were both published as part of a maritime history series from the University of South Carolina, edited by William N. Still, Jr., a commendable project.

### *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy.*

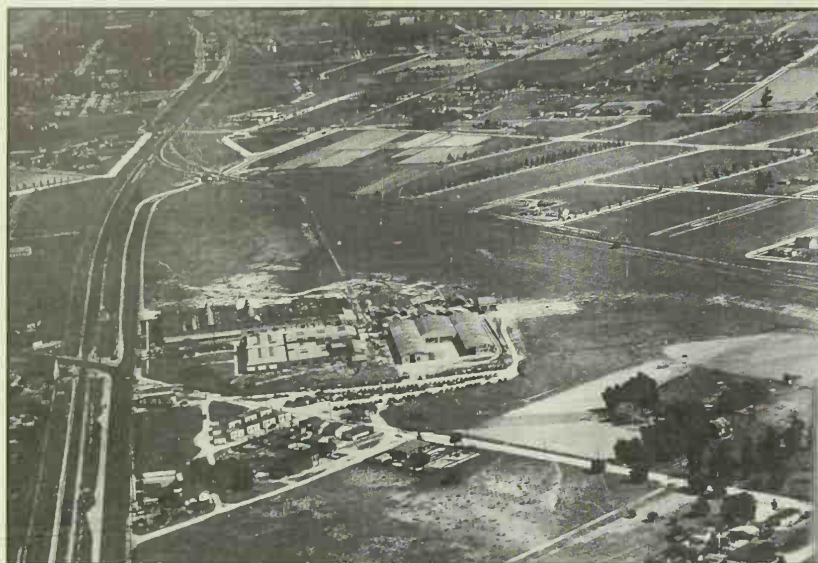
By Gerald D. Nash. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990, xiii, 288 pp., photos, bibliography, \$32.50 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Daniel Cornford, Assistant Professor of History, San Jose State University, and author of Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire.*

*World War II and the West* is a sequel to Gerald Nash's book *The American West Transformed* (1985). Because the earlier work focused primarily on the social impact of World War II, Nash anticipated a subsequent book that would "analyze economic influences in greater depth" (p. viii).

In *World War II and the West*, Nash elaborates on some of the theses of his earlier work. His central argument is that the war transformed the American West from an essentially colonial economy producing raw materials for national and international markets into a dynamic and diversified manufacturing economy. Nash stresses that this was the result, not simply of propitious economic circumstance, but also of the conscious desire and design on the part of westerners and some New Deal planners highly conscious of the West's colonial economic status. Imbued with a new-found sense of their self-importance, westerners used "the mobilization program as a unique opportunity to emancipate themselves from the shackles of colonization" (p. 145). An important sub-theme of the book is that many western businessmen and politicians were strong advocates of small business.

Nash endeavors to elucidate his thesis through two main approaches. In the early chapters of the book, he meticulously traces the industries that experienced the greatest growth and transformation during the war—mining, shipbuilding, aircraft, aluminum, magnesium, steel, and oil. The last three chapters of the book are devoted to "Visions of the Future" held by westerners in Roosevelt's administration and by various individuals in business, state, and local government. While Nash stresses that there were significant differences among westerners about their vision of the post-World War II western economic order, he argues that there was a consensus among all groups that it was imperative to continue the diversification of the regional economy. There was also an assumption that



An example of southern California's prosperous wartime economy, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation's Burbank headquarters is shown in aerial views (taken from opposite directions) in 1935 and in 1969, after expansion. With 66,000 employees at plants throughout the country, by the early 1970s Lockheed had developed and produced some 35,000 air and spacecraft. Typical of such war and post-war development, surrounding lands were subdivided and filled with housing and commercial buildings. *Courtesy Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and California State Library.*



government expenditures would play a key part, but much disagreement as to what role, if any, federal and state planning agencies would play.

The book makes an important contribution to a crucial but virtually uncharted period in the West's history. It evidences the prodigious research that has characterized the work of one of the region's most distinguished historians. However, the book is not without flaws. A considerable number of them stem from the self-imposed limitation of Nash's approach. He insists that the book uses "a historical approach that focuses on people, on the individuals who were involved in shaping entrepreneurial as well as public policies" and is not "an institutional history, an ideological tract, or an econometric history" (p. xii).

Nash's absorption with the policy objectives of such people as Harold Ickes and Pat McCarran is interesting reading but it obscures the broader picture. Committed as they and others were to a post-war order that would entail some mix of regional planning and anti-monopoly activity, the fact remains that the actual *outcome* of events was very different. Advocates of federal, regional, and local planning found themselves in a small minority after the war and the trend toward increasing industrial concentration accelerated. This Nash fleetingly concedes, but he offers relatively little explanation.

Furthermore, Nash does not conclusively demonstrate that World War II itself transformed the economy of the West. Indeed, some of his own evidence contradicts his primary thesis. Nash admits that the boost to some industries such as shipbuilding and magnesium did not survive the war. In many of the other industries he examines, Nash does not prove that the war permanently and significantly expanded them. Finally, as a reviewer of his earlier work suggested, Nash overlooks the extent to which the western economy was transformed in the mid-twentieth century perhaps as much, if not more, by the onset of the Cold War.

Students of California history may feel bound to attack the "transformation thesis" from the other end. They need look no further than Carey McWilliams's *California: The Great Exception*. McWilliams pointed out that a remarkable shift to manufacturing occurred in California between 1900 and 1940, and he concluded that "the wartime expansion of industry on the west coast merely accelerated a long-term trend; war or no war, the expansion would have occurred" (p. 234).

Despite these qualifications, *World War II and the West* makes

a very important contribution to western history and is essential reading for historians of the region. To venture into largely unexplored territory is a forbidding task, and Nash would probably be the first to admit that this is not the definitive work on the subject. There is much to recommend his "transformation thesis," but some readers may want further proof and analysis.

### *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier.*

By Elliott West. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989, xxiv, 343 pp., paper.)

*Reviewed by Jim Silverman, founder and president of the California Kids History Catalog, Sonoma, California.*

Like a pioneer himself, Elliott West describes a little known landscape in American history, a view of children in the American West. Few places provide a comparable view.

In Russell Freedman's *Children of the Wild West* (1983) children can discover their history on the Overland Trail and in early settlements. Historical photographs illustrate West's and Freedman's books, but they have little else in common because they are for different audiences. *Growing Up with the Country* is inspired by *Growing Up with the West* (1978), John Baur's scholarly, well-written study of children in California history. Beside their coincidence of titles, both books are well-documented groundbreaking studies in American history.

Unfortunately, the scope of *Growing Up with the Country* is severely limited. The Preface disclaims: "Nothing will be said about the children of the American Indians and Hispanics living in the West at the time of the pioneer invasion. Only rarely have I dealt directly with families of European and Asian immigrants, the many thousands of Scandinavians, Germans, Czechs, French, Russians, Italians, Irish, Chinese, and others drawn by the new country's promise. Instead, I decided from the start to concentrate almost entirely on white families who came into the West from elsewhere in the United States."

This narrow focus compromises the findings. It eliminates the contextual and comparative basis for understanding the



Among this gathering of immigrant coal miners at Somersville, Contra Costa County, ca. 1870, are two young boys, lower left, who not only played at the mines but may have also worked alongside the menfolk. Child labor was used extensively in these mines, as it was in western factories and farms generally, until labor reforms in the early twentieth century limited such practices. The preservation of regional mining history is only one mission of the Contra Costa County History Center, whose primary source library contains thousands of photographs, letters, maps, and assessment books. *Courtesy the Contra Costa County History Center, Pleasant Hill.*

data and conclusions. What portion of the population of western children was Yankee? Were the experiences of Yankee children different from other children? Were these children friends or were they segregated? West explains this limited focus as an attempt to "contain my subject."

I also disagree with the goal of this study. Rather than seeking to discover the experience of Yankee children in the West, the goal should have been to understand the nature of western childhood. How is it different from and similar to the experiences of children elsewhere in America?

Nevertheless, West identifies a trove of documentary material. His bibliography includes thirty pages of titles, nearly 600 primary sources alone. His bibliography could support a generation of scholarship. He found significant material at many libraries familiar to western historians.

Elliott West argues for considering the history of children as fundamentally different from the history of adults. This

seems appropriate if one considers the personal motivations, experiences, and psychological impact of historical experiences. Survival on the frontier demanded that children, despite age or gender, act independently of adult supervision. West's chapter, "Child's Work," documents numerous children who rode the range or assumed full adult responsibilities by the age of ten.

West poses the thought that children who grew up on the frontier might have been the cultural shock troops who began to establish western identity. With fewer memories of life back east, children imprinted on life in the West. Adults' memories and work kept them close to home or in nearby fields. Children's work and play led them away from home: to forage, hunt, herd, or explore. In doing so, West theorizes, this generation of young settlers initiated a process of identifying with their new home, different from their parents'.

The new ground that this book breaks is not wide, but deep.



### *The Journals of Addison Pratt.*

Edited by S. George Ellsworth. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990, 565 pp., notes, maps, \$25.00.)

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, *Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

Addison Pratt (1802-1872) lived a life of adventure fit for a full-length motion picture. Born in New England, the youthful Pratt slipped off to sea despite his father's objections. He worked on whaling ships in the Pacific Ocean throughout the 1820s. In fact, his journal accounts of a sailor's life prove most captivating. In March or April 1822 Pratt experienced his first storm at sea: "[O]ne night we were knocked down upon [by] a heavy squall of wind. I started . . . to work my way forward [when] my feet slipped from under me, and my hands being benumbed with cold, I lost my grip upon the rail and away I went, headforemost, in the lee scuppers, and like any fellow in such a fix, I threw out my hands to save myself, and my left hand brought upon against the planksheer, and with such a jerk that it threw my lame shoulder out of place again" (p. 16-17).

In 1838 Addison Pratt converted to Mormonism—a decision that profoundly shaped the remainder of his life. The Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, impressed by stories of Pratt's earlier experiences in the Pacific, soon called him as a missionary to the Society Islands. Pratt kept detailed journals of his mission, providing an early account of Mormon proselytizing in the South Pacific. In May 1844 Pratt landed on the island of Tubuai, about 400 miles south of Tahiti, and began preaching Mormonism. Pratt was separated from family and church for four years. Upon his return he found many changes. The Mormon church had been forcibly driven from the Midwest.

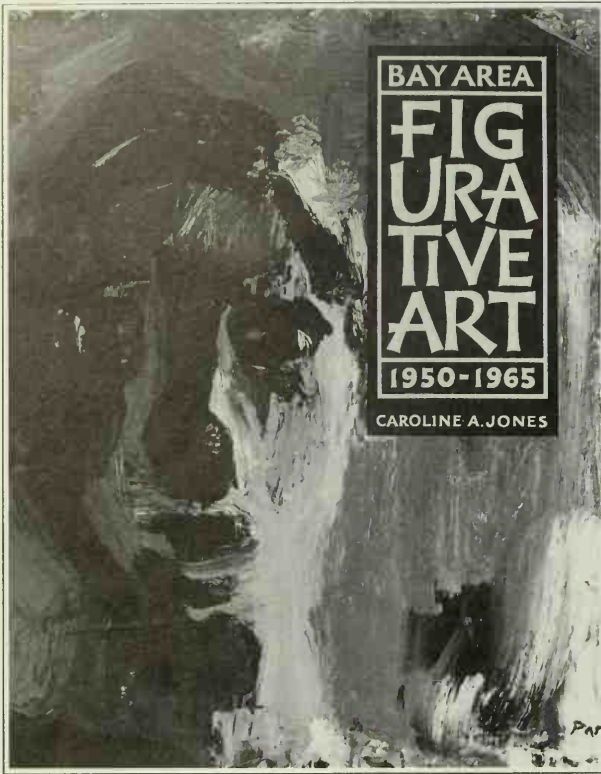
Addison Pratt arrived at San Francisco in June 1847, less than a month before the Mormons began to settle in the Great Basin. But California and the South Pacific would continue to be home for Pratt for most of the remainder of his life. He often appeared in the pageant of California history. In 1847 he met Samuel Brannan and spent time at his New Hope colony on the Stanislaus River near present-day Stockton. Pratt was in California in January 1848 when gold was discovered at Sutter's mill. In an account apparently written later, Addison Pratt

suggests that James Marshall, "a tolerable well read man," had some knowledge of mineralogy. He further writes that some of Marshall's Mormon labor force suspected that gold could be found near the mill site. Pratt claims that Marshall's find was received with "great joy" by all hands at the mill. This assessment runs counter to the first-hand observation of Henry Bigler that none of the skeptical mill workers believed Marshall had found gold.

Addison Pratt again walked across the stage of California history in 1849, when he traveled to the West Coast in company with the Jefferson Hunt Party of '49ers. While most of this company were after gold, Pratt was on his way back to another Polynesian mission. In south-central Utah some of the Hunt party began advocating a route known as Walker's Pass, purported to be a short cut to the gold fields. "It was reported to be a much nearer route [with] no dry deserts to pass through, but grass and water all the way," noted Pratt (p. 383). Some of the unfortunate souls who opted for this route died in Death Valley.

Following a second Polynesian mission, Pratt lived for a time at the Mormon settlement of San Bernardino, California. His journals recount the tribulations that plagued that community during the mid-1850s. Later, when the Mormons had officially abandoned San Bernardino, Addison Pratt continued to have ties to California. One daughter lived in southern California and another in the north. Pratt passed his last years in the homes of these children. He died in 1872 at the home of a daughter and son-in-law who lived at Anaheim.

S. George Ellsworth offers a model of historical editing in *The Journals of Addison Pratt*. The subject speaks for himself, with few editorial interruptions. Ellsworth interjects his own insights only as needed. The ample annotations to each chapter serve to enlighten and enhance Pratt's record. Addison Pratt's lively and interesting journals, so skillfully edited, seem a must for western history libraries and interested collectors.



Courtesy San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and University of California Press.

## *Bay Area Figurative Art, 1950-1965.*

By Caroline A. Jones. (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, 231 pp., \$27.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Michael Kowalewski, Assistant Professor of English and American Studies at Princeton University.

From the mid-forties to the mid-sixties, the San Francisco Bay Area was home to a particularly vital and energetic group of painters and sculptors subsequently called "figurative artists." The artists themselves winced at the notion of being part of a defined "movement," but many of them shared a painterly aesthetic and the stylistic techniques that make this designation appropriate.

Figurative art grew out of a resistance to Abstract Expressionism, with its focus on the "hows," rather than the "whats," of painting and that movement's prejudice against any kind of recognizable subject matter. Figurative painters felt that Abstract Expressionism was quickly becoming what one critic called "apocalyptic wallpaper" (p. 2). Yet most of them began by painting abstract works, and few ever completely lost interest in the abstract expressionists' "shared ethos of paint—as process, as universal language, as individual act" (p. 120). Bay Area figurative art, as Caroline Jones brings it to life in her meticulously researched new study, represented a fusion of

traditional subject matter (the nude, still life, portraiture, and landscape) with the bold color and slashing brushwork of Abstract Expressionism.

Jones's book is lavishly illustrated, and she charts the history of the movement both in terms of historical context and close readings of individual works (reproduced with extraordinary clarity). She emphasizes the work of several artists within each of three distinct "generations": David Park, Elmer Bischoff, and Richard Diebenkorn in the first; Theophilus Brown, Paul Wonner, and Nathan Oliveira in the awkwardly named "bridge generation"; and Bruce McGaw, Joan Brown, and Manuel Neri (the only sculptor Jones considers) in the third.

Jones has a sharp eye for the stylistic quirks of specific works and the mercurial temperaments of their creators. She knows how far the elegant "classicism" of Diebenkorn's sun-drenched fields and roadways can seem from the more confrontational "Funk art" of Joan Brown's sexually ambivalent nudes and Manuel Neri's blood-red splotchings of headless torsos. Jones's broader generalizations, however, are also valuable in characterizing the personality and preoccupations of each "generation." She refers to artists from Piero della Francesca to Francis Bacon not to establish a specious authority for exaggerated claims, but to intrigue and educate her viewer's eye. Jones is conversant with art-historical developments on a national and international level. Thus, without resorting to provincial defensiveness or partisan boosterism, she can emphasize the important aspects of a regional vision—both "the deep, saturated colors and the play of strong sunlight" in the California landscape (p. 3) and the "relaxed collegiality and openness to mutual influence" (p. 2) that characterized the movement.

Some will disagree with Jones's individual explications, but her commentary is continually absorbing. The book includes an ample bibliography, an extensive catalogue of each artist's exhibitions from 1950-1965, and a five-page biographical timeline for each artist. *Bay Area Figurative Art* represents a significant contribution to the study of California art. It sets a high (and highly readable) standard for future studies, and it will engage not only art historians but anyone interested in the postwar cultural history of northern California.





## *The Stanford Album: A Photographic History, 1885-1945.*

By Margo Davis and Rosanne Nilan. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989, xviii, 301 pp., \$45.00 cloth.)

## *History of Palo Alto: The Early Years.*

By Pamela Gullard and Nancy Lund. (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1989, xii, 181 pp., \$29.95.)

Reviewed by Irving G. Hendrick, Dean of the School of Education, University of California, Riverside, and author of California Education: A Brief History (1980).

At first glance, *The Stanford Album* and *History of Palo Alto* would appear to be books with considerable overlap. They do, after all, share a common geographical location and approximately forty years of history. Both are elegantly written and prepared volumes that will appeal to many of the same readers. Both were prepared in anticipation of Palo Alto's and Leland Stanford Junior University's centennial celebrations.

That said, and as their titles imply, these are discretely different works with substantially different content. *The Stanford Album* focuses virtually exclusively on the Stanford family and on the university, with a heavy emphasis on student life. The *History of Palo Alto* contains a chapter on the Stanford family and the university's founding, but mention of the university is measured. Clearly, the former book is about the university; the latter is about the community.

In selecting some 600 pre-1945 pictures of the Stanford family and the campus community, Davis and Nilan have captured well the history of student culture at the university during its first half-century. That culture, and the pictures that represent it, feature transitions that parallel the flow of history through a great earthquake, two world wars, and an American interest in athletic achievement. While it can be observed from the pictures that the academic achievements of faculty and students are given much less space than social and athletic interests, the text that is interspersed among the pictures

Born in an adobe in the early 1920s, this descendant of Mexican land grant families has witnessed monumental change in the once-rural landscape of her native Palo Alto. Courtesy Palo Alto Historical Association and Scottwall Associates, Publishers, San Francisco.

through six chapters provides far greater insight into the purposes and dynamics of the institution than one might expect to find in a "picture book."

Quite obviously, the Stanford University of 1990 is a much different place than the one that was founded a century earlier, even as many of the campus pictures point to a continuing linkage with the past. While the same can be said of virtually all universities, the growth in intellectual distinction at Stanford has been especially dramatic, with most of it occurring since the last picture in *The Stanford Album* was snapped. No one who reads this book will question that this is indeed a memorial university. Death having taken his cherished only son, Leland Stanford set out to build a university worthy of memorializing that son and engaging his wife's continuing interest.

Although Stanford University is now properly ranked as one of the finest—and most selective—private research universities in America, its founding commitments were amazingly equalitarian. During the early years of its operation, Stanford was remarkably open to the education of women, had a nearly-open admissions policy, featured an elective and utilitarian curriculum, and charged no tuition—thereby placing its student costs on a par with the normal school at San Jose and less than the state university at Berkeley. Leland Stanford had little interest in the small eastern liberal arts colleges and believed in the utility of education. The founding president, David Starr Jordan, was recruited from Indiana University, with many of the early faculty also coming from that institution and from Cornell. Interestingly, Stanford and Jordan did not aspire for their university to become the Harvard of the West. More accurately, it was depicted by the press as "The Cornell of the West," a place that was anything but elitist.

Gullard and Lund have written a sensitive history of Palo Alto, covering the period from pre-history to 1925. The narrative covers much more than the achievements of European Americans, but extends backward in time to the Ohlone Indians and includes extensive attention to the Spanish and Mexican periods. Although the book contains ample coverage of community events and major personalities from the dominant culture, it does not ignore the achievements of Chinese residents, nor does it ignore what is described as "ugly racist attitudes" by members of the majority culture against black, Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese residents of the community (p. 102). Just as readers of *The Stanford Album* will be pleased by a rich history interspersed within a nostalgic photo album, readers of the *History of Palo Alto* will be treated to a large and rich collection of photographs.

The appeal of both books is largely limited to discrete constituencies, but both are exceptionally fine representations of popular local history.

# California's Daughter G E R T R U D E A T H E R T O N and Her Times

Emily Wortis Leider

"One of Leider's most difficult tasks must have been choosing a title that would sum up the long, amazing and complicated life of Gertrude Atherton.... Leider is a compassionate biographer with a real gift for historical detective work. She also knows how to tell a story well."  
—*San Francisco Chronicle*

"Skilfully captures the flair, bravado, and driving ambition of the early 20th-century's most popular female novelist.... Sharply written."  
—*Booklist*

"In a colorful, penetrating biography... Leider measures the melodrama of Atherton's life against the contradictory impulses of her art."—*Publishers Weekly*

Gertrude Atherton (1857-1948) was one of the most famous, outspoken, and successful novelists of her time, and her personal life was as colorful and controversial as her novels. This biography emphasizes her role in the emergent debate on the place of women in society, her friendships with such figures as Ambrose Bierce and Gertrude Stein, her nomadic lifestyle, and her lifelong love-hate preoccupation with her native California. 448 pp., with forty illustrations, many never before reproduced. \$24.95



## The Letters of Jack London

Volume I: 1896-1905  
Volume II: 1906-1912  
Volume III: 1913-1916

*Edited by Earle Labor, Robert C. Leitz, III, and I. Milo Shepard.* "The story of London's remarkable life and career emerges in his own words with the publication of hundreds of his letters that have never before seen print."—*The Progressive*. "Fascinating and inspiring to read, the letters are clever, honest, poetic, and profound."—*San Francisco Chronicle*. 1,768 pp., illus. Three-volume set, \$139.50. Deluxe boxed set, \$185.00

## Through Indian Country to California

John P. Sherburne's Diary of the Whipple Expedition, 1853-1854  
*Edited by Mary McDougall Gordon.* The never before published record of a young surveyor's adventures through the Southwest territory in search of a route for the transcontinental railroad. 299 pp., illus. \$24.50

## The Collected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers

Volume I: 1920-1928  
Volume II: 1928-1938  
Volume III: 1939-1962

*Edited by Tim Hunt.* For the first time, all of Jeffers' completed poems, published and unpublished, are presented in a single comprehensive and authoritative edition of four handsome volumes (Vol. IV to be published in 1992). Vol. I, 549 pp., \$60.00. Vol. II, 716 pp., \$60.00. Volume III, 512 pages, \$60.00

## Historic Spots in California

Fourth Edition, *Revised by Douglas E. Kyle.* This is the only complete guide to all of California's historical landmarks. Revised, updated, and with over 200 new photographs, it provides an overview of state and local history and a history of all extant landmarks, including a guide to their location. 608 pp., illus. Cloth, \$49.50; paper, \$19.95



Stanford University Press  
STANFORD, CA 94305-2235



# California Historical Society

## BOOK SALE

The California Historical Society is pleased to offer this selection of books and posters at very special prices:

### BOOKS

<i>Backstory: Interviews with Screenwriters of Hollywood's Golden Age</i> by Pat McGilligan (paperbound) .....	\$10.95
<i>Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America</i> by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow (paperbound) .....	\$17.95
<i>Boyhood Days</i> by Ygnacio Villegas and edited by Dr. Albert Shumate .....	\$7.95
<i>A Companion to California</i> by James D. Hart (clothbound) .....	\$35.00
<i>Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion</i> by Richard E. Lingenfelter (paperbound) .....	\$13.95
<i>The Diaries and Writing of Anna Morrison Reed, 1849-1921</i> edited by John E. Keller (clothbound) .....	\$8.00
<i>Eye on the Sky: Lick Observatory's First Century</i> by Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh (clothbound) .....	\$23.00
<i>Felipe De Neve: First Governor of California</i> by Edwin A. Beilharz (clothbound) .....	\$10.00
<i>If the Walls Could Talk—Colusa's Architectural Heritage</i> by Jane Foster Carter (clothbound) .....	\$40.00
<i>Indians of California: The Changing Image</i> by James J. Rawls (paperbound) .....	\$7.95
<i>Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo</i> by W.W. Robinson (paperbound) .....	\$5.95
<i>The Making of Golden Gate Park 1906-1950</i> by Raymond Clary (paperbound) .....	\$12.95
<i>Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land</i> by Augusta Fink (paperbound) .....	\$9.95
<i>Place Names of the Sierra Nevada</i> by Peter Browning (paperbound) .....	\$9.95
<i>To the Promised Land</i> by Ken Light (clothbound) .....	\$25.00
<i>Index to the California Historical Society Quarterly:</i> Vols. 1-40, 1922-1961 .....	\$6.40
Vols. 41-54, 1962-1975 .....	\$9.00

### POSTERS, PRINTS AND NOTECARDS

After Dark (boxing playbill) .....	\$7.00
San Francisco Wharf woodcut print by Dan Quest .....	\$15.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871 .....	\$8.00
History of California Women .....	\$8.00
Box of 10 notecards, pen and ink drawing of the Whittier Mansion, brick red on ivory .....	\$10.00

### BACK ISSUES OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Back issues of available *California History* magazine from 1944 to the present can be purchased at \$5.95 per copy, \$7.95 for Summer 1990 and later issues. Requests for 10 or more copies are entitled to a 10% discount. 50 or more receive a 25% discount. (No tax is charged on *California History* magazine.) Please call to determine postage before ordering—(415) 567-1848.

Book and poster supplies are limited. All items are sold on a no-return basis. Please pre-pay all orders.

**Postage and handling charges: \$1.50 for first item, \$.50 for each additional item. California sales tax 7 percent.**

Send orders to: CHS BOOKS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109

Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.

Additional information is available upon request.

# CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Berner, Loretta. *A Step Back In Time*. Long Beach: Historical Society of Long Beach, 1990. \$12.50 (paper, includes postage and handling). Order from: Historical Society of Long Beach, Inc.; Post Office Box 1869; Long Beach, CA 90801.

Boessenecker, John. *Lawlessness in Old California*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. \$22.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8061-2097-5. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; Post Office Box 787; Norman, OK 73070-0787.

"Bookselling in Santa Barbara" in *La Reata* for Autumn 1990 (No. 10). Edited by Charles Johnson. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Corral of the Westerners, 1990. \$5.00 (paper, includes postage). Order from: Santa Barbara Corral of the Westerners; Post Office Box 1454; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Culbertson, Judi. *Permanent Californians: An Illustrated Guide to the Cemeteries of California*. Chelsea: Chelsea Green Pub. Co., 1989. \$16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-930031-21-0. Order from: Chelsea Green Pub. Co.; Post Office Box 130, Route 113; Post Mills, VT 05058.

Cutter, Donald C. *California in Seventeen Ninety-Two: A Spanish Naval Visit*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8061-2306-0. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; Post Office Box 787; Norman, OK 73070-0787.

Duniway, David. *Dr. Luke A. Port, Builder of Deepwood: An Urban Report from*

*England to Salem, Oregon and San Diego, California*. Salem: Marion County Historical Society and the Friends of Deepwood, 1989. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-943297-01-X. Order from: Marion County Historical Society; 260 12th Street, SE; Salem, OR 97301.

Eyesberg, Cees D. *The California Wine Economy: Natural Opportunities and Socio-Cultural Constraints: A Regional Geographic Analysis of its Origins and Perspectives*. Utrecht: Geografisch Instituut, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1990. \$16.00 (paper) ISBN 90-6809-121-2. Order from: Faculty of Geographical Sciences; University of Utrecht; The Netherlands.

Frusetta, Peter C. *Beyond the Pinnacles: The History and Folklore of Southern San Benito County*. Second edition. Tres Piños: P. Frusetta, 1990. \$17.95 (postage and handling, .79, tax, \$1.21). Order from: Peter Frusetta; Post Office Box 246; Tres Piños, CA 95075.

Hague, Harlan and David J. Langum. *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism & Profit in Old California*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. \$28.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8061-2302-8. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press;

Post Office Box 787; Norman, OK 73070-0787.

Hutchings, James M. *In the Heart of the Sierras: Yo Semite and the Big Tree Groves*. A reprint of the 1886 edition, edited by Peter Browning. Lafayette: Great West Books, 1990. \$44.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-944220-10-X; \$29.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-944220-04-5. Order from: Great West Books; Post Office Box 1028; Lafayette, CA 94549.

Kelly, Susan C. and Quinta Scott. *Route 66: The Highway and Its People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. \$17.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8061-2291-9. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; Post Office Box 787; Norman, OK 73070-0787.

Koch, Margaret. *Santa Cruz County: Parade of the Past*. Revised edition. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1990. \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-934136-46-7. Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Leider, Emily W. *California Daughter: Gertrude Atherton & Her Times*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8047-1820-2. Order from: Stanford University Press; Stanford, CA 94305-2235.

London, Joan. *Jack London and His Daughters*. Introduction by Bart Abbott. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1990. \$21.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-930558-44-4; \$10.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-930558-43-6. Order from: Heyday Books; Post Office Box 9145; Berkeley, CA 94709.



- Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown Among Strangers: From Indians to Mexicans on the Landscape of Southern California, 1769-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-06914. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.
- Nadeau, Remi. *Ghost Towns & Mining Camps of California*. Santa Barbara: Crest Publishers, 1990. \$11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9627104-0-7. Order from: Crest Pubs.; Post Office Box 22614; Santa Barbara, CA 93121-2614.
- One City / Two Visions: *San Francisco Panoramas, 1878 and 1990*. Photographs by Eadweard Muybridge and Mark Klett; text by Mark Klett et al. San Francisco: Bedford Arts, Publishers, 1990. \$60.00 (fan-fold format) ISBN: 0-938491-42-3. Order from: Consortium Book Sales & Distribution; 287 E. Sixth St., Suite 365; Saint Paul, MN 55101.
- Ontiveros, Erlinda. *San Ramon Chapel: Pioneers and Their California Heritage*. Edited by Jim and Lynne Norris. Los Olivos: Olive Press Publications, 1990. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-93380-06-2. Order from: Olive Press Publications; Post Office Box 99; Los Olivos, CA 93441.
- Poett, A. Dibblee. *Rancho San Julian: The Story of a California Ranch and its People*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press: Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1990. \$19.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-931832-71-3. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102, or from: Santa Barbara Historical Society; Post Office Box 578; Santa Barbara, CA 93102-0578.
- Ring, Francis, ed. *A Western Harvest: The Gatherings of an Editor*. Santa Barbara: J. Daniel and Co., 1991. A collection of essays from *Westways* magazine. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-936784-87-3. Order from: J. Daniel and Co.; Post Office Box 21922; Santa Barbara, CA 93121.
- San Francisco Oracle Facsimile Edition*. Introduction by Allen Cohen. Oakland: Regent Press, 1990. Reprint of 1966 edition. \$150.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-916147-11-8; \$400.00 ("collector's edition") ISBN: 0-916147-12-6. Order from: Regent Press; 6020 A Adeline Street; Oakland, CA 94608.
- Sanborn, Margaret. *Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years: A Biography*. New York: Doubleday, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-385-23702-2. Order from: Doubleday Consumer Services; Post Office Box 5071; Des Plaines, IL 60017-5071.
- Savage, Christine E. *New Deal Adobe: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Reconstruction of Mission La Purisima, 1934-1942*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-931832-75-6. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.
- Scharnhorst, Gary, ed. *Bret Harte's California: Letters to the Springfield Republican and Christian Register, 1866-67*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. \$22.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8263-1222-5. Order from: University of New Mexico Press; Journalism Building, Suite 220; Albuquerque, NM 87131.
- Striking Research Gold: Distinguished Collections in California Independent Academic Libraries*. Compiled by Bart Harloe and Steven Corey. Foreword by Lawrence Clark Powell. [s.l.]: California Private Academic Libraries, 1988. \$5.00 (paper). Order from: Richard A. Gleeson Library; Golden Gate and Parker Avenue; San Francisco, CA 94117.
- Triem, Judith P. *Ventura County: Land of Good Fortune*. San Luis Obispo: EZ Nature Books, 1990. Published in cooperation with the Ventura County Historical Society. \$19.95 (paper, plus \$2.00 shipping charges, Calif. residents add 6% sales tax) ISBN: 0-945092-16-4. Order from: Ventura County Museum of History & Art; 100 East Main Street; Ventura, CA 93001.
- Walker, Chard. *Cajon: A Pictorial Album*. Glendale: Trans-Anglo Books, 1990. \$53.95 (cloth, plus \$3.50 postage and handling). Order from: Trans-Anglo Books; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91225.
- Weber, David C. *Library Buildings and the California Earthquake Experience of October 1989*. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1990. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-929722-41-8. Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

# PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

For more than fifty years, *PHR* has published articles devoted to the history of American expansionism to the Pacific and beyond and the postfrontier developments of the twentieth-century American West.

Recent articles include:

*Clio, Clientage, Ethnocentrism, and War: Some Reflections*, by Alexander DeConde

*General John DeWitt and the Proposed Internment of German and Italian Aliens during World War II*, by Stephen C. Fox

*Water Resource History: A New Field of Historiography*, by Lawrence B. Lee

*A Forum: American Democratization Policy for Occupied Japan: Correcting the Revisionist Version* by Justin Williams, Sr., and *Rejoinders* by John W. Dower and Howard Schonberger

*Chinese Livelihood in Rural California: The Impact of Economic Change, 1860-1880*, by Sucheng Chan

*Machine-Age Iconography in the American West: The Design of Hoover Dam*, by Richard Guy Wilson

---

In addition to articles, *PHR* features historiographical and review essays, notes and documents, reviews of books, and professional news.

---

Subscriptions: \$15 Individuals; \$30 Institutions; \$10 Students.  
Outside the USA, add \$4 postage. Send orders to the  
University of California Press,  
Berkeley, CA 94720.



# **The Public Historian**

Sponsored by the National Council on Public History

## **SPECIAL ISSUES AVAILABLE**

- **The Field of Public History: Planning the Curriculum** (Vol. 9, No. 3)
- **The National Park Service and Historic Preservation** (Vol. 9, No. 2)
- **Archives and Public History: Issues, Problems and Prospects** (Vol. 8, No. 3)
- **The Debut of Public History in Europe** (Vol. 6, No. 4)
- **Business and History** (Vol. 3, No. 3)
- **Editing, Publishing, and Public History** (Vol. 4, No. 2)
- **Public History and Local History** (Vol. 5, No. 4)
- **Public History: State of the Art** (Vol. 2, No. 1)

---

Single Copies: \$7.00 Individuals, \$9.50 Institutions,  
\$4 Students.

Send orders and subscription inquiries to: The Public  
Historian, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94720

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS**

## TRAINS OF DISCOVERY



## Western Railroads and the National Parks

by Alfred Runte

"For true nostalgia, nothing beats a train trip, even if it's only by book. *Trains of Discovery* is about those wonderful trains with memorable names like the Empire Builder that we rode to the national parks . . . a journey back in time."—*Denver Post*

". . . beautifully printed . . ."—*San Francisco Chronicle*

96 pages, color plates, \$16.95 (paperback)

At bookstores or available directly from the publisher

ROBERTS RINEHART PUBLISHERS

Post Office Box 666  
Niwot, Colorado 80544  
(303) 652-2921

## CALIFORNIA

The Home of the Big Tree



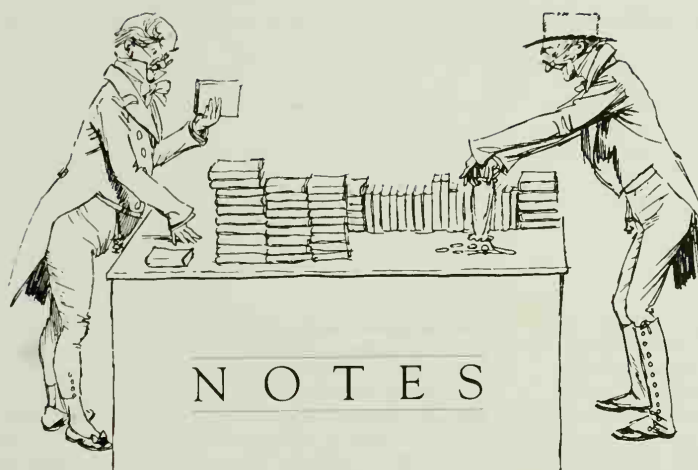
"The famous Big Tree in the Mariposa Grove, near Yosemite Valley, is a great high. Scientists say its age exceeds 3,000 years. It stands at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Broadway, it would fit Broadway and increase the size. It stands beside by its feet. It is now one inch high in a model placed about the building, but all sides, for the Big Tree."

For Western and Southern California, for Western and Southern California, for Western and Southern California.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC

Agents: The Pacific Coast Railway, 1000 Market Street, San Francisco, California. Also in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Jose, and other cities. For more information, write to the Southern Pacific Company, 1000 Market Street, San Francisco, California.





ORSI, "Introduction" pp. 2-11.

1. An account of the founding and operation of the California State Railroad Museum is Michelle Giroux and Mark Smith, "The California State Railroad Museum," *Locomotive and Railway Preservation* 2 (March-April 1987): 22-46. For analysis of the railroad's impact on social change in California, see Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 212-90. A more focused study of one region, the San Joaquin Valley, is William L. Preston's, *Vanishing Landscapes: Land and Life in the Tulare Basin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). General conditions in the rest of the nation may be sampled in John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), James A. Ward, *Railroads and the Character of America, 1820-1887* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 79-205.
2. Quoted in E. J. Wickson, *Rural California* (New York: Macmillan, 1927). The high hopes of rail promoters and would-be rail centers are evident in Ward McAfee, *California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911* (San Marino, California: Golden West Books, 1973), 1-106.
3. Henry George, "What the Railroads Will Bring Us," *Overland Monthly* (October, 1868).
4. Information in this and subsequent passages on the general history of railroads in California and the Far West between the 1860s and the early twentieth century is gleaned from numerous sources. See especially, Rice, Bullough, and Orsi, *Elusive Eden*, 212-90; Don L. Hofsommer, *The Southern Pacific 1901-1985* (College Station,

Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1986); Keith Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1974); Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Birth of a Railroad, 1862-1893* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1987); McAfee, *California's Railroad Era*; Stuart Daggett, *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York, 1922); David Lavender, *The Great Persuader* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1970); Norman E. Tutorow, *Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers* (Menlo Park, California: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1971); George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951); Spencer Olin, *California Politics, 1846-1920: The Emerging Corporate State* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1981); R. Hal Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973).

5. Richard J. Orsi, "The Confrontation at Mussel Slough," in Rice, Bullough, and Orsi, *Elusive Eden*, 217-36; James L. Brown, *The Mussel Slough Tragedy* (n.p., n.p., 1958).
6. Frank Norris, *The Octopus: A Story of California* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1901), chapter 1.
7. For only a sample of the widespread anti-railroad historiography of the region, see Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959); Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973), 220ff, 298-311, and 320-25; Mowry, *California Progressives*, chapter 1; Oscar Lewis, *The Big Four* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938); Arrell M. Gibson, *The West in the Life of the Nation* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976), chapter 25.
8. For recent works that employ new evidence or perspectives to integrate the history of railroads into the history of California in a more balanced way, see Williams, *Democ-*

*cratic Party and California Politics*, chapter 9; Richard J. Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California, 1865-1915," *California Historical Quarterly* LIV (Fall 1965): 196-220, and "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron': The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Company for the Preservation of Yosemite National Park," *The Pacific Historian* XXIX (Summer/Fall 1985): 137-56; Hofsommer, *Southern Pacific*; W. H. Hutchinson, "Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality," *California Historical Society Quarterly* XLVIII (December 1969): 325-34; Ward McAfee, "Local Rivalry and Railroad Regulation in California During the Granger Decade," *Pacific Historical Review* XXXVII (February 1968): 51-66; Gerald D. Nash, "The California Railroad Commission, 1876-1911," *Southern California Quarterly* XLIV (December 1962): 287-305; William Deverell, "Building an Octopus: Railroads and Society in the Late Nineteenth-Century Far West," (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1989).

DEVERELL, "Free Harbor Fight," pp. 12-29.

1. Richard C. Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, December 26, 1894, and May 25, 1893. From the papers of Thomas E. Gibbon, Huntington Library.
2. Boyle Workman, *The City That Grew* (Los Angeles: Southland Publishing Company, 1936); J. M. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1901); A. Bert Bynon, *San Pedro: Its History* (Los Angeles: Boyle Heights Press, 1899); Charles Edward Russell, *Stories of the Great Railroads* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1914), chapter 11.
3. See Curtis Grassman, "The Los Angeles Free Harbor Controversy and the Creation

- of a Progressive Coalition," *Southern California Quarterly* 55 (Winter 1973): 445-68; Donald R. Coulton, "Los Angeles 'Citizen Fixit': Charles Dwight Willard, City Booster and Progressive Reformer," *California History* 57 (Summer 1978): 158-71. Many studies cite Charles Dwight Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest at Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner, 1899). While there is much detail in Willard's book, it should be remembered that Willard himself was intricately involved in the anti-S.P. side of the struggle as secretary of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and his account ought to be addressed critically. Richard Barsness's brief article "Railroads and Los Angeles: The Quest for a Deep-Water Port," *Southern California Quarterly* 47 (December 1965): 379-94 avoids the "people vs. railroad" dichotomy of other studies. In his important book, R. Hal Williams writes of the controversy primarily as an instance of the people's triumph over the railroad; see Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), especially "The Railroad in California Politics." In *The Urban Establishment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), Frederic Jaher writes briefly of the harbor issue in the contest between established elites and newer arrivals; see especially pages 622-23 and 630-32.
4. The Santa Fe had recently built a wharf at Redondo and was taking away freight and passengers from the S.P. operation in San Pedro. Jones wrote his wife that Collis Huntington informed him that, if the Southern Pacific was allowed into Santa Monica, he intended to "run fierce opposition to Redondo [and] Every other place that may set itself up against Santa Monica." John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, October 8, 1891, John P. Jones Papers, Huntington Library. I would like to thank Mr. John Farquhar for allowing me to examine the Jones Papers.
5. Collis P. Huntington to Abbot Robinson, October 24, 1891, in the Letterbooks of Collis P. Huntington, Huntington Library; hereinafter CPH Letterbooks.
6. Writing to his wife of Huntington's impatient negotiations, Jones wrote, "He is so grasping [and] is in possession of so many unearned millions that he perhaps naturally concludes that everything else in sight naturally belongs to him." John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, August 24, 1891, Jones Papers.
7. Georgina Jones to John P. Jones, August 27 and October 8, 1891, Jones Papers.
8. John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, September 5 and October 13, 1891, Jones Papers.
9. John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, August 29 and October 8, 1891, Jones Papers.
10. John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, August 29, 1891, Jones Papers.
11. Jones felt that "with the Southern Pacific actively working with us I believe the opposition of the Engineers would be quelled." John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, September 5, 1891, Jones Papers.
12. John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, September 5, 1891, Jones Papers.
13. Georgina Jones to John P. Jones, January 26, 1892, Jones Papers.
14. Senator Cornelius Cole, a friend of both Huntington and Jones, thought that this was the case. See Georgina Jones to John P. Jones, May 9, 1892, Jones Papers.
15. Redondo was weakly represented as well; it appears that this was only token interest by the Santa Fe Railroad.
16. *Before the Honorable Board of Government Engineers*, Col. Wm. P. Craighill, Presiding. In *The Matter of the Location of a Deep-Water Harbor in San Pedro or Santa Monica Bays* [September 1892], from Miscellaneous Pamphlets, Chamber of Commerce, volume 1, Chamber of Commerce Archives, California Historical Society, Los Angeles, 28-29, 32. Hereinafter *Location of a Deep-Water Harbor*.
17. *Location of a Deep-Water Harbor*, 35, 40.
18. See Franklyn Hoyt, "The Los Angeles Terminal Railroad," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 36 (September 1954): 188-89.
19. Richard C. Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, September 3 and July 6, 1893, Gibbon Papers.
20. Richard Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, July 6, 1893, Gibbon Papers.
21. Forman was likely not the most objective representative of Los Angeles opinion. Three years later, he would be elected to the Board of Directors of the Terminal Railway—an indication, one suspects, of earlier ties to that corporation. See *Poor's Manual of Railroads 1896* (New York: American Banknote Company, 1896). Furthermore, in July 1893, Richard Kerens had authorized T. E. Gibbon that he was "at liberty to let Mr. Forman and our friends know what is going on without using any names." Kerens to Gibbon, July 6, 1893, Gibbon Papers.
22. Richard Kerens and George Leighton, both of St. Louis and both top officials with the Terminal Railway, were also the only out-of-state members of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.
23. Kerens to Gibbon, September 20, July 29, and June 10, 1893, Gibbon Papers. Kerens wrote that junior senator White had gotten on the commerce committee "[t]hrough the efforts of our friends in the Senate." On White's career, see Kenneth Johnson, *Stephen Mallory White* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1980); Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen M. White* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1927); and Curtis Grassman, "Prologue to Progressivism: Senator Stephen M. White and the California Reform Impulse, 1875-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970).
24. Kerens to Gibbon, January 12, 1894, Gibbon Papers.
25. *Minutes of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce*, February 10, 1893, Chamber of Commerce Archives.
26. J. A. Muir to William H. Mills, January 27, 1896, attached to Henry Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, April 7, 1896, Henry Huntington Papers.
27. Mills wrote Huntington that "The Times will never be friendly to the project of establishing a harbor at Santa Monica. . . . I have lately come to the conclusion that H. G. Otis is in the pay of the Terminal Company." William H. Mills to Huntington, September 8 and October 3, 1894, in the Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University [microfilm], series 1, reel 53. My thanks to James Thorpe for pointing these letters out to me. The *Overland Monthly* editorialized that Otis had a private interest in San Pedro; see "Santa Monica and the Los Angeles Times," in 28 (July 1896): 124-26.
28. For a brief sketch of Otis and his relationship with the Southern Pacific, see Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolf, *Thinking Big: The Story of the Los Angeles Times* (New York: Putnam's, 1972), esp. 53-64. Otis's influence over White is briefly alluded to in Jaher, *Urban Establishment*, 630-31.
29. In July of 1891, Juan Bandini, Gaffey's father-in-law, noted in his diary that Gaffey was planning on buying land in the Santa Monica Cañon because of planned Southern Pacific activity in the region. See Diary of Juan Bandini (translated by Margaret Mel), in the Stearns-Gaffey Papers, Huntington Library.
30. Bandini noted in October of 1891 that



- Gaffey was on his way to Mexico "on business for Gen[eral] McCook and another senor of the S. Fe."; Bandini Diary, October 27, 1891.
31. See the notation of Margaret (Gaffey) Mel in Bandini Diary, May 13, 1896.
  32. Thomas E. Gibbon, "The Telegram that Never Came," *California Outlook* 10 (March 4, 1911): 9-10.
  33. This was not true. The Mendell Board submitted its report in December of 1891. The Terminal Railway had been incorporated the previous January, but had been in operation for many months prior to incorporation. See Hoyt, "The Los Angeles Terminal Railroad"; Barsness, "Railroads and Los Angeles." See also *Annual Report of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway Company to the Board of Railroad Commissioners* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1896).
  34. T. B. Burnett letter [unaddressed, apparently sent to all or selected members of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce], April 4, 1894; in B. D. Wilson Papers, George S. Patton addenda, Huntington Library.
  35. Houghton had been instrumental in obtaining the original 1871 appropriation for the San Pedro/Wilmington breakwater. Some chamber members were apparently opposed to Houghton, perhaps because of his overt ties to the Terminal. Terminal Railway vice president Burnett thought that Houghton ought to be sent to Washington to represent the railroad's interests with or without the blessing of the chamber of commerce, an opinion that Richard Kerens was less certain of. Richard Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, March 13, 1894, with enclosed telegram; T. B. Burnett to Kerens, March 12, 1894, Gibbon Papers. For an indication of the friendship between Houghton and Terminal officials, see Stephen B. Elkins to Sherman O. Houghton, April 2, 1897, and Richard Kerens to Benjamin Harrison, September 18, 1881, Sherman O. Houghton Papers, Huntington Library.
  36. The chamber of commerce did not want to pay the way of its representatives to Washington. Members were asked to contribute to a fund if they wished. Gibbon may have arranged for Patton's trip and expenses. In mid-May of 1894, he wrote to Patton informing him that his train travel to Washington had been arranged and that there was \$250 at his disposal. See Gibbon to Patton, May 16, 1894, in George S. Patton Papers, Huntington Library.
  37. John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, June 22, 1894, Jones Papers; Collis P. Huntington to I. E. Gates, April 9, 1894, Collis P. Huntington Papers, reel 53, series 1.
  38. John P. Jones to Georgina Jones, June 26, 1894, Jones Papers.
  39. Stephen M. White to J. W. Reinhart, July 21, 1894, Stephen M. White Papers, Stanford University.
  40. Henry Huntington noted the Santa Fe's "moral support" of the Terminal in a letter to Collis P. Huntington, December 30, 1895, Henry E. Huntington Papers. For a copy of the July 8, 1894, telegram from Reinhart to Kerens, see the Patton Papers under that date. T. E. Gibbon had apparently also fostered ties with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. A letter to Gibbon from Richard Kerens in the summer of 1893 reveals that Gibbon was then attempting to become the Santa Fe's Los Angeles attorney; Kerens to Gibbon, June 10, 1893, Gibbon Papers. Stephen M. White once encouraged Gibbon in this regard; see Grassman, "Prologue to Progressivism," 289.
  41. In the spring of 1894, Charles Dwight Willard of the chamber of commerce had written to his father that he and others were attempting to buy the *Herald* in order to consolidate "corporate and railway interests." See Willard to Samuel Willard, May 25, 1894, Willard papers. White was involved in the plans as was, strangely enough, Otis. See White to Otis, May 22, 1894, White Papers; see also White to Joseph Lynch, May 27, 1894, and White to Otis, June 18, 1894. In May 1895, White and Gibbon co-signed a loan guarantee of \$5,000, loaned to the Herald Publishing Company by the First National Bank in Los Angeles; see guarantee (May 6, 1895) in the White Papers. George S. Patton's wife noted in a letter to her husband that the press had determined Patton's role in the *Herald* transfer. See Ruth Patton to George S. Patton, October 14, 1894, Patton Papers. The Los Angeles *Times* noted on October 5 and October 6 that White was involved in the venture. Named as stockholders of the new company were W. H. Workman (an original Terminal Railway stockholder, who became a member of the railroad's board of directors in early 1896) and William Kerckhoff, a principal in the San Pedro lumber company Kerckhoff-Cuzner; also named as a director was John F. Francis, later president of the Free Harbor League. I would like to thank Midge Sherwood for bringing the *Times* articles to my attention.
  42. Richard Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, April 23, 1894, Gibbon Papers. White had written to Otis in July that "Gibbon is on his way home and is going to examine the situation pretty carefully. We will make a great effort to capture the paper." See White to Otis, July 25, 1894, White Papers. William H. Mills noted the connections between the *Herald* and the Terminal, as well as connections between the Terminal and Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. In a letter to Collis Huntington, Mills referred to the Terminal as a "collateral branch of the A.T. & S.F." Mills to Huntington, September 8, 1894, Collis P. Huntington Papers, series 1, reel 53.
  43. In his diary entry of January 26, 1895, Juan Bandini noted that he "saw in the paper that the people of Santa Monica have a great antipathy to the Los Angeles Herald and Gaffey"; Bandini Diary.
  44. Richard Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, November 30, 1894, Gibbon Papers. At the Congress of the following year, the chamber delegates were Gibbon, S.O. Houghton, and Charles Forman (elected to the board of directors of the Terminal in 1896).
  45. One of White's speeches, in El Monte, was geared entirely to the harbor issue. The title page of the printed remarks asks "Do You Want a Free Harbor for the People, at San Pedro?" If so, voters were encouraged to vote for Patton. For a copy of the undated speech, see the scrapbooks of George S. Patton in the Huntington Library.
  46. The letter was signed by several Los Angeles businessmen. Willard did not sign the circular, but noted in sending a copy to his father that "I wrote it" and "I do most of the writing in this fight." See Willard to Samuel Willard, February 17, 1895, Willard Papers, Huntington Library.
  47. Richard Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, February 11, 1895, Gibbon Papers. Kerens apparently believed that Stephen B. Elkins, now U.S. senator from West Virginia, might counter-balance the effect of any pro-Santa Monica mischief on White's part. In a handwritten addendum to this letter, Kerens added: "Mr. Elkins cannot be Hoodwinked Oh No."
  48. As an indication of the increasing tilt in favor of San Pedro within the chamber, Roy and Robert S. Jones, son and nephew of Senator John P. Jones and both strong

- Santa Monica supporters, resigned from the organization in May 1895.
49. See, for instance, Los Angeles Times, February 18, 1896.
50. A year later, Patterson would be elected to the board of directors of the Terminal Railway. See *Poor's Manual of Railroads 1897* (New York: American Banknote Company, 1897).
51. Henry E. Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, December 30 and 31, 1895, and Collis P. Huntington to Henry E. Huntington, January 19, 1896, in the Henry E. Huntington Papers.
52. Richard Kerens to Thomas Gibbon, February 11, 1895, December 18, 1893, Gibbon Papers.
53. Collis Huntington did return some of the Terminal's charges, though in a very private manner. In a letter to Senator Matthew Quay of the Senate Commerce Committee, Huntington wrote that Kerens of the Terminal "capitalized his road for a very large sum, and has been very liberal with his shares to some of the people in and about Los Angeles." Such a practice would tend to make "active partisans of men who, perhaps, would not otherwise be so." Collis P. Huntington to Matthew S. Quay, June 23, 1894, in Jones Papers.
54. It would "be best for the Terminal Company's interest" for the supporters of San Pedro to back an inner harbor appropriation; following that, pressure could be exerted to improve the outer harbor. See Richard Kerens to Thomas E. Gibbon, November 30, 1894, Gibbon Papers.
55. The double appropriation request apparently came from Collis Huntington at a closed-door meeting with the committee; see Grassman, "Los Angeles Free Harbor Controversy."
56. *Minutes of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce*, April 8, 1896, Chamber of Commerce Archives. Willard, *Free Harbor Contest at Los Angeles*, chapters 14 and 15.
57. Los Angeles Times, April 4 and 5, 1896.
58. A small \$50,000 appropriation for the inner harbor was maintained in the bill, but the more than \$300,000 originally proposed was eliminated.
59. McLachlan to Harrison Gray Otis, April 8, 1896, in H. H. Markham Papers, Huntington Library.
60. Los Angeles Times, April 6, 1896.
61. Harrison Gray Otis to Stephen M. White, April 5, 1896, in Stephen M. White Scrapbooks, Seaver Center, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.
62. Georgina Jones to John P. Jones, April 5, 1896, Jones Papers. In a similar vein, an editorial in the Santa Monica Daily Outlook observed that the "San Pedro schemers and Terminal Railway sharps seem to have [the chamber of commerce] completely under control. They have inoculated its leading members with the Huntington-phobia and the poor fellows don't know what it all means." From an undated clipping in the Santa Monica Daily Outlook, Cornelius Cole Papers, Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles. It seems likely that Cole himself wrote this editorial.
63. Free Harbor League to James McLachlan, April 30, 1896, in White Scrapbooks.
64. See Los Angeles Times, May 3 and April 7, 1896.
65. S. Hubbell, et al., to Stephen M. White, April 9, 1896, White Scrapbooks.
66. Los Angeles Evening Express, April 19, 1896; H. Z. Osborne to Stephen M. White, April 9, 1896, White Scrapbooks.
67. Henry E. Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, April 9, 1896, Henry Huntington Papers.
68. G. Montgomery to Stephen M. White, April 24, 1896, White Scrapbooks.
69. Free Harbor League to George Perkins and Stephen M. White, April 8, 1896; George S. Patton to Stephen M. White, April 24, 1896, White Scrapbooks.
70. Stephen M. White to John T. Gaffey, April 14, 1896, Stearns-Gaffey Papers.
71. John D. Bicknell to Stephen M. White, April 15, 1896, White Scrapbooks; White to Bicknell, April 16, 1896, John D. Bicknell Papers, Huntington Library.
72. Robert F. Jones to Walter J. Trask, April 25, 1896, Bicknell Papers.
73. White wrote Gaffey that Gorman's vote was at least in part due to the influence of Jones; see White to Gaffey, May 4, 1896, Stearns-Gaffey Papers. Elkins's reasons for voting against San Pedro remain a mystery; yet as early as February of 1895, Elkins had asked White if perhaps Kerens of the Terminal and Huntington of the Southern Pacific could come to some sort of compromise on the harbor issue. See White to Thomas E. Gibbon, February 11, 1895, White Papers.
74. Collis P. Huntington to C. F. Crocker, April 28, 1896, Henry E. Huntington Papers.
75. Cornelius Cole wrote that White was "much embarrassed" by his stance in favor of San Pedro, but as he had proclaimed himself so on the stump in California, he felt bound to that view. Cornelius Cole to Olive Cole, April 22, 1896, Cole Papers.
76. Cornelius Cole to Olive Cole, April 26 and May 7, 1896, Cole Papers.
77. Henry E. Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, May 13, 1896, Henry Huntington Papers.
78. See E. F. Ripley to Henry E. Huntington, May 13, 1896; see also Collis P. Huntington to Henry E. Huntington, June 3, 5, and 17, 1896, Henry Huntington Papers.
79. See Collis P. Huntington to W. H. Mills, June 24, 1896, Henry Huntington Papers. Patton's stand-pat stance on San Pedro, among other political beliefs, prompted J. A. Muir of the Southern Pacific to refer to him as "one of the worst demagogues that has ever been developed in southern California." J. A. Muir to Collis P. Huntington, May 5, 1896, attached to J. A. Muir to Henry E. Huntington, May 5, 1896, Henry Huntington Papers.
80. See *Deep-Water Harbor in Southern California; Port Los Angeles vs. San Pedro; Full Report of Oral Testimony at Public Hearings in Los Angeles; December 1896* (Los Angeles: Evening Express Co., 1896).
81. *Greater Los Angeles*, December 26, 1896. In a subsequent letter to Senator Jones, Lynch referred to "an artificially created sentiment" in favor of San Pedro; Lynch to Jones, May 28, 1897, Jones Papers.
82. De Witt C. Jackson to John T. Gaffey, October 3, 1897, Stearns-Gaffey Papers.
83. Again, some of the best scholarship that reinterprets the place of the railroad in the lives of Californians includes R. Hal Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics*, especially "The Railroad in California Politics"; W. H. Hutchinson, "Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 48 (December 1969): 325-34; Richard Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California, 1865-1915," *California Historical Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1975): 197-220.
84. Grassman, "The Los Angeles Free Harbor Controversy and the Creation of a Progressive Coalition"; Coulton, "Los Angeles' 'Citizen Fixit': Charles Dwight Willard, City Booster and Progressive Reformer."
85. Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 113. George S. Patton perhaps unwittingly described this agenda, and its sequence, by writing that he favored San Pedro "for



every reason personal and political as well as for the general good." Patton to Stephen M. White, June 4, 1897, White Papers.

86. Stephen M. White to Harrison Gray Otis, January 28, 1895, White Papers.

**HOFSSOMMER, "Harriman and Hill,"** pp. 30-45.

1. For an interesting and informative essay on the self-images of participants in the era of heroic entrepreneurship and the vocabulary drawn from their conception of competition as it was, see James A. Ward, "Image and Reality: The Railway Corporate-State Metaphor," *Business History Review* LV (Winter 1981): 491-516.
2. On Harriman, see George Kennan, *E. H. Harriman: A Biography* 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), and Lloyd C. Mercer, *E. H. Harriman: Master Railroader* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985).
3. On Hill, see Joseph Gilpin Pyle, *The Life of James J. Hill* 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1916), and Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). On the Great Northern, see Ralph W. Hidy, Muriel E. Hidy, Roy V. Scott with Don L. Hofssommer, *The Great Northern Railway: A History* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1988).
4. James Blaine Hedges, *Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 59-61, 134-37, 143-63; *Railway Age* VI (April 28, 1881): 227; *ibid.*, IX (November 13, 1884): 695; *ibid.*, X (August 13, 1885): 525.
5. James J. Hill, April 4, 1898, to E. D. Adams, James J. Hill papers, James J. Hill Reference Library, St. Paul. Hereinafter referred to as the Hill papers.
6. "In the matter of the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company, Minutes of Conference, October 3, 1898," Hill papers.
7. James J. Hill, September 12, 1899, to E. H. Harriman; E. T. Nichols, January 29, 1900, to James J. Hill; John S. Kennedy, February 6, 1900, to James J. Hill, Hill papers.
8. *Railway Age* (February 21, 1902), 226; *ibid.*, (March 18, 1904), 403-404, 409-12; *ibid.*, (March 17, 1905), 352. On the general subject of Northern Securities, see Balthasar Merger, "A History of the Northern Securities Case," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* #142 I (July 1906): 215-350; Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters* 2 vols. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928). I, 98-106; Richard C. Overton, *Burlington Route: A History of the Burlington Lines* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 261-63; Martin, 508-21, 592-93.
9. James J. Hill, September 12, 1899, to E. H. Harriman; E. T. Nichols, January 29, 1900, to James J. Hill; John S. Kennedy, February 6, 1900, to James J. Hill; D. Miller, July 24, 1902, to J. C. Stubbs; J. C. Stubbs, September 3, 1902, to D. Miller; D. Miller, September 14, 1902, to James J. Hill; James J. Hill, September 16, 1902, to D. Miller; James J. Hill, July 22, 1904, to Lord Mount Stephen, Hill papers.
10. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads* 1914, 1617; Martin, 563-65; James J. Hill, June 14, 1910, to George F. Baker, Hill papers. *Morning Oregonian*, March 11, 12, 1908; *Railway Age* (May 21, 1909), 1088.
11. *Morning Oregonian*, September 21, 30, 1905; Randall R. Howard, "Oregon and the 'Harriman Fence'," *Pacific Monthly* XXI (May 1909): 478-88.
12. Randall R. Howard, "A Railroad Fight for an Empire," *World's Work* (December 1910), 13767-82; John F. Stevens, "The Railway Invasion of Central Oregon," *Engineering News Record* 114 (July 8, 1935): n.p.; *Morning Oregonian*, October 2, 1905; *Seattle Times*, July 1, 1906; *Morning Oregonian*, August 9, 11, 1909; *Railway Age* (November 12, 1909), 905; *ibid.*, 48 (March 18, 1910): 767-71; *Technical World* 18 (September 12, 1912): 27-34; *Railway Age* (March 22, 1912), 680-85; Edwin D. Culp, *Stations West: The Story of the Oregon Railways* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1972), 123-24; Martin, 567; Robert S. Lovett, February 7, 1910, to James J. Hill; James J. Hill, March 14, 1910, to Robert S. Lovett, James J. Hill Letterbook 2/20/06-1/31/14 (NY), pp. 370, 482, Hill papers.
13. *Sunday Oregonian*, September 19, 1905; *Seattle Times*, September 29, October 6, 15, 1905; *Railway Age* (February 23, 1906), 273; *ibid.*, (May 11, 1906), 777-78; *Seattle Times*, July 17, 27, 1906; Hugh Neill, Memorandum, October 30, 1926, p. 2, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 44. Southern Pacific materials are housed in the company's San Francisco offices. James J. Hill, July 10, 1890, to William H. Holcomb, James J. Hill Letterbook 8/11/90-10/21/90, 145, Hill papers. Julius Kruttschnitt, December 16, 1908, to E. H. Harriman; Julius Kruttschnitt, December 17, 1908, to E. H. Harriman; E. H. Harriman, March 3, 1909, to R. S. Lovett, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 44.
14. *Seattle Times*, March 17, 1908; *Railway Age* (December 31, 1909), 1268-69; Julius Kruttschnitt, April 24, 1909, to E. H. Harriman; "Memo of Agreement," May 21, 1909, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 44; *Poor's Manual of Railroads* 1914, 1505-06; Louis Tuck Renz, *The History of the Northern Pacific* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Gallean Press, 1980), 220; Northern Pacific Railway, *Annual Report*, 1911, 20; Union Pacific, *Annual Report*, 1906, 19; *ibid.*, 1911, 8.
15. SP, *Annual Report*, 1910, 26; *Corporate History of the Southern Pacific Company as of Date of Valuation, June 30, 1916* (Compiled May 31, 1919), pp. SP Co., 10/40; James J. Hill, June 14, 1910, to George F. Baker, Hill papers.
16. SP, *Annual Report*, 1907, 26-27; *ibid.*, 1906, 22; SP, *Corporate History*, pp. CP, 58, 59, 61; Hugh Neill, Memorandum, October 30, 1926, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 44.
17. *Railway Age* 47 (September 17, 1909): 491; Martin, 631; George H. Cushing, "Hill Against Harriman: The Story of the Ten-Years' Struggle for the Railroad Supremacy of the West," *The American Magazine* LXIII (September 1909): 419-27.
18. *Sunday Oregonian*, September 19, 1905; Howard, 478-88; SP, *Annual Report*, 1907, 26-27; *Corporate History*, p. SP Co 10/40.
19. SP, *Annual Report*, 1907, 26-27; *ibid.*, 1910, 20; C. J. Millis, October 28, 1910, to E. E. Calvin, SP Executive Department file 081, box 62; *Coos Bay Times*, April 8, 1916; SP, *Corporate History*, SP Co, p. 20/40.
20. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads* 1914, 1484; Northern Pacific, *Annual Report*, 1911, 17; *ibid.*, 1912, 17; Robert S. Lovett, February 3, 1910, to J. C. Stubbs; Julius Kruttschnitt, September 20, 1911, to Robert S. Lovett, SP Executive Department files, box 45; Culp, 132, 198, 216.
21. SP, Executive Committee memoranda, June 15, 1922, SP Executive Department file 300-4, box 4; *Portland Journal*, March 25, 1923.
22. William Sproule, September 1, 1923, to Julius Kruttschnitt; William Sproule, June 26, 1923, to E. L. King; William Sproule, April 25, 1924, to A. D. McDonald, SP Executive Department file 300.42, box 41.
23. William Sproule, March 18, 1924, to Julius Kruttschnitt; Julius Kruttschnitt, March 20, 1924, to William Sproule, SP Executive Department file 300.42, file 35; *Railway Age* (October 25, 1924): 749-51.
24. *Portland Telegram*, August 29, September



- 12, 1924; Charles Donnelly, May 4, 1925, to William Sproule, SP Executive Department file 081NP, box 44.
25. William Sproule, May 6, 1925, to Paul Shoup; W. A. Worthington, Memorandum, July 20, 1925; William Sproule, September 30, 1925, to H. W. de Forest, SP Executive Department file 080.2, boxes 39 and 44; Ralph Budd, February 28, 1925, to C. H. Carey, GN Executive Department file 5201. GN files, housed at the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul, are hereinafter referred to as GN papers.
26. William Sproule, September 30, 1925, to H. W. de Forest, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 39.
27. *Railway Age* (May 15, 1926): 1313-15.
28. *Ibid.*; *Oregonian*, July 19, 1926; C. Donnelly, May 17, 1926, to H. Elliott, GN Executive Department file 5201, GN papers.
29. William Sproule, August 13, 1925, to Paul Shoup; William Sproule, August 29, 1926, to Paul Shoup; George W. Boschke, March 31, 1926, to Paul Shoup, SP Executive Department file 300.42, box 41.
30. SP, *Annual Report*, 1926, 20; SP, *The Bulletin* (September 1926), 11.
31. Ralph Budd, June 11, 1927, to L. C. Gilman, GN Executive Department file 12300, GN papers; William Sproule and Ralph Budd, June 11, 1927, to Interstate Commerce Commission; William Sproule, May 29, 1928, to A. D. McDonald, SP Executive Department file 082.2, box 45; *Oregonian*, June 30, 1927; SP, *Annual Report*, 1927, 23-24; 138 ICC 95-105.
32. E. E. Calvin, June 26, 1911, to Julius Kruttschnitt; E. E. Calvin, July 20, 1911, to Julius Kruttschnitt, SP Executive Department file 081, box 63.
33. W. C. Dalton, September 2, 1916, to William Sproule, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 40; *Klamath Falls Herald*, September 27, 1916; *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 17, 1916; John M. Scott, July 5, 1922, to R. E. Kelly, SP Executive Department file 300.42, box 41.
34. Julius Kruttschnitt, June 6, 1923, to William Sproule, SP Executive Department file 080.2, box 40.
35. SP, *The Bulletin* (September 1925), 7-8; *ibid.* (November 1925), 7-8; William Sproule, July 1, 1926, to A. D. McDonald; William Sproule, December 28, 1927, to Carl R. Gray, SP Executive Department file 300.42, box 40.
36. SP Executive Department Resolution, May 17, 1928; Paul Shoup, January 18, 1928, to William Sproule; Paul Shoup, May 18, 1928, to Frank Mulks, SP Executive Department file 081 NCO, box 63; George Boschke, February 1, 1929, to Paul Shoup; EMG, October 14, 1929, to J. H. Dyer, SP Executive Department file 081 NCO, box 40; SP, *Annual Report*, 1929, 28; *Railway Age* (March 15, 1930), 636-39.
37. Ralph Budd, August 7, 1928, to H. M. Adams; H. M. Adams, August 13, 1928, to Ralph Budd; W. P. Kenney, January 22, 1929, to Ralph Budd, GN Executive Department file 12468.
38. 166 ICC 3; 175 ICC 367; *Oregonian*, November 10, 11, 1931; *Oregon Historical Quarterly* XXXII (December 1931): 388; *Railway Age* (February 20, 1932), 315-19; SP, *Annual Report*, 1929, 29; Paul Shoup, June 21, 1930, to Hale Holden, SP Executive Department file 110-1, box 50.
39. 162 ICC 37-70; William Sproule, March 11, 1927, to Paul Shoup; Paul Shoup, March 16, 1927, to William Sproule, SP Executive Department file 120.01, box 45.
40. Paul Shoup, Memorandum, July 4, 1925; Paul Shoup, July 16, 1925, to A. D. McDonald; J. H. Dyer, March 25, 1926, to Paul Shoup; J. T. Saunders, July 2, 1929, to Paul Shoup; D. C. Masson, Office Memo, July 19, 1929, SP Executive Department file 310-13, box 29.
41. Don L. Hofsommer, *The Southern Pacific, 1901-1985* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986), 262.

## ORSI, "Railroads and Water," pp. 46-61.

1. Inevitably, historians of the Southern Pacific are faced with a problem of terminology. In 1861, Theodore D. Judah and the Big Four (Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins), along with other minor investors, founded the Central Pacific Railroad, which in the 1860s built the western portion of the first transcontinental railway eastward from Sacramento to a meeting with the Union Pacific, which was building west from Omaha. After Judah died in 1863, the Big Four and their associates gained control of the company and proceeded to purchase, lease, or found other lines, which were in general managed in one manner or another by the Central Pacific. The major subsidiary to be acquired, in 1868, was the Southern Pacific Railroad of California, which had just begun building a second transcontinental line from San Francisco southward to Los

Angeles and then eastward through southern Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas to Atlantic tidewater. By the 1880s, however, dozens of other tributary lines had come under the control of the Big Four in eight far-western states or territories, including separate Southern Pacific Railroad companies for Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, all operated in fact, if not in name, under the aegis of the parent Central Pacific. Thus, when referring to events prior to 1884, the most historically appropriate name to give the Big Four's railroad enterprise is the "Central Pacific."

In 1884, however, to ease their monumental management problems and to shield their business activities as much as possible from public scrutiny and regulation, the Big Four created a new holding firm, the *Southern Pacific Company* (distinct from the *Southern Pacific Railroad*), which purchased or leased the separate lines, including the Central Pacific, the several Southern Pacific railroads, and many other transportation companies, and began a long process of consolidation and operation under one management. Gradually, the post-1884 business became generally known variously as the "Southern Pacific Company," the "Southern Pacific Railroad," or more briefly as the "Southern Pacific," or just the "SP," designations that are still in use.

In general, for the purpose of uniformity in this essay, I have used these modern terms ("Southern Pacific Company," "Southern Pacific Railroad," and "Southern Pacific") to identify the company, even in the period before 1884 and even when the activities discussed were being conducted technically under other corporate names.

2. Sources to demonstrate the anti-Southern Pacific leanings of historians are legion; refer, for example, to George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 1-22, Walton Bean and James J. Rawls, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1983), 166-285, and Spencer C. Olin, Jr., *California Politics, 1846-1920: The Emerging Corporate State* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1981), 27-71. See also Robert V. Hine, *The American West: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), 168-70, and Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The West in the Life of the Nation* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C.

- Heath and Company, 1976), 465-69. Gibson concluded that the railroads' economic exploitation had reduced the West to "a captive region," ruled by "absentee fiscal masters," and "confined to supportive enterprises for the benefit of the increasingly industrialized eastern United States" (469).
3. See, for example, Alfred R. Golzé, *Reclamation in the United States* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1961), 14-15, which reports categorically that "few railroads sponsored irrigation, preferring to leave the financing to other parties." Robert G. Dunbar, *Forging New Rights in Western Waters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), virtually ignores the railroads' role in western water development. Donald J. Pisani, *From Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the American West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), and Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), the two major recent works in the field, note a few railroad activities, but do not analyze them fully. Historians of railways have done somewhat better. Roy V. Scott, in *Railroad Development Programs in the Twentieth Century* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1985), 21, 80, 101-102, and 113, briefly describes examples of railway promotion of irrigation, particularly by the Great Northern in the Pacific Northwest and northern Great Plains. The full story of the railroads' strong influence on emerging modern water policy in the West, however, has yet to be written. For suggestions, refer to Richard J. Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California, 1865-1915," *California Historical Quarterly* LIV (Fall 1975): 204-206.
  4. Russell R. Elliott, *Servant of Power: A Political Biography of Senator William M. Stewart* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 112. See also John M. Townley, "Reclamation in Nevada, 1850-1904" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nevada, Reno, 1976), 66-68, and William L. Kahrl (ed.), *The California Water Atlas* (n.p.: Governor's Office of Planning and Research in cooperation with the California Department of Water Resources, 1978), 39.
  5. Worster, *Rivers of Empire*, investigates aridity and its effects.
  6. Contemporaries and historians, for example, have commonly referred to the movement as "the irrigation crusade."
  7. A legacy of Anglo-American common law, the riparian doctrine gave downstream landowners the right to unrestricted use of the full stream flow past or through their properties. Established by earlier Spanish colonial authorities or miner-dominated American governments, the prior appropriation principle allowed potential water users on the public domain, on a first-come-first-served basis, to divert portions of stream flow for "useful" purposes, without returning the water to the streambed. See Pisani, *Farm to Agribusiness*, 30-37.
  8. Pisani, *Farm to Agribusiness*, xi. The most thorough analysis of the complex problems hindering the development of coherent water policy in the nineteenth-century West is by Pisani in *Farm to Agribusiness*, passim. See also Pisani, "Enterprise and Equity: A Critique of Western Water Law in the Nineteenth Century," *Western Historical Quarterly* XVIII (January 1987): 15-37; Dunbar, *Forging New Rights*; Thomas E. Malone, "The California Irrigation Crisis of 1886: Origins of the Wright Act" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1965); Mary Ellen Glass, *Water for Nevada: The Reclamation Controversy, 1885-1902* (Carson City: University of Nevada Press, 1964); John M. Townley, *Turn This Water into Gold: The Story of the Newlands Project* (Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1977); Karen L. Smith, "The Campaign for Water in Central Arizona, 1890-1903," *Arizona and the West* XXIII (Summer 1981): 127-48; Erwin Cooper, *Aqueduct Empire: A Guide to Water in California, Its Turbulent History, and Its Management Today* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968); Gordon R. Miller, "Shaping California Water Law, 1781-1928," *Southern California Quarterly* LV (Spring 1979): 9-42; Arthur Maas and Raymond L. Anderson, . . . and *The Desert Shall Rejoice: Conflict, Growth, and Justice in Arid Environments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1978), 1ff and 147ff; Norris Hundley, Jr., *Water and the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Catherine Miller, "Riparian Rights and the Control of Water in California, 1879-1928: The Relationship Between an Agricultural Enterprise and Legal Change," *Agricultural History* LIX (January 1985): 1-24; and Douglas R. Littlefield, "Water Rights during the California Gold Rush: Conflicts over Economic Points of View," *Western Historical Quarterly* XIV (October 1983): 415-34.
  9. For an analysis of the Southern Pacific's alignment with other private interest organizations, scientists, and civic groups on the development of modern policies on water and other conservation and environmental preservation questions, refer to Richard J. Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered," 197-220, and "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron': The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Company for the Preservation of Yosemite National Park," *The Pacific Historian* XXIX (Summer/Fall 1985): 136-56.
  10. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., in *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 79-205.
  11. Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered," 204-206, and "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron'," 142.
  12. *Mining and Scientific Press* (San Francisco), January 17 and March 21, 1885; David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California* 2 vols. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1962 and 1963), I, 18, and II, 770-71, 887-88, and 840. See also *Arizona Sentinel* (Yuma), April 12, 1879; David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Arizona* 2 vols. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975), I, 105-107; Alan Hensher, *Ghost Towns of the Central Mojave: A Concise Guide* (Los Angeles: The Author, ca. 1979), 10 ff.; and David Grosh Thompson, . . . *The Mojave Desert Region: A Geographic, Geologic, and Hydrologic Reconnaissance* (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929), 229-30 and 269-72.
  13. Edna B. Patterson, et al., *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Sparks, Nevada: Western Print and Publishing Company, 1969), 545 and 577.
  14. Grunsky's report appeared in the *Record-Union* (Sacramento), January 1, 1884. See also *Tulare Register*, August 24, 1883; *Evening Post* (San Francisco), clipping, late June 1883, Southern Pacific Scrapbooks, Vol. 13, Henry E. Huntington Biographical File, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; "Tulare's First 100 Years," special centennial edition of the *Tulare Advance-Register* (Tulare: Tulare Advance-Register, 1972); and Thomas H. Thompson, *Official Historical Atlas of Tulare County* (Tulare: n.p., 1892). While he notes the existence of Southern Pacific water facilities in valley towns, Richard H. Smith does not exam-



- in their history or importance to community development; see Smith, "Towns Along the Tracks: Railroad Strategy and Town Promotion in the San Joaquin Valley, California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), 205-207.
  15. Thompson, *Mojave Desert Region*, 212 and 221.
  16. Charles Crocker to Collis P. Huntington, San Francisco, April 30, 1877, in Mark Hopkins, et al., *Letters from Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and David D. Colton to Collis P. Huntington from August 27th 1869, to December 30th, 1879* (New York: John C. Rankin Co., 1891), 88; Collis P. Huntington to Charles Crocker, New York, April 19, 1877, Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University; *Indio Daily News*, January 27, 1966.
  17. *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1893; *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), June 15, 1887, and July 7, 1888; *San Francisco Merchant*, August 3, 1888; *Los Angeles Herald*, October 24, 1893; *Indio: Its Climate and Resources* (n.p.: M. L. Requa, 1893); *Indio Daily News*, January 27, 1966.
  18. *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1913; Thompson, *Mojave Desert Region*, 317 and 330.
  19. *Arizona Sentinel* (Yuma), April 13 and 27, 1878; Myrick, *Railroads of Arizona*, I, 27-30; C. G. Ekstrom, "History of the Yuma Water Plant," (typescript, ca. 1940), Arizona Historical Society, Yuma. Some information regarding the history of the Yuma water system was graciously provided by Karen Roberts of the Arizona Historical Society, Yuma.
  20. *Arizona Sentinel* (Yuma), April 12 and May 20, 1879, and February 18, 1882; *Arizona Star* (Tucson), November 30, 1881; Charles Crocker to Collis P. Huntington, San Francisco, February 7, 1879, in Hopkins, et al., *Letters to Collis P. Huntington* (1891), 256.
  21. *Arizona Star* (Tucson), November 30, 1881; Myrick, *Railroads of Arizona*, I, 105-107; Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico* 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), II, 248.
  22. *Arizona Star* (Tucson), November 30, 1881; R. G. Skeritt, "Water Stations in the Arizona Desert: Oil-Engine Compressors Raise Water from Deep Wells for Locomotives of the Southern Pacific Lines," *Compressed Air Magazine*, September 1929, pp. 2867-70.
  23. Gustav L. Seligman, "The El Paso & Northeastern Railroad System and Its Economic Influence in New Mexico" (M.A. thesis, New Mexico State University, 1958), 15ff; Robert H. Sholly, "Alamagordo, New Mexico: A Case Study in the Dynamics of Western Town Growth" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, El Paso, 1971), 13ff; David F. Myrick, *New Mexico's Railroads: An Historical Survey* (Golden, Colorado: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1970), 62, 71, 88, and 93.
  24. Documents Relative to the Bonito River Reservoir and Pipeline, Bon 1-2, Southern Pacific Legal Department, El Paso Files, Southern Pacific Company Collection, University of Texas, El Paso; J. L. Campbell, "The Water Supply of the El Paso and Southwestern Railway from Carrizozo to Santa Rosa, New Mexico," *Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers* LXX (December 1910): 164-89; *Southern Pacific Bulletin*, November 1, 1924, p. 8; Dorothy Jensen Neal, *Captive Mountain Waters: A Story of Pipelines and People* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1957), passim; Mildred L. Jordan, "Railroads in the El Paso Area" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, El Paso, 1957), 204-206; William A. Kelleher, *The Fabulous Frontier: Twelve New Mexico Items* Revised edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1962), 310ff.
  25. *Arizona Sentinel* (Yuma), February 18, 1882; *Houston Post*, February 4, 1897; *The Oasis* (Nogales, Arizona), May 28, 1898; *El Paso Herald*, October 24, 1901; Skeritt, "Water Stations in the Arizona Desert," 2867-70; William Ashton Hawkins to William H. Mills, Salt Lake City, March 3, 1907, Numerical File 727, and L. E. Johnson to B. A. McAllaster, San Francisco, April 5, 1911, Numerical File 433, Natural Resources Department Records, Southern Pacific Land Company, San Francisco. I will examine the Southern Pacific's extensive cooperative activities with the agricultural colleges in another paper; only a few of the many projects involving water development and irrigation are discussed in: R. H. Forbes [Director of the Arizona Experiment Station] to Epes Randolph [Southern Pacific Company], Tucson, September 15, 1899, and Randolph to Forbes, Tucson, September 23, 1899, Box 14, Folder 8, Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station Papers, University of Arizona, Tucson, and Forbes to A. C. True [Director, Office of Experiment Stations, USDA], Tucson, December 22, 1906, Box 9, Folder 1, R. H. Forbes Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; Ben C. Dey [General Attorney, Southern Pacific Company, Portland] to J. C. Ainsworth, Portland, October 2, 1929, RG 13, Reel 22, President's Office Files, Oregon State University Archives, Corvallis; and *The Oregonian* (Portland), March 13 and 16, 1930.
  26. Arizona Corporate Commission, Motor Transportation Commission, Rate Division, "Steam Railway Companies' Comparative Monthly Reports of Revenues and Expenses for the Years 1913-1914," Arizona State Archives, Phoenix.
  27. Documents Relative to the Bonito River Reservoir and Pipeline, Bon 1-2, Southern Pacific Legal Department, El Paso Files, Southern Pacific Company Collection, University of Texas, El Paso; *El Paso Times*, April 5, 1931; Neal, *Captive Mountain Waters*, 26ff; Seligman, "The El Paso and Northeastern Railroad," 15ff; Kelleher, *Fabulous Frontier*, 310ff.
  28. *Southern Pacific Bulletin*, February 1920, p. 22.
  29. *Arizona Sentinel* (Yuma), April 27, 1878.
  30. W. Q. Barlow to E. O. McCormick, San Francisco, July 19, 1918, and C. J. Blanchard to E. O. McCormick, Hazen, Nevada, June 23, 1918, Numerical File 610B, Natural Resources Department Records, Southern Pacific Land Company, San Francisco.
  31. Ekstrom, "Yuma Water Plant."
  32. Neal, *Captive Mountain Waters*, 26ff; Seligman, "The El Paso and Northeastern Railroad," 15ff; Kelleher, *Fabulous Frontier*, 310ff.
- RUNTE, "Railroad Advertising," pp. 62-75.
1. For Moran's role in the promotion of Yellowstone, see Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 58-59. The history of the Northern Pacific Railroad at Yellowstone is ably covered in Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* 2 vols.; (Yellowstone: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association in cooperation with Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), 1: 163-65. A general history of railroad promotion of the national parks is Alfred Runte, *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks* 2d ed., revised (Niwot, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, Inc., 1990).
  2. Keith L. Bryant, Jr., "The Origins and Development of the Santa Fe Collection of Western Art," in *Standing Rainbows: Railroad Promotion of Art, The West and Its Native*

People (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1981), 2-3; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Santa Fe Railway Company Collection of Southwestern Art* (Tulsa: Gilcrease Museum, 1983), 1-2.

③ *Sunset* 1 (May 1898): 1-4.

4. The definitive analysis of the Southern Pacific's role in Yosemite is Richard J. Orsi, "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron': The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Company for Preservation of Yosemite National Park," *The Pacific Historian* 29 (Summer/Fall 1985): 136-56.

⑤ "Proceedings of the Meeting of the Sierra Club, November 23, 1895," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 1 (January 1896): 275.

6. A colorful history of the West's most famous domeliner is Karl R. Zimmermann, CZ: *The Story of the California Zephyr* (Starrucca, Pennsylvania: Starrucca Valley Publications, 1972).

7. Charles Luna, member, Amtrak board of directors, to the author, conversations between 1978 and 1985.

8. An early analysis of Amtrak's political and financial problems is Rush Loving, Jr., "Amtrak is About to Miss the Train," *Fortune* 89 (May 1974): 272-90.

9. Figures courtesy of Bruce Heard, Director, Special Projects and Public Affairs, National Railroad Passenger Corporation, Washington, D.C.

10. For a superb introduction to early promotions of the western experience, including the role of regional railroads, see Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), and reprinted., (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

LYMAN, "City of Angels/City of Saints," pp. 76-93.

1. Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971), 268-74.

2. Ibid., 278; George E. Prichard, "A Utah Railroad Scrapbook," *Salt Lake City, 1987*, Utah Historical Society, 267-71; Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce, *The Salt Lake Journal of Commerce*, March 8, 1888.

3. Neill C. Wilson, *Silver Stampede: The Career of Death Valley's Hell-Camp, Old Panamint* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1937), 268-77; Remi Nadeau, *City-Makers: The Story of Southern California's First Boom, 1868-76* (Los Angeles: Dawsons, 1965), 113-31; Los Angeles

*Herald*, May 7, 20, December 29, 1875.

4. Athearn, *Union Pacific*, 279-81.

5. Ibid.

6. Riverside, California, *Press and Horticulturist*, November 3, 1883; Athearn, *Union Pacific*, 282-87.

7. *Salt Lake Herald*, August 31, September 21, 27, October 6, 11, 15, 16, 26, 28, November 23, 1887.

8. Ibid., September 28, November 23, December 17, 1887, January 8, 1888 (latter containing Badlam interview from San Francisco Examiner, January 3, 1888); San Francisco Call, January 26, 1888.

9. James R. Maxwell to V. G. Bogue, Chief Engr. U. P. Ry., March 29, 1889; A. J. Hechtman to H. M. McCartney, February 3, June 6, 1890; [unsigned] to V. G. Bogue, January 30, 1891; all in Henry Maxwell McCartney Papers, California State Library, Sacramento, California; Athearn, *Union Pacific*, 287-89.

10. David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California*, Vol. 2 (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1963), 625.

11. *Pioche Weekly Record*, October 18, 1890. Another account by a generally knowledgeable Douglas White, "The Story of a Trail: The Story of the Builders [of the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad]," 1905, 12, states that after Baring Brothers' British financial house collapsed in late 1890, "Jay Gould became dictator of the destinies of the Union Pacific and it is said he quailed before the threats of Collis P. Huntington, . . . who plainly offered to ruin any railway which invaded his territory"; James W. Hulse, "A History of Lincoln County, Nevada, 1864-1909" (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1958), 123, 133; Maury Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould* (Baltimore: Doubleday, 1986), 451-55. Jay Gould died December 2, 1892.

12. Collis P. Huntington to Henry E. Huntington, April 24, 25, 1893, Henry E. Huntington to C. P. Huntington, October 20, 27, 1893, Henry E. Huntington Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

13. Redlands, California, *Citrograph*, February 17, 1894, noted that the receiver attached the Nevada Southern Railroad for indebtedness of \$67,230. See also San Francisco Call, October 26, 1894. Huntington may well have used his influence in eastern financial circles to make it difficult for Blake to sell bonds essential for success. There is no direct evidence of

this, but several later rivals suffered that fate. See below.

14. San Francisco Examiner, January 7, 1895; Los Angeles Herald, January 6, 1896; Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 232-38.

15. Abraham H. Cannon Journal, May 13, 20, 21, 26, June 5, 12, 15, 1895, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

16. A. H. Cannon Journal, May 29, June 26, 27, 28, 1895; *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 26, 1884, August 29, 1896, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; *Deseret Evening News*, August 29, 1896.

17. A. H. Cannon Journal, June 24, 26, 1895; San Francisco Examiner, January 3, 1895. Among the general authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are a three-person First Presidency and a quorum of twelve apostles, of which Abraham H. Cannon was a member. On the more local level are a stake (diocese) presidency presiding over a group of wards or parishes, each having a lay bishop and two counselors.

18. A. H. Cannon Journal, June 22, August 19, 1895.

19. Ibid., August 22, 23, 25, 1895.

20. San Francisco Examiner, January 18, 21, 1896; San Francisco Call, January 26, 1896; Los Angeles Times, March 6, 22, 25, April 17, 1896.

21. San Francisco Examiner, January 21, 1896; San Francisco Call, January 26, 1896; Los Angeles Times, March 6, 22, 25, April 13, 17, 1896; Los Angeles Herald, January 28, February 13, 25, 1896.

22. A. H. Cannon Journal, June 27, 1895; Salt Lake Tribune, July 25, 1896; Lincoln County, Nevada, *Record*, April 4, 1901, cited California Eastern General Manager R. S. Seibert as aiming at connecting his road with the main projected line at Good Springs.

23. Los Angeles Times, March 25, 1896.

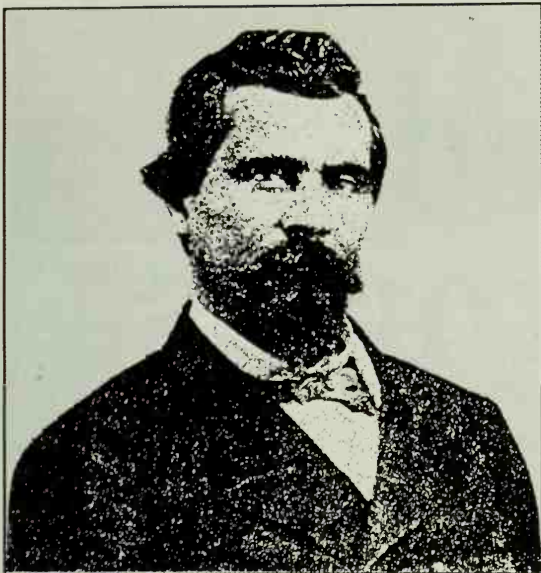
24. Ibid., April 5, 6, 1896.

25. *Journal History*, March 17, May 2, 4, 13, June 17, 1896; McCartney Daybooks, July 19, August 19, 24, 1896, McCartney papers; see Salt Lake Tribune, July 20, 1896, for Cannon obituary.

26. Salt Lake Tribune, September 27, 29, 1898, April 5, 1901; Nelson Trottman, *History of Union Pacific: A Financial and Economic*



- Survey (New York, 1923, reprint: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1966), 317.
27. Los Angeles Times, October 21, November 7, 1898; San Francisco Examiner, January 18, 1899.
28. W. D. Gelette, Assistant Engineer to William Hood, Chief Engineer, Southern Pacific Company, October 30, November 14, 1898, detailed reports and accompanying profile maps of central Utah, Henry E. Huntington Papers.
29. Salt Lake Tribune, July 7, 1899. Huntington did purchase the Carson and Colorado Railroad, which extended south from the Reno, Nevada, area to Keeler, in the eastern Owens Valley, California. Newspaper speculation suggested this road would be a beginning point for a cut-off by-passing the Central Pacific from Ogden, Utah, to Los Angeles, should it be needed. See Los Angeles Express, November 5, 1900.
30. Edward L. Lyman, "Outmaneuvering the Octopus: Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe," California History LXVII (June 1988): 94-107; E. P. Ripley to H. E. Huntington, May 13, 1896 (copy with accompanying maps), and New York Memorandum of July 28, 1899, H. E. Huntington Papers (box 49, no. 9752, and box 73, no. 9960); Salt Lake Tribune, July 2, 1899, also indicates Campbell was once a Southern Pacific superintendent at Ogden, Utah.
31. Los Angeles Times, August 22, 23, 24, 1900; Los Angeles Times, August 23 or 24, 1900, clipping in J. Ross Clark Scrapbook, Special Collections Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.
32. Los Angeles Herald, July 24, 1899; Los Angeles Evening Express, October 1, November 1, 14, 1900; Salt Lake Tribune, February 18, 1901; Los Angeles Times, August 21, 1900, stated "Mr. Clark is about the only man in the country who has capital enough of his own and is sufficiently free from entanglements with other railroad interests to take hold of this vast undertaking." Long series of reports, labeled Report from "H" (Holibird), including July 24, August 1, 2, 10, 1899, in Henry E. Huntington papers. Holibird, a respected railroad manager and promoter himself, actually had a desk in J. Ross Clark's office and enjoyed his complete confidence. "H" consistently reported belittling the Terminal Railway project or its purchase to the Clarks at every opportunity.
33. Journal History, April 13, 1901; Lincoln County Record, April 26, 1901; Salt Lake Tribune, May 7, 1901. George Kirk, "A History of the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1935), 1-66, is useful on some details of this railroad and its struggles.
34. Salt Lake Tribune, March 12, April 6, 24, 1901; Lincoln County Record, April 13, 1901. Lincoln County Commissioners' Records, W.P.A. manuscript copy, Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada, Vol. 3, pages 401-402, March 4, 1901, notes Whittemore appeared before the board and requested the right-of-way for \$5,083 in back taxes.
35. Salt Lake Tribune, April 6, 1901; Lincoln County Record, May 3, 1901.
36. Lincoln County Record, April 12, 1901.
37. Ibid., Myrick, Railroads, Vol. 2, 627-42, told the story of the "Battle for the Wash" long ago. His account is unfootnoted, but it clearly draws from sources used herein.
38. Salt Lake Tribune, April 16, 30, May 1, 1901; Lincoln County Record, May 3, 1901.
39. Lincoln County Record, May 3, 1901; Salt Lake Tribune, April 25, July 23, 1901.
40. Salt Lake Tribune, September 14, 1901; Lincoln County Record, February 14, 1902.
41. Lincoln County Record, November 15, 1901; Salt Lake Tribune, November 20, 1901, June 17, 1903.
42. Salt Lake Tribune, February 2, 4, 1901. See World's Work IX (February 1905): 5816-22, X (August 1905): 6503-09, XI (November 1905): 6859-70, XI (January 1906): 7072-81, for the best contemporary look at Harriman and his actions. See also H. J. Eckenrode and Pocahontas W. Edmunds, E. H. Harriman: The Little Giant of Wall Street (New York, 1933), 82-88. It is fully understood that Harriman did not have total power or total cooperation from his associates, but there was a large degree of both apparent in his maneuverings; see also Don L. Hofsmommer, The Southern Pacific, 1901-1985 (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1986) 1-100.
43. The entire corporate history and struggle with Harriman is contained in United States vs. Union Pacific, et al., Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Utah, docket no. 993, Evidence and Proceedings before the Special Examiner, printed in 12 volumes, cited almost exclusively in Trotman, Union Pacific, 316-25, an account of Clark-Harriman fight. See also District Court of the United States, Southern District of California, Southern Division, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad Company v. The United States of America and Interstate Commerce Commission and the Western Union Telegraph Company, intervening defendants, brief for the petitioner, equity n. H-44-T, copy, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. See also Maury Klein, Union Pacific: The Rebirth, 1894-1969 (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 48-83.
44. Salt Lake Tribune, August 12, 1901; Lincoln County Record, February 7, 1902, April 24, May 1, 1903; Journal History, April 18, 1903; Klein, Union Pacific, 113-18.
45. Los Angeles Times, September 26, December 6, 1898; Los Angeles Herald, September 4, 1900; Salt Lake Tribune, June 18, November 25, December 14, 1903; Journal History, May 19, June 18, 1905.
46. Salt Lake Tribune, May 21, 26, 1903. Excellent material on William A. Clark and his railroad is in Michael P. Malone, "Midas of the West: The Incredible Career of William Andrews Clark," Montana, The Magazine of Western History 33 (Autumn 1983): 2-17; and James W. Hulse, "W. A. Clark and the Las Vegas Connection," Montana, The Magazine of Western History 37 (Winter 1987): 48-55.
47. Construction contract signed August 15, 1903, by J. Ross Clark, for the railroad and Thomas D. Dee for Utah Construction Company, in H. M. McCartney Papers, California State Library, Sacramento; other seemingly complete account books and vouchers of construction of entire San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City Railroad, are in Special Collections Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas; Richard G. Lillard, Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1942), 161, mentions deaths of "several dozen" railroad workers in the deserts. The best account of completion of the railroad is Lincoln County Record, February 3, 1905; Journal History, January 30, February 1, 1905.
48. Undated clippings from Los Angeles Examiner, (actually February, 7, 8, 1907), in J. Ross Clark Scrapbook, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.
49. Stuart Daggett, Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific (New York, 1922, republished: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1966), 430-40, and Daggett, "The Decision on the Union Pacific Merger," Quarterly Journal of Economics (February 1913): 295-328, discusses the details of the corporation's dissolution.



# Great California Stories

## Federal Justice in California

*The Court of Ogden  
Hoffman, 1851–1891*

Christian G. Fritz

"An excellent and well balanced work. It gives us a valuable picture of the flow of business through a federal trial court. There are no competing or comparable books in the field." – Lawrence M. Friedman, Stanford University School of Law. A volume in our new series, Law in the American West. \$40.00

## John Rollin Ridge *His Life and Works*

James W. Parins

This first full-length biography of the Cherokee, John Rollin Ridge, includes chapters about his exile to California during the Gold Rush; his talent as a romantic poet and as the author of *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta* (1854), one of the first novels ever written by an American Indian. A volume in our series, American Indian Lives. Available May. \$30.00

## Practicing Law in Frontier California

Gordon Morris Bakken

"Magnificently researched. . . . [He] has gone beyond social and biographical analysis to probe what lawyers did and how they did it." – Kermit L. Hall, author of *The Magic Mirror: Law in American History*. A volume in our new series, Law in the American West. Available May. \$35.00

## Great California Stories

Edited by A. Grove Day

*Great California Stories* trumpets the state's immense short story tradition and ethnic diversity. The twenty stories in this anthology go back to the oral tradition of the American Indians and recall the Hispanic settlement, the gold rush of the 1850s, the agricultural epoch, the growth of San Francisco and Los Angeles, the foibles of early Hollywood, and the rise of ghettos. Available May. \$31.50 cl, \$10.95 pa

Also of interest

### Californian Indian Nights

Compiled by Edward W. Gifford and Gwendoline Harris Block  
\$9.95

### In Search of the Golden West

*The Tourist in Western America*  
Earl Pomeroy  
\$9.95

The University of Nebraska Press  
901 N 17 • Lincoln 68588-0520

*Nebraska*  
publishers since 1941



# Trusted by Californians since 1852.

## Wells Fargo comes through.

For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word — and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.



© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC

### WELLS FARGO BANK



### THOMAS O. LARKIN

*A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California*

By Harlan Hague and David J. Langum

A compelling biography of one of the most important men in the history of early California, who carved out a place for himself and his family that was part Hispanic, part American. In their research the authors uncovered a large body of new information, shedding light on many aspects of Larkin's personal life as well as on his business and diplomatic activities.

**\$28.95**

### HOLLYWOOD BEAUTY

*Linda Darnell and the American Dream*

By Ronald L. Davis

This is the story of beautiful, tragic Linda Darnell, a naive teenager from a dysfunctional middle-class family who lived in the Oak Cliff area of Dallas. It describes her Texas childhood, her meteoric rise to fame as a movie star in Hollywood, and the downward spiral of her career, and eventual death. "This beautifully written book is a must for the many fans who loved and remember this lovely lady."—Cesar Romero.

**\$19.95**

### LIFE IN MEXICO UNDER SANTA ANNA, 1822–1855

By Ruth R. Olivera and Liliane Crété

Santa Anna, known as the "perpetual dictator," was the product and the personification of the period, a figure who returned again and again to power. From contemporary accounts, the authors vividly resurrect social, religious, cultural, and political events to help us understand the plight of present-day Mexico as well as 19th century Mexican history. Armchair travelers will savor the delightful descriptions of bygone days.

**\$24.95**

### THE LAST CONQUISTADOR

*Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*

By Marc Simmons

*Volume 2 in The Oklahoma Western Biographies*

In the first full-length biography of one of the most important figures in the early history of the Spanish Borderlands, the author has drawn upon much new material that has emerged from Spanish archives in the last decade, producing a fast-paced and readable account that will be valued by historians and general readers alike.

**\$24.95**

Write for FREE catalogs. From your bookseller, or

**University of Oklahoma Press**



Dept. MAW 6—1005 Asp Ave.—Norman, OK 73019-0445

Add: \$1.50 Post/hand. Accept: MC/Visa/AE/checks

# CHS Issues Call for Nominations for 1991 Honors and Awards

The California Historical Society confers numerous awards and honors on students, teachers, scholars, individuals and organizations for preserving and perpetuating the richness of this State's past.

At this time, CHS is calling for nominations for the following awards:

**Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award:** presented to a distinguished scholar for a body of work in fields related to Henry Wagner's historical, cartographical and bibliographical interests.

**Galland Award:** given to an elementary or secondary school teacher for innovative classroom projects.

**CHS Fellows:** for distinguished individual contributions to knowledge of California history and its related fields.

**Irene and V. Aubrey Neasham Annual Award for Historic Preservation:** presented to an individual who has contributed extraordinarily to the preservation of California's historic sites and buildings.

**J.S. Holliday Award:** for excellence in scholarly research and/or interpretation in 19th and/or 20th century California history.

**Distinguished Service Award:** for extraordinary leadership and service to the people of California, the State and the nation.

**Historic Education, Health and Welfare**

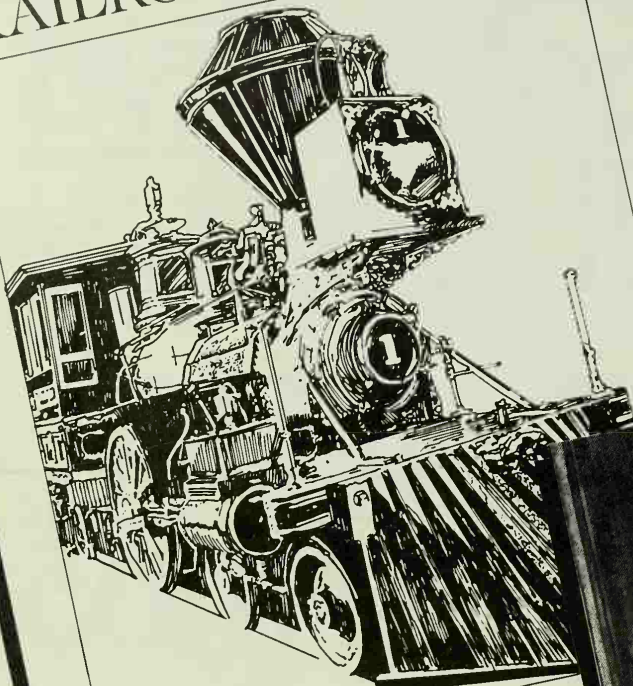
**Award:** presented to individuals and organizations for innovation and leadership in education, health and welfare.

**CHS Awards of Merit:** for outstanding contributions in Education, Folkways, Historic Preservation, Interpretive Programs, Local History, Scholarship and Corporate support of California History.

For an official nomination form and instructions for applying for any of these awards, write to CHS, Attention AWARDS 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco CA, 94109-2896 or call (415) 567-1848. Nomination forms must be received at CHS no later than April 12, 1991. ■



# • CALIFORNIA STATE • RAILROAD MUSEUM



Richard Steinheimer

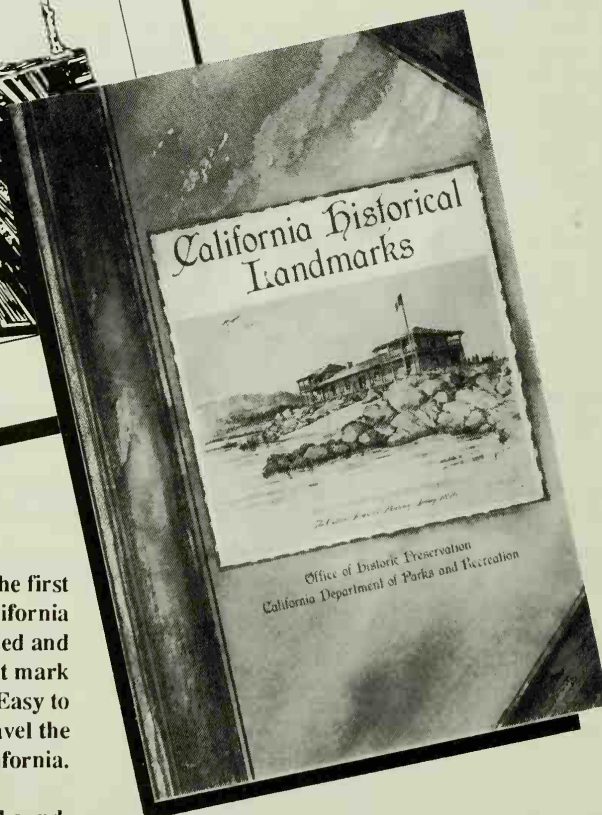
More than 100,000 copies of this book have been sold since the first edition appeared in 1960. Now in its eleventh edition, *California Historical Landmarks* has been completely redesigned, revised and updated. It contains the exact language used on the plaques that mark each of California's 1,027 registered historical landmarks. Easy to use and easy to carry along for quick reference as you travel the highways and byways of California.

320 pages, 6 x 9", \$11.95 softcover; \$19.95 casebound.

Richard Steinheimer, railroad historian and dean of American railroad photographers, has written an entertaining and concise, illustrated history of railroading in California and the West as that story can be seen through the artifacts, exhibits, and archival collections of the California State Railroad Museum.

A first-rate introduction to the subject and a unique memento of one of the world's great railroad museums.

48 pages, 8 1/2 x 11", full color, \$6.95



To order, send check or money order to:  
California Dept. of Parks and Recreation  
P.O. Box 942896, Sacramento, CA 94296.  
Include \$1.00 per book for postage and handling.  
California residents include sales tax.

For further information call 916/322-7000.

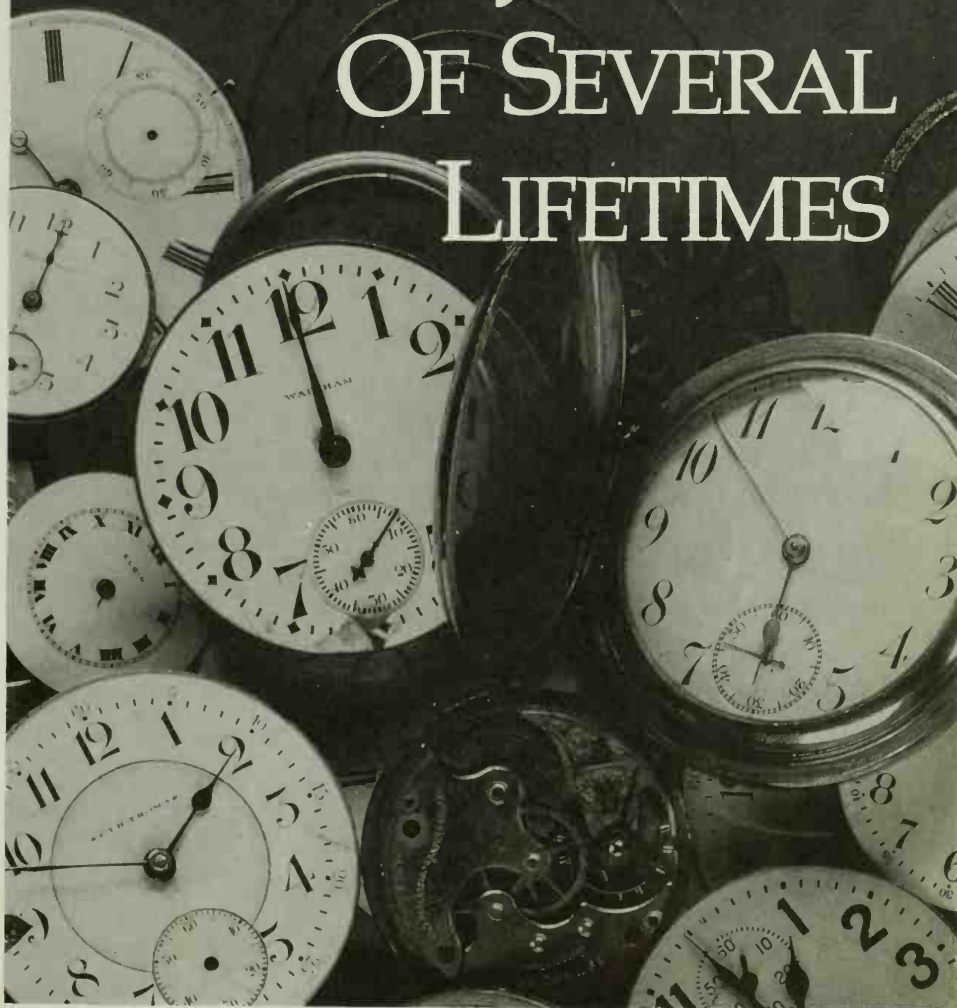
JOIN THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## JOURNEY BACK

Since our beginning in 1871, members of the California Historical Society have collected, preserved, exhibited and published the essence of California. Look back and you'll find that Californians have always kept their eyes on the future, creating brilliant opportunities for those who have dared to risk their luck and, occasionally, even their lives.

By immortalizing the people, places and events which have shaped California's heritage, CHS has created a living legacy—a legacy to be enjoyed firsthand by those who become members of the Society. The California Historical Society invites you to become a member. We promise it to be a journey of several lifetimes.

# TAKE THE JOURNEY OF SEVERAL LIFETIMES



PLACE  
STAMP  
HERE



California Historical Society  
Membership Department  
P.O. Box 44327  
San Francisco, California 94144-0001



# Journey Forth

As an organization whose mission is to illuminate the past, CHS offers delightful opportunities in the present. If you are simply curious about California's origins or are a devoted historian, you will be in good company with the California Historical Society. Through educational programs, exhibits, historic research services and publications, we explore our multicultural heritage and bring history to bear on current issues. We invite you to become a member and journey with us. You will be making history live for all Californians.

## MEMBER BENEFITS

**PUBLICATIONS:** *California History*—an illustrated quarterly publishing the finest works of historians, writing about the individuals and events that shaped California.

*California Chronicle*—a quarterly newsletter highlighting CHS and affiliated organizations' activities statewide.

**PROGRAMS:** Attend lectures, symposia and historic business programs; enjoy CHS exhibitions; participate in a wide variety of programs related to California, past and present.

**EXHIBITS:** Members are given priority in attending openings of permanent and traveling exhibitions held throughout California.



**HISTORIC SITES:** Free admission to visit the Whittier Mansion in San Francisco and El Molino Viejo in San Marino are enjoyed by CHS members.

**DISCOUNTS AND FREE ADMISSIONS:** Discounts averaging 10%-20% on selected historical publications. Free admission to all CHS facilities.

And, perhaps most importantly, the knowledge that your membership is helping California history live for all Californians, now and in the future.

Please cut along lines and return this portion with your payment.

### IT'S TIME TO BEGIN THE JOURNEY

I am a ☐ new ☐ renewing member.

Please enroll me as a member in the following category:

<input type="checkbox"/> Regular	\$40	<input type="checkbox"/> Contributing	\$125
<input type="checkbox"/> Students, Teachers and Affiliated		<input type="checkbox"/> Friend of CHS	\$250
<input type="checkbox"/> Historical Societies	\$25	<input type="checkbox"/> Benefactor	\$500
<input type="checkbox"/> Sustaining	\$75	<input type="checkbox"/> President's Council	\$1000

Miss/Ms./Mr./Mrs./Dr./Prof. \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

If this is a gift membership, please indicate your name and address below:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Payment enclosed:

☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Card Number: \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Please bill me. ☐ Check

**Please make checks payable and send payment to:**

California Historical Society  
P.O. Box 44327  
San Francisco, CA 94144-0001

CHS is a tax exempt organization. Dues, contributions and bequests are deductible to the extent provided by law. Your company may provide matching gifts; check with your personnel office.

Journey Forth  
With a Friend!

Give a CHS gift membership to a friend, relative or business associate. Enjoy CHS with your friends throughout the year

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, is a statewide, non-profit education institution designated by the Legislature as the State historical society. With regional centers in San Francisco and San Marino, the Society encourages the collection, preservation, and interpretation of information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the people of California.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

#### OFFICERS

David B. Hudnut, San Francisco  
*President*  
 Doyce N. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D., Los Angeles  
*Vice President*  
 David J. Clark, Esq., Larkspur  
*Treasurer*  
 Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley, San Francisco  
*Secretary*  
 George Basye, Esq., Sacramento  
*Regional Vice President*  
 George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles  
*Regional Vice President*

#### BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D., Stanford  
 Henry Berrey, Midpines  
 Constance Crowley Bowles, San Francisco  
 Arthur Coleman, M.D., San Francisco  
 Robert Corrigan, Ph.D., San Francisco  
 Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D., El Cerrito  
 Robert Devlin, San Francisco  
 James Dickason, Los Angeles  
 Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., Berkeley  
 Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco  
 Honorable Isabella H. Grant, San Francisco  
 Seymour Greben, Novato  
 Harlan Hague, Ph.D., Stockton  
 Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento  
 Claudia Hampton, Ed.D., Los Angeles  
 Andrew Jameson, Ph.D., San Francisco  
 William C. Johnston, Pasadena  
 Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D., San Francisco  
 Gary Kurutz, Sacramento  
 R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D., Berkeley  
 Ian Mackinlay, FAIA, Orinda  
 Milton Marks III, San Francisco  
 Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Berkeley  
 Kathleen McLaughlin, Martinez  
 Arthur Mejia, Ph.D., San Francisco  
 Shirley Moore, Ph.D., Sacramento  
 Maggie Pexton Murray, Los Angeles  
 Andrew T. Nadell, M.D., San Francisco  
 Norman Neuerburg, Ph.D., Los Angeles  
 Annegret Ogden, Berkeley

Hanna Regev, San Francisco  
 Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles  
 Marshall S. Sanders, San Francisco  
 Ralph Scurfield, Sacramento  
 Elizabeth Bertillion Smart, Sacramento  
 Barbara Solomon, San Francisco  
 Kevin Starr, Ph.D., Los Angeles  
 Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco  
 James C. Williams, Ph.D., Gilroy

#### EMERITI

North Baker, San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*  
 Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*  
 J.S. Holliday, Carmel  
*Executive Director Emeritus*  
 Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*

#### EX OFFICIO

Karen Stafford Rantzman, Berkeley  
 Mrs. John Williams, San Francisco

#### STAFF

Michael McCone, *Executive Director*  
 Corinne Abbott, *Events Staff*  
 Theresa Bennett, *Accountant*  
 Judy Deaton, *Administrative Assistant*  
 Mary Dierickx, *Weekend Receptionist*  
 Margaret Eley, *El Molino Viejo Director*  
 Kay Feallock, *Assistant to the Executive Director*  
 Donna Fiscus, *Development Office*  
 Pat Goyan, *Volunteers Coordinator*  
 Michael Harvey, *Chief Librarian*  
 George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*  
 Cheryl Kolinen, *Director of Development*  
 Robert MacKimmie, *Curatorial Director of Photography*  
 Abigay Perez, *Custodian*  
 Sandra Reinhardt, *Director of Finance (Contractor)*  
 Anne Marie Thurmond, *Data Entry*

#### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Morton Rothstein, Ph.D., *Chair*  
 Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D.  
 Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr.  
 Harlan Hague, Ph.D.  
 Louis H. Heilbron  
 Glenna Matthews, Ph.D.  
 Michael Mathes, Ph.D. (non-Trustee)  
 Gloria E. Miranda, Ph.D. (non-Trustee)  
 Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D.  
 Robert Power (non-Trustee)

#### CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Individual Copies \$7.95  
 Published quarterly ©1990 by CHS

Annual membership \$40.00  
 Teacher membership \$25.00  
 Student membership \$25.00

\$25.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscription to *California History*

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS—  
 WHITTIER MANSION  
 2090 Jackson Street  
 San Francisco, California 94109  
 (415) 567-1848  
 FAX (415) 567-2394

LIBRARY  
 2099 Pacific Avenue  
 San Francisco, California 94109  
 (415) 567-1848

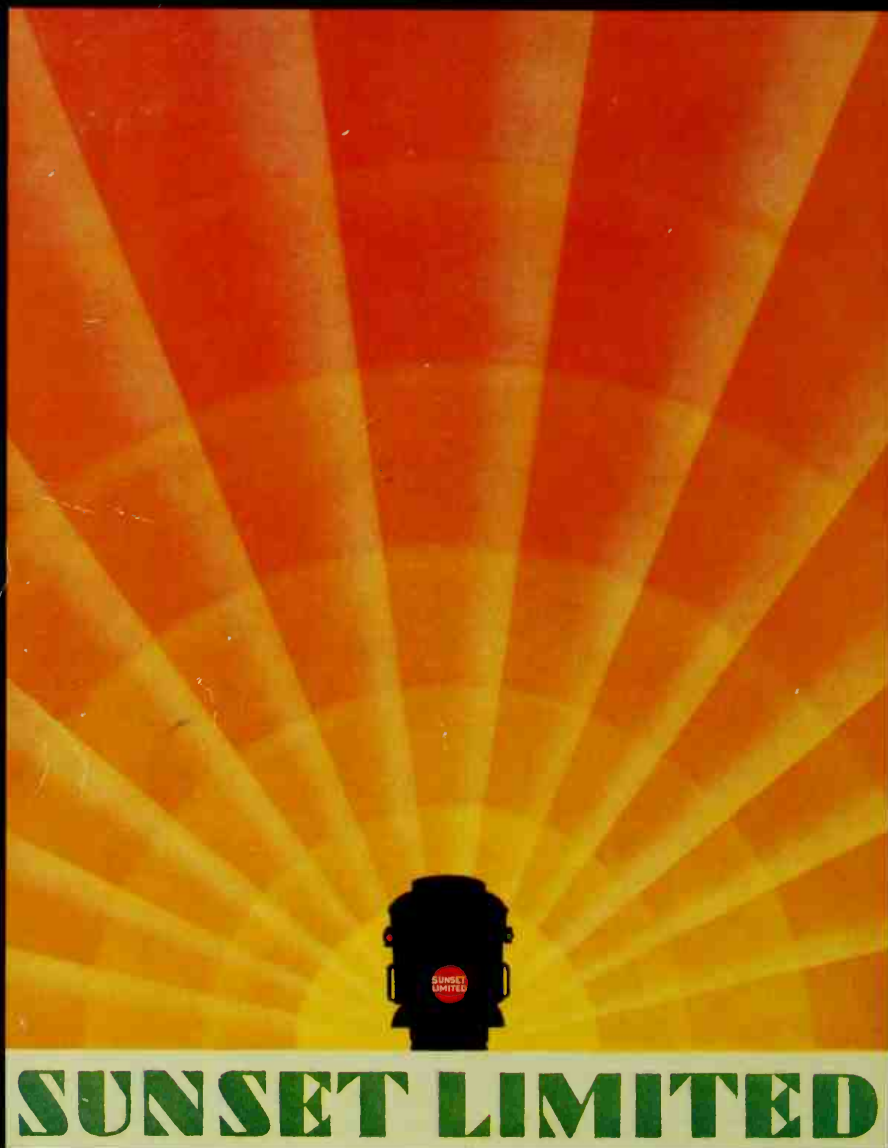
EL MOLINO VIEJO  
 1120 Old Mill Road  
 San Marino, California 91108  
 (818) 449-5450

Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to Richard Orsi, Ph.D., Editor *California History*. Department of History, California State University, Hayward, Hayward, CA 94542. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897  
 Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.  
 Publication number 084180

On the back cover: The cover of a 1930 Southern Pacific Company pamphlet advertising the Sunset Limited, a luxury train the railroad had been operating between California and New Orleans since the late nineteenth century. *Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento.*





Administrative Headquarters 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109 (415) 567-1848 • Library 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco 94109 (415) 567-1848  
El Molino Viejo 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino 91108 (818) 449-5450

SUMMER 1991

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY



9042 03333456 3

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY





## Milestones in California History—

### The 150th Anniversary of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party



"Approaching Alkali Lake, Poison Spider Route, Wyoming, Looking West." This contemporary view of the Overland Trail fifteen miles east of Independence Rock, Wyoming, catches the indelible imprint, still evident a century and a half later, of the wagon tracks made by countless emigrants crossing the arid earth. The photograph is by Greg MacGregor, associate professor of art, California State University, Hayward, who is engaged in a project of photographing the Overland Trail.

Utilizing the central route to the Pacific Coast, the first planned overland emigrant company safely arrived on November 4, 1841, at the California rancho of Dr. John Marsh, situated near Mount Diablo in present-day Contra Costa County. Setting out from frontier Missouri, these hardy pioneers blazed a trail that subsequently became the American highway to the future El Dorado. Thousands of like-minded men and women, accompanied by their children, would follow their lead in decades to come. As one noted historian has pointed out, the party's significance lies in the fact that it "was the entering wedge for the new type of migration to California," by determined emigrants bent on permanent settlement.

Captivated by excited reports on the wonders and opportunities of Mexican California, in the late winter of 1840 the Western Emigration Society was established in frontier Missouri. Chief propagandist in urging Americans to head for the "land of perennial spring and boundless fertility" was Antoine Robidoux, a long-time trapper and trader in the transmontane west. "His descriptions of the country made it seem like a paradise," wrote young John Bidwell, a charter member in the newly-formed society. Robidoux's vivid portrait was soon seconded by letters from Dr. John Marsh, a former resident of Independence, to several Missouri friends. His glowing "descriptive letters of Cal[ifornia] and its climate and resources . . . awakened . . . a great desire to see the country. . . ." His letters also suggested a plausible route, one that had been partially articulated by Jedediah Smith's trapper party on their two trips to California in 1826 and 1827 from the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, and seconded by Joseph R. Walker and his trapper band in their 1833 trek.

However, enthusiasm soon waned due to Thomas J. Farnham's published account of the harsh treatment accorded American and British settlers in the vicinity of Monterey during the infamous 1840 Isaac Graham Affair, which Farnham had personally witnessed during a brief visit to the California provincial capital. Only 69 people finally gathered on the banks of the Kansas River by May 18 to form the overland party.

Included in that number were five women and seven children. John Bartleson was elected captain and John Bidwell secretary. The latter, happily for the cause of history, recorded the overland trip west in a journal that was later abridged and published (c. 1843-1844) in Missouri. Thus the appellation Bidwell-Bartleson party has been given to this first emigrant train. Fortunately, the party followed in the wake of a Jesuit missionary band that was led by an experienced guide, Thomas Fitzpatrick. The route taken would later be dubbed the Oregon Trail. At Soda Springs, Idaho, the Bidwell-Bartleson party split up. Already depleted by the defection of four recruits and the accidental death of another, only thirty-four, including Nancy Kelsey and her baby daughter, elected to strike out on their own, southwestward, on August 11 in hopes of reaching California. The rest of the company opted for the Oregon territory.

The ensuing three months proved a nightmare of hardship and travail for the travelers. Luckily the party found the St. Mary's River, later renamed the Humboldt, which guided them into the vicinity of the eastern Sierra. But by October all wagons had to be abandoned, making traveling even more arduous. Doggedly the party pushed on and by sheer good fortune found a difficult passage via the Stanislaus Canyon and River into the San Joaquin Valley, their long-sought goal. From there, with the help of two of the party and one of Marsh's Indian vaqueros, the Mount Diablo rancho was finally reached. Through sustained courage and great fortitude, the emigrant band had successfully completed its epic journey. It was an admirable and heroic achievement.

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., is professor emeritus of history in the University of Southern California. He is a CHS Fellow and received the Society's Wagner Award in 1988. Author and editor of numerous books and articles, he celebrates his 30th year as editor of the *Southern California Quarterly*, the publication of the Historical Society of Southern California. His documentary history of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party will be published this fall by Western Tanager Press and the Los Angeles Corral of Westerners.

# THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXX No. 2

Summer 1991

MICHAEL McCONE  
*Executive Director*

RICHARD J. ORSI  
*Editor*

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI  
*Associate Editor*

JAMES J. RAWLS  
*Reviews Editor*

CHARLES N. JOHNSON  
*Checklist Editor*

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY  
*Design/Production*

*Editorial Consultants*

GORDON M. BAKKEN  
JACQUELINE BARNHART  
LONNIE G. BUNCH III  
LARRY E. BURGESS  
ROBERT W. CHERNY  
RICHARD W. ETULAIN  
JAMES N. GREGORY  
JUDSON A. GRENIER  
RICHARD GRISWOLD  
DEL CASTILLO  
ROBERT V. HINE  
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI  
DAVID HORNBECK  
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK  
PAUL J. KARLSTROM  
HARRY KELSEY  
HIM MARK LAI  
RUDOLPH M. LAPP  
LAWRENCE B. LEE  
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG  
SANDY LYDON  
CLEMENT MEIGHAN  
SALLY M. MILLER  
IRENE MORAN  
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS  
LEONARD PITT  
MICHAEL SMITH

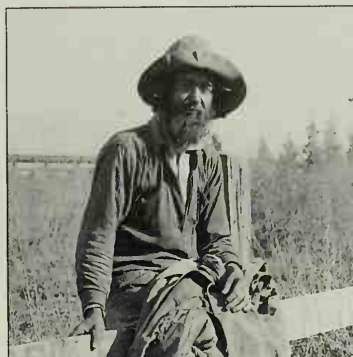
*Editorial Assistants*

Margit Aarons, Corinne Abbott,  
Michael Campbell, Pamela Challinor,  
Kay Fealock, Richard Graw,  
George Johnson, Shannon Lindsay,  
Siegfried Schnuetgen

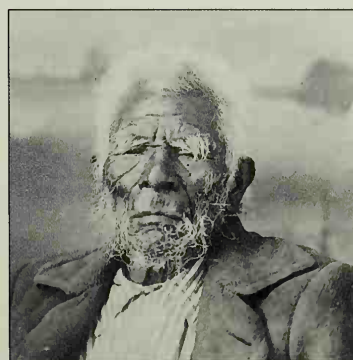
*California History* is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897



162



192



206

146 Mt. Tamalpais: The Legendary Birth of a Holy Mountain  
*by David Robertson*

162 Entrepreneurs and Urbanism on the California Mining Frontier: Frederick Walter and Weaverville, 1852-1868  
*by William A. Bullough*

174 Rube Levy: A San Francisco Shoe Cutter and the Origin of Professional Baseball in California  
*by Joel S. Franks*

192 Men on the Road: Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California  
*by Gregory R. Woirol*

206 Communications—California Mission Indians: Two Perspectives

217 Reviews

228 California Checklist

231 Notes

*California History*  
is published with the  
cooperation and support of  
California State University, Hayward

ON THE COVER: "Mt. Tamalpais from Napa Slough," 1869, by William Lewis Marple (1827-1910). An artist of the mid-nineteenth-century American Luminist movement, Marple is discussed in an article on Mt. Tamalpais in this issue. CHS Collection, San Francisco.



# Mt. Tamalpais:

## The Legendary Birth of a Holy Mountain

by David Robertson

In 1962, during the winter of the H-bomb, *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Harold Gilliam sought on the slopes of Mt. Tamalpais momentary refuge from the hysteria of nuclear fear. Across the Golden Gate from San Francisco, on the Matt Davis Trail high above the din of backyard shelter building and schoolroom air-raid drills, he "pondered the meaning of the crisis."<sup>1</sup> Ten years later, in the midst of other crises, he once again made a pilgrimage to Tamalpais. Even though an end to the Vietnam War was in sight, other battles were escalating: "the uncontrolled proliferation of the earth's population . . . the contamination of the oceans, the altering of the chemical composition of the atmosphere by the wastes of technology."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the threat of instant annihilation had, if anything, increased, as nuclear arms reached out to embrace the entire globe. As he hiked in and out of the "sheltering groves" and along the "bushy ridges" from Mountain Home to the Mountain Theater, he "wondered whether there was any reason to believe that the human race could make the herculean efforts necessary to control the atom for the good of mankind," much less find a way "to exist in harmony with the earth [and] live with an abiding sense of reverence for life."

Gilliam's intellect could find little cause for comfort. Despots had arisen in the past and surely would again, with even greater means at their disposal to tyrannize humans. The snow then falling on the mountain, however, gave his heart a different answer. Although at the moment it "blank[ed] out all vision beyond a certain distance," he knew that soon it would "melt and sink into the soil to recharge the reservoirs of ground water, to emerge eventually in springs and streams, to give new life to the manzanitas and madronos." Similarly, he knew that "new generations, new philosophies, new life styles were coming to the

fore." As he jogged down the mountainside, he felt certain that they would "reveal new choices now invisible . . . new visions of man's relation to man and to the earth around him." Upon his return to Mountain Home, where he had begun, he received a sign: though the top of the mountain was still "wreathed in vapor and storm," all was clear where he stood "and out over the western ridges the light of the descending sun was turning the ocean and clouds to a burnished copper."

Nine years after this second visit to Mt. Tamalpais, Gilliam wrote a series of articles for the *Chronicle* on the geological history of Mt. Tamalpais. All were published in his column "Earthwatch," beginning with "The Birth of Mt. Tam" on April 12, 1981. Using the theory of plate tectonics as paradigm, he recounted the rise of Mt. Tamalpais from the cataclysmic collision of the North American and Farallon plates. He gave a convincing explanation of the origin of the physical mountain he walked upon in 1962 and again in 1972. But what about the genesis of the spiritual mountain, the one that gave him such hope on both of those occasions? Science, with all its matter of observed fact and inductive theory, is woefully inadequate in accounting for the birth of that mountain. It had a very different nativity. Or one might more accurately say, that mountain had a very different making. Tamalpais was not born a sacred place; it was made. This article chronicles its fabrication out of so-called Indian legends.

Curiously enough, in the initial decades of the American settlement of northern California after the Gold Rush there were few hints that Mt. Tamalpais would one day be a holy mountain, not only to an environmentally aware newspaper columnist, but to Bay Area literati such as Kenneth Rexroth, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg,





A snow-covered Mount Tamalpais overlooks the budding town of Mill Valley in 1913. At 2,597 feet above sea level, the mountain is not the highest in California or even in the coastal range. Yet its proximity to San Francisco has brought the rugged peak much attention, especially for its views. Blanketed under winter snow, to writer Harold Gilliam and others, the mountain conveyed an even greater sense of mystery. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

and Gary Snyder, to Marin County artists such as Tom Killian and Etel Adnan, and to thousands of hiker-pilgrims who course over and around it every year. Back then, Mt. Tam was, from a spiritual point of view, an ordinary place. Surveyors figured prominently among early climbers, and they went to the top not because of any special power it possessed but because it was the highest point along the coast for many miles in either direction. Apparently, as early as 1826 at least one of the crew of the visiting British ship *H.M.S. Blossom*, commanded by Captain Frederick Beechey, scaled one of its peaks (probably West Peak, then called Table Mountain) in order to take magnetic

readings. Whether he was the first English-speaking person to make the ascent is a matter of conjecture.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1850s and thereafter, George Davidson, geographer for the first United States survey of the Pacific Coast, climbed it many times for the purpose of triangulation. The first climb recorded in print was made in 1862 by William H. Brewer of the California Geological Survey. In his journal, published posthumously as *Up and Down California*, Brewer describes the ascent through fog and snow and the view from the summit. He is effusive in his praise of the panorama that spread out beneath him, but nowhere does he mention feelings that might be labelled spiritual:

The last ascent was very steep. We climbed up the rocks, and just as we reached the highest crag the fog began to clear away. Then came glimpses of the beautiful landscape through the fog. It was most grand, more like some views in the Alps than anything I have seen before—those glimpses of the landscape beneath through foggy curtains. But now the fog and clouds rolled away and we had a glorious view indeed—the ocean on the west, the bay around, the green hills beneath with lovely valley between them.<sup>4</sup>

Americans were not long in establishing commercial enterprises on the slopes of Mt. Tamalpais, most notably logging and dairy farming. Miners never managed to extract anything of much value from its ridges and gullies, but the abundance of game attracted scores of hunters.<sup>5</sup> Many of the people associated with these activities must have roamed around and about the mountain. They have left few records, however, and only a small percentage of those who did write about their exploits comment on the scenery. The remarks of Lt. Tumis Augustus Macdonough Craven of the United States Navy in the late 1840s are typical in giving no hint of an awareness of special powers

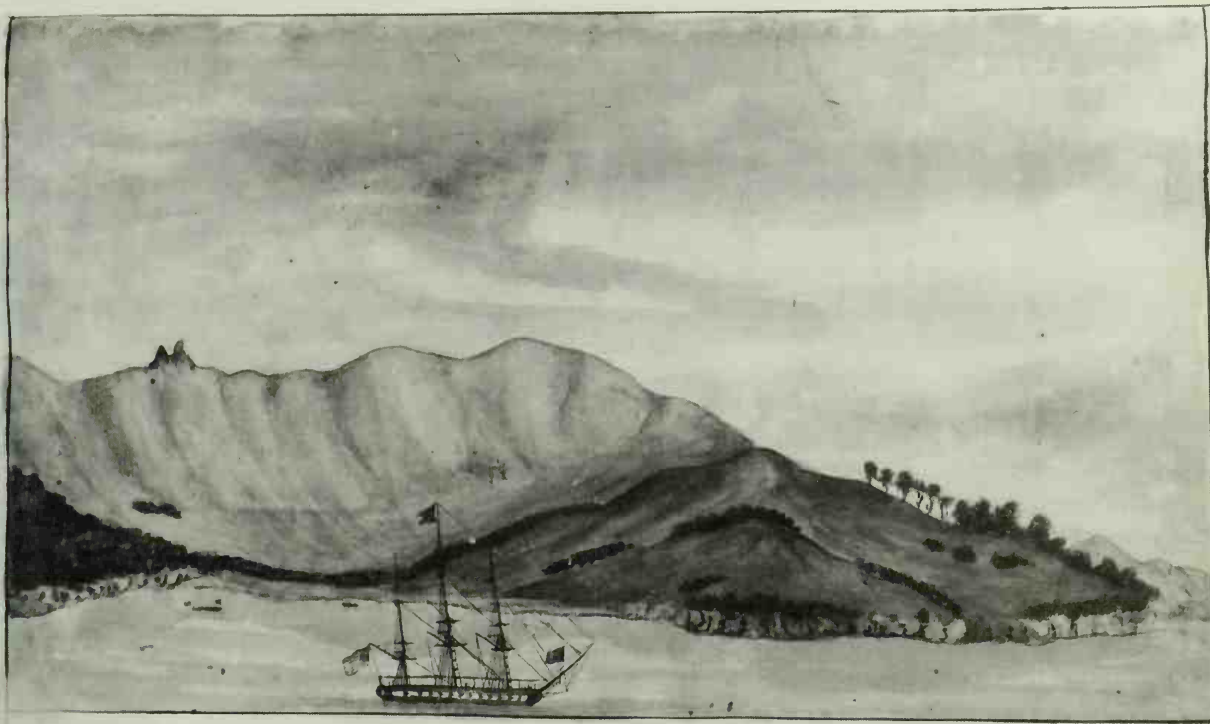
within the mountain. On the mountain he was momentarily distracted from the hunt by the beauty of the surroundings, but after a brief look returned to his main purpose, the pursuit of game:

The glorious sun was just showing itself above the mountains which bounded the Eastern horizon; to the Westward of me was a high and wild range, whose tops were here and there tipped with sunlight, which rested on them like gilding; a deep and thickly wooded valley lay below me, and the mountain sides were covered with the stately and beautiful "red wood." The grand bay of San Francisco was on my left, and the picture was completely beautiful. The deep shadows, the perfect outlines, the gilded mountains, the fertile valley, the rich forests, the herds of wild cattle, the silvery Bay; and I wished I were a Claude; but do you see those two deer there, on that ridge within a few hundred yards: So away I went. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Climbing Tamalpais for its own sake also began early on, though the documentation for such activities is scant. Local historian Lincoln Fairley, despite exhaustive research, has located the accounts of only two pleasure outings in the 1870s, although comments in the East Peak Registers for the years



An 1842 watercolor view of a deer hunt, from the journal of William Meyers, an officer of the U.S. war sloop *Cyane*, which anchored briefly off Sausalito. With Mt. Tamalpais in the background, Meyers's vantage point was probably southwest of the mountain. Courtesy Bancroft Library, and James Heig, Picture Editor, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (1987).



This William Meyers watercolor shows the U.S.S. *Cyane* anchored off Sausalito with Mt. Tamalpais looming in the background. Painted in 1842, Meyers's several illustrations in his journal are the earliest known images of the mountain. *Courtesy Bancroft Library and James Heig.*

1880 through 1887 indicate that some avid hikers had regularly gone to the summit in the previous decade.<sup>7</sup> One should not automatically assume, of course, that the mountain was for them an ordinary place, but no written evidence to the contrary has been found. Enough people were interested in making the trip from San Francisco that the 1871 edition of *Bancroft's Tourist Guide* included directions along with the comment that the "view is magnificent."<sup>8</sup> The best of all nineteenth-century California guide books, *Bancroft's Pacific Coast Guide Book*, authored by John S. Hittell and published in 1882, also gave directions for those interested in climbing Tamalpais, and described, in addition, the physical features of the mountain, its flora, and the view from the top. Hittell presented Tamalpais as an attractive place, not a powerful one.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, Tamalpais was virtually ignored by travel writers from the East Coast, England, and Europe. Apparently none of the most famous and well-read authors to visit California before 1880 climbed it. Constance Gordon-Cumming made the closest approach: she had a "cheery" picnic at a "pretty" artificial lake at its foot.<sup>10</sup> William Minturn listed Tamalpais among the places visible from Telegraph Hill in San Francisco.<sup>11</sup> Sailing

up San Pablo Bay, Sara Jane Lippincott summed up the early attitude toward the mountain: "Mounts Tamalpais and Diabolo [sic]," she said, "are kingly old fellows."<sup>12</sup> However, Jessie Benton Frémont first visited in California in 1848 and returned in the 1850s and 60s; Horace Greeley came in the late 1850s; Samuel Bowles, Charles Loring Brace, Charles C. Coffin, Fitz Hugh Ludlow, and Albert D. Richardson in the 1860s; and Ludovic Marquis de Beauvoir, J.H. Beadle, John W. Boddam-Whetham, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Arthur G. Guillemard, Thomas W. Hinchliff, Helen Hunt Jackson, John Erastus Lester, Charles Nordhoff, and William Simpson in the 1870s.<sup>13</sup> Not one of them said a word about Tamalpais. Nordhoff's failure to mention it is especially surprising, since he provided potential tourists with a long list of California attractions. Not even San Francisco's own prolific travel writer, James Mason Hutchings, who edited *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine* in the middle and late 1850s and collected his essays about California places in 1868, had anything to say about Tamalpais.<sup>14</sup>



Tamalpais and environs was a favorite retreat for a number of early San Francisco writers, but their treatment of the mountain was, without exception, sentimental. In their poems they gave no evidence that it touched them in a profound way. In 1862 Edward Rowland Sill camped for a month under an oak tree in Laurel Dell and five years later published a long poem, *The Hermitage*, based on his experience there. Tamalpais figures only marginally in the poem. At one point Sill asked it to teach him wisdom; later, in describing a sunset, he sounded the same picturesque note we have already heard from other climbers:

I sat last night on yonder ridge of rocks  
To see the sun set over Tamelpais [sic],  
Whose tinted peak, suffused with rosy mist,  
Blended the colors of the sea and sky  
And made the mountain one great amethyst  
Hanging against the sunset.<sup>15</sup>

Ina Coolbrith, Charles Warren Stoddard, and Clarence Ury were also frequent visitors to Mt. Tamalpais, and the few poems they wrote about it echo the language and sentiments of Sill. Sunset was a favorite theme. Ury ended his popular poem, "As I Came Down Mt. Tamalpais," with the lines:

Then silently through stilly air,  
Starlight flew down from Paradise,  
Folded her silver wings and slept  
Upon the slopes of Tamalpais.<sup>16</sup>

Bret Harte and Ambrose Bierce also spent considerable time in the Tamalpais region but wrote nothing about their experiences.<sup>17</sup>

Early California painters also roamed the hills around Tamalpais and, unlike the poets, frequently made it the subject of their work. Harry Cassie Best, Albert Bierstadt, Norton Bush, Edwin Deakin, Ranson Gillet Holdredge, William Keith, William Marple, William Burch McMurtrie, Gilbert Munger, Julian Rix, Jules Tavernier, Thaddeus Welch, Ludmilla Welch, Virgil Williams, and Raymond Dabb Yelland all put Tamalpais on canvas, most of them numerous times. In almost every case the style used was pastoral: cows grazed the foreground or sightseers wandered through pleasant fields of colorful wildflowers, while in the background Tamalpais rose gently above the rounded hills. In a few paintings, such as William Marple's *Mt. Tamalpais from Napa Slough* (1869), executed in a style that might be labeled West Coast Luminism, the mountain assumed a bit more grandeur. Only Gilbert Munger's *Mt. Tam from San Rafael* (1870) seemed prophetic of things to come. In it the landscape was rather more wild than pastoral, and

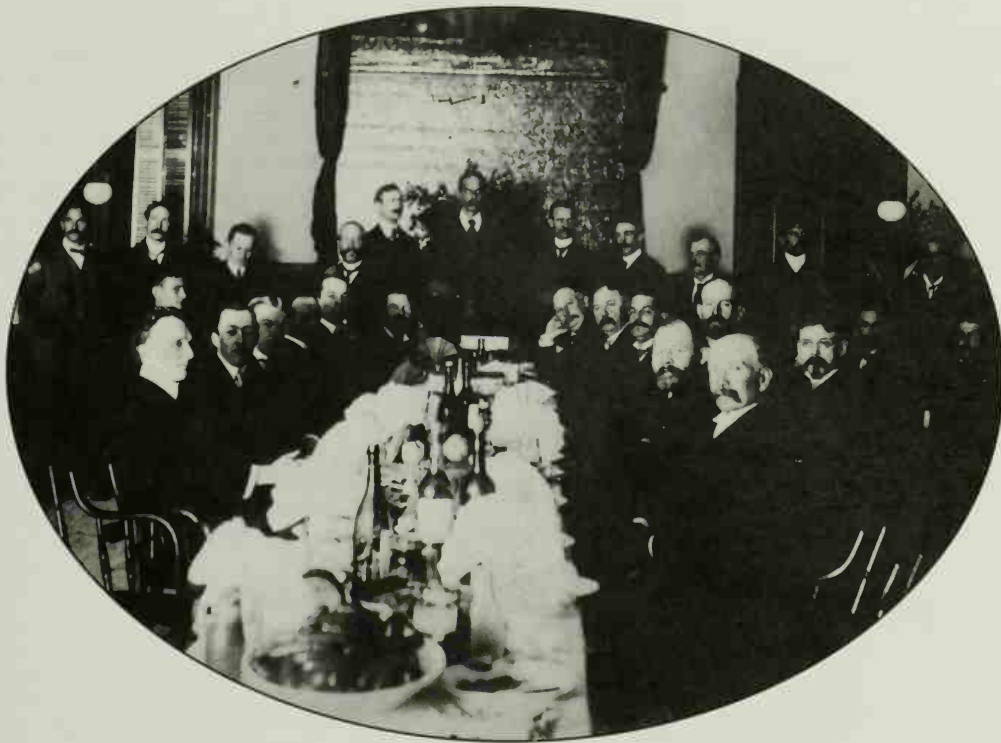
Tamalpais loomed somewhat dark and foreboding in the background, rather than being lit with a diffused light that softened its features.

To sum up, virtually no public documents from the first three decades of the American era record a profound emotional response to Mt. Tamalpais, or otherwise contain evidence to suggest that Tamalpais would eventually become one of the major loci of spiritual power in California. Scientists, gamesmen, hikers, poets, and painters, with a few exceptions, described the mountain as gentle and pleasant.

The second period in the American history of Mt. Tamalpais was made possible by new technology: the railroad. In 1874 the North Pacific Coast Railway opened its lines from Sausalito northward. Fifteen years later a spur was laid from the main line to Mill Valley. When the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway opened in 1896, tourists could ride all the way from Sausalito to the summit terminal. During the period of the railroad's operation, from August 22, 1896, to the summer of 1930, the number of those who visited Tamalpais increased exponentially, from hundreds to thousands. While most people stayed on the train as far as it would take them, large numbers preferred to forsake the rails in Mill Valley and go by foot, by animal, or by wagon the rest of the way. Hiking especially increased in popularity. During this time close to a dozen hiking clubs were founded, joining the already existing Tamalpais Club.<sup>18</sup>

Apparently the increase in numbers was not accompanied by any significant change in point of view toward Tamalpais. In prose and poetry that is at times comically purple, writers continued to describe it in picturesque terms. Harold French and Helen Bingham were two of Tamalpais's most eloquent boosters around the turn of the century. Neither manifested any spiritual interest in the mountain. In an article in the *Overland Monthly*, French reminded San Franciscans that "near at hand there is a mountain-paradise in which nature lives [sic] may revel in a pleasing variety of scenery that is hard to surpass." He especially praised Steep Ravine, where "wood-sick ones" may find a "sylvan retreat." Helen Bingham equated the beauties of Tamalpais with "superb effects." A spiritual landscape was noticeably absent from her catalogue of what one could see from its slopes:

To watch the wonderful radiance of sunrise when Apollo mounts in his chariot of fire above the Berkeley hills, or to see a billowy floor of fog, outspread before one, obscuring the lower world and leaving naught save this mountain peak unwrapped by the



One of the earliest Mt. Tam mountaineering groups, the Cross Country Club, gathers for a banquet, ca. 1903. Among the members here is Lucien Berry, for whom the Berry Trail is named. CHS Library, San Francisco.

fog-mantle; and then witness the pale light of the moon marking a silver pathway in the Bay, and casting grotesque shadows on the landscape. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Unlike prose descriptions of Tam, the manner of painting the mountain underwent a radical alteration before the turn of the century, as Bay Area artists such as Frederick Schafer, Percy Gray, and Theodore Wores adopted the style of the French Impressionists. The content, however, remained essentially unchanged from the previous decades: Tamalpais was a pleasantly pastoral place, colored by wildflowers and softened by hazy skies. *Nature's Garden*, the title of one of Percy Gray's paintings of the mountain, aptly summarized the point of view of California Impressionism.

A brochure published by the State Department of Parks and Recreation describes a ticket on the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway as an "open sesame" to a Western wonderland that has an "easily definable charm." The text ventured into religious territory: "Tamalpais is to the city folk around the bay what Fujiyama is to the people of Japan, an object of worship. . . ." But then it

quickly retreated: ". . . though not from the oriental sense of reverence. Rather does it occupy in their affections the place of an everlasting comrade with which to spend a happy holiday."<sup>20</sup> These sentiments were repeated by virtually every travel-oriented publication, whether magazine, newspaper, or guidebook. The impression is overwhelming that in the decades immediately before and after the turn of the century people by and large went up Tamalpais in a holiday spirit in order to catch a picturesque view of the Bay Area.

During these same years, however, convincing evidence of a qualitatively different response to Mt. Tamalpais first manifested itself. Some people were finding there something that affected them more profoundly. They were having experiences that placed themselves in the context of the universe as a whole, experiences, in other words, that can be labeled religious in the broadest sense of the term. Consider what happened to William T. Ortman when he was fourteen years old. Around 1890 a tradition began of



hiking up Mt. Tamalpais on Washington's birthday to see the sunrise. One year, he does not say exactly when, Ortman took part in this ritual. From below he felt "something akin to reverence as he looked skyward and beheld the colossus Tamalpais staring down at us as if we were insignificant pigmies caught out after dark." He reached the top well before dawn. From there he "could see a road winding and twisting here and there on the valley floor. It looked like a bit of thread dropped there without purpose." He noticed sparks of light that told of people still awake: "The remoteness of the tiny yellow sparks gave a sense of isolation to each dweller of the valley. How small was man! How vast the world!" As the sun rose a companion remarked that they were two little creatures peering out from beneath a rock, gaz[ing] in amazement at a boundless universe."<sup>21</sup>

Although religious thoughts occurred to many turn-of-the-century visitors besides Ortman, such experiences were rarely recorded in print. For more abundant evidence of Tamalpais's growing spiritual power, we must look beyond travel literature to a strange body of texts. Sometime in the 1880s, and possibly earlier, Euro-Californians began to tell stories about the origin and fate of Tamalpais. Curiously enough they invariably ascribed these tales to the native California tribe of Coast Miwoks who lived in the area before the arrival of Europeans. No evidence whatsoever exists to substantiate a claim that the legends really were of Miwokan origin.<sup>22</sup> The Indian population of what is now Marin County was so quickly decimated by the Spanish and American invasions that almost no shred of their non-material culture survived the middle of the nineteenth century. As a consequence we know nothing of the stories they may actually have told about Tamalpais. Legends of other California tribes were, however, more or less faithfully recorded by early travelers and ethnologists, and some of them speak of attitudes toward prominent mountains. A comparison between authentic legends, those concerning Mt. Shasta, for example, and the "Indian" Tamalpais stories leads to only one possible conclusion: the latter are the creation of Euro-California culture.

It is likely that a bogus Indian legend about the mountain appeared in print for the first time in 1891, in an article by M. M. Mahoney, entitled "The Sleeping Beauty of Tamalpais."<sup>23</sup> Mahoney located his tale in the "spirit peopled ages" before the arrival of California's Indian tribes. At that time the coastline from Monterey to Tomales was unbroken, and where San Francisco Bay now is lay

a "fair valley." Mahoney's legend of Mt. Tamalpais follows, paraphrased:

The "Earth-mother" declared that all of the hills (personified as her "children") to the west of this valley would belong to Ocean, while the hills to the east she bestowed upon Sun. No sooner was she done parceling out her "daughters" than she heard a "low sobbing on her bosom." It was the young and beautiful Tamal, weeping because she was given to "boisterous, rough old Ocean" although she had just fallen in love with "the bright light of the Day Star." As her mother tried to talk her out of her love, Sun eloquently pled his cause with shining rays and Ocean insisted upon his rights by throwing up mighty waves.

At last Earth-mother impatiently exclaimed, "Take her the one that can," and "cast Tamal from her with a sudden wrench that rent her own bosom." At this point "raging Ocean rushed in and filled the great valley form[ing] the land-locked bay of San Francisco." Although Tamal was lifted up above his embrace so she could receive the "gentlest beams" of the sun, it was all for nothing. "Her timid heart dismayed by her mother's wrath had ceased to beat, and clear[ly] outlined against the northern sky, her figure reposes in that solemn sleep that tenderest kiss of morning sun has not yet broken."

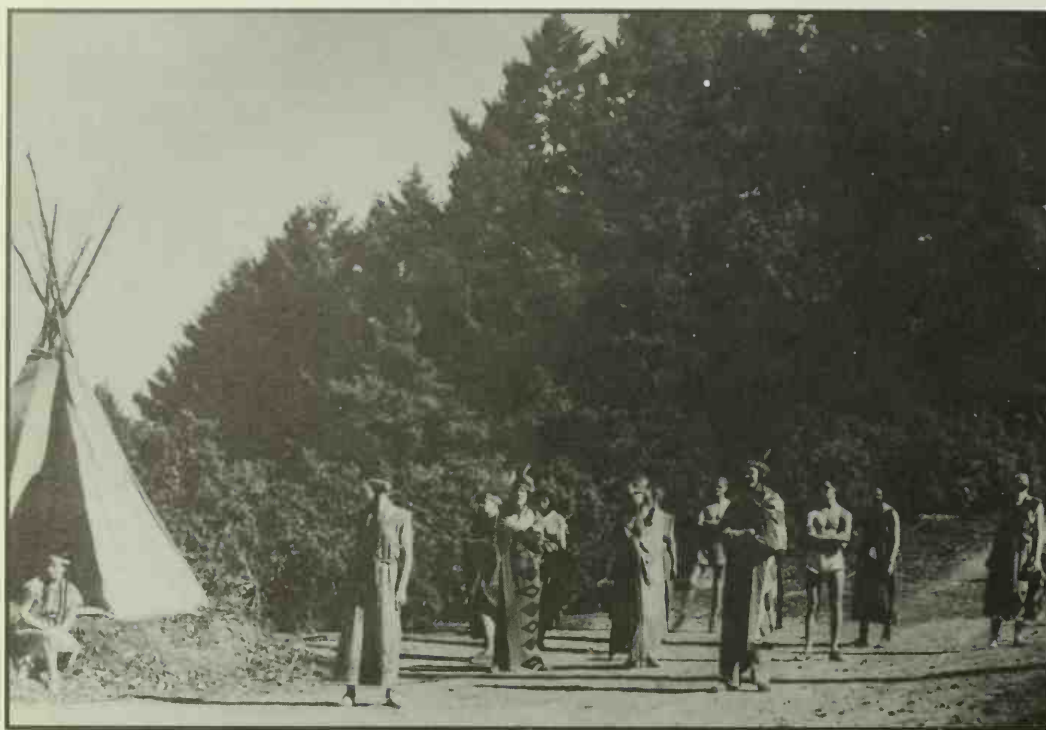
Mahoney did not explicitly ascribe this story to the Indians. He said he "caught a murmur" of it "from sobbing wave or whispering wind." Such a statement might mean that he overheard it being recounted by Bay Area raconteurs, or it might have been a ruse to obscure the fact that he made it up. While his narrative showed unmistakable signs of his own prose style, including repetition of favorite words, multiplication of adjectives, and some very long, syntactically awkward sentences, he could have been elaborating on a core plot that he heard others tell.

The circulation of another "myth" involving the sun god at about the same time suggests, perhaps, that such stories were in the air. This version was first mentioned in the 1914 reminiscences, *Memoirs of the Vallejos*, by Platon M.G. Vallejo, who said he heard it many years before that.<sup>24</sup> Once again, Vallejo did not explicitly attribute the legend to Indians, nor did John Bruce,

(At right:) The completion of the railroad up to the top of Mt. Tamalpais meant that virtually anyone could now enjoy spectacular views from the summit. In this photograph by Fred Ransome, probably taken in the late nineteenth century, a dignified group of tourists poses at Inspiration Point. CHS Library, San Francisco.







The Mountain Theatre actors during a performance of *Tamalpa*. Written by Dan Totheroh in 1921 and presented periodically, the play created the legend of Tamal, a story adapted and expanded by other writers through the years. *From the collection of Nancy M. Skinner.*



A Mountain Theatre actor stands majestically on a boulder during a production of *Tamalpa*, re-enacting the "legend" of the sleeping Indian maiden, whose form is said to be outlined by the mountain. *From the collection of Nancy M. Skinner.*

who in 1932 reported he heard it from C.S. Stanworth, who in turn got it from Vallejo. In 1946, however, and then again in 1947, in the two most expansive accounts of this version, Robert O'Brien and Theodore Reindollar firmly asserted Indian authorship. As Reindollar put it, the legend was "handed down from chiefs and tribal elders over many generations."<sup>25</sup> All of the above reporters told essentially the same story:

In ancient times the Central Valley and San Francisco Bay formed a vast inland lake. One day, "in search of a little relaxation" (O'Brien), the Sun God assumed human shape and descended to earth, where he fell in love with a beautiful Indian woman. Intent on taking her with him into the heavens, he took her in his arms and lifted off into the sky. Her weight, however, unbalanced his flight. Unable to gain altitude he struck his foot against Mt. Diablo, causing the dent now visible in it, and fell into the Bay. His arm creased the coastal mountains, creating the Golden Gate. The Indian woman was killed in the fall. In some versions her dead body forms Mt. Tamalpais; in others the Sun God in sorrow lays her body to rest on an already existing Tamalpais, where, "if you look closely, you can see her there eternally sleeping to this day."

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the above two are the only Tamalpais legends that originated in the nineteenth century. Shortly after the turn of the century, another version featuring the sun god appeared in a poem written by Neill Compton Wilson, first published by Yale University Press in 1911.<sup>26</sup> In a letter to Richard McHale, Wilson acknowledged that his story was solely the product of his own imagination:

The fact is, I made the whole yarn up. I had often seen the "Sleeping Maiden" and . . . wrote her up and fixed her with all the trimmings I could think of . . . It is quite likely that my fancies were paralleled by others', and maybe even the Indians, but I have never seen anything to support this latter possibility.<sup>27</sup>

Wilson also located his legend in ancient times. The plot is as follows: The land of the Tamals lay scorched because their chief would not yield his beloved to the Sun God. In desperation the human warrior set out in a canoe to meet his divine adversary in battle. The colors of sunset attested to a bloody fight. That night, fearful that her lover would never return, the Indian woman died, and her people laid her to rest on top of Tamalpais. The following morning the Sun rose triumphant, but a sorrowful "Mother Nature" saved the land by letting her tears fall as a gentle rain, making it fertile once again:

So now burn the hills in summer,  
So now weep the winter skies,  
Though the Tamals long have departed  
For the forests of Paradise.

The young maiden "will lie in slumber," the poet tells us:

Till her lover, lost on the ocean,  
Comes from the West again.

At the heart of the above legends was the love of a male sun god for a young Indian woman. The next legend to appear in print was about war, with love playing a secondary role. It was first published by George W. Caldwell in his *Legends of San Francisco* and is of unknown origin. Caldwell had an old woman, a lone survivor of the Tamals, tell the story to an unidentified interviewer. She was anxious that the reason the Tamals refused to climb Tamalpais not be lost to posterity. Here is my summary of her tale:

Once upon a time the Diablo Indians, eager to claim the shores of tranquil San Francisco Bay, invaded the territory of the Tamals and were inflicting severe losses upon them. Back then a line of low hills ran unbroken between Mt. Diablo and Marin County, keeping landlocked the waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. God promised to save the Tamals if the "Fairest of all comely maidens/ Everborn among the Tamals . . . offer[ed] [her] spirit/ as a sacrifice before Him." The young woman voluntarily gave up her life and was followed into death by her lover, the young and handsome chief of the tribe. At that moment God made a huge chasm come between the Tamals and their enemies, through which flowed the waters of the Great Valley. Simultaneously he brought into being a new mountain. On it lay the maiden herself, and thereafter the Miwoks refused to venture near its top for fear of stepping on her face. The folds of the mountain are the arms of the chief stretching out to shelter his people.<sup>28</sup>

The next "Indian legend" to appear in print has proved to be the most popular. In 1913 under the inspiration and leadership of John Catlin, "Dad" O'Rourke, and Garnet Holme, then director of dramatics at the University of California, Berkeley, a motley group of players performed the first mountain play on the site of the present Mountain Theater. Dan Totheroh joined the troupe as an actor in 1915. During the rehearsals for the 1920 performance of *As You Like It*, in which Totheroh played the role of Touchstone, Holme came to him and said, "We've been talking about doing a play on the legend of Mt. Tamalpais. Why don't you look into it and see if you can find anything definite and write a play for us about the mountain?"



Totheroh was enthusiastic about the idea and plunged into research at the Bancroft Library "to see if the Tamal Indians of Marin County had left any records around which to build a pageant." He found nothing on which to base a play except reports that the Indians were afraid of the mountain top. He reported back to Holme, "I can't find out anything. What shall we do?" "Make it up" was the reply. So he did:

Around this small bit of research, I built my own fantasy—the love story of an Indian Brave Piayutuma and the witch Ah-Shawn-Nee's daughter, the lovely Tamalpa, purely imaginative characters. Those who saw the first production assumed that the play was based on a genuine legend of the Tamal Indians, and this assumption has grown through the years. . . . Even some of the mountain trails have been named after characters in 'Tamalpa,' names which I concocted and have no bearing on names of the Tamals. In fact, the play is staged and played as fantasy, and costumes, props and makeup are not related to any of the California Indians.

The plot of Totheroh's story runs as follows:

Once upon a time in the land north of the bay lived a tribe of Indians. Their village lay at the foot of a high but nondescript mountain, the abode of the witch, Ah-Shawn-Nee, and her beautiful daughter, Tamalpa. Ah-Shawn-Nee regularly sent plagues upon the hapless tribe. During one long and deadly epidemic the Great White Spirit promised to give the Gift of Healing to Piayutuma, a young warrior of the tribe, if only he had the courage to climb through the territory of Ah-Shawn-Nee to the top of the mountain to receive it.

Having seen Piayutuma begin his perilous journey, Ah-Shawn-Nee sent her daughter to cast a spell upon him. As he slept helplessly in her tent, the witch flew down for the kill. Tamalpa, however, would not permit it, having also been caught in love's spell. She fooled her mother into thinking she intended to play with Piayutuma as a cat does a mouse.

After some months of romance on the mountain, the lovers finally set a wedding day. Were the ceremony to take place, Piayutuma would forever lose the chance to gain healing for his people. Tamalpa realized this but could not bring herself to let him out of her spell. On the day before the wedding, Nikko, Piayutuma's companion, brought the great warrior's mother up the mountain to plead with Tamalpa, who finally relented. That night Tamalpa ascended to the very top of the mountain and brought back a deadly herb, which she mixed with the marriage meal.

Immediately after the wedding vows were said, Tamalpa ate the poisoned food, but upset the basket before Piayutuma could partake. She died in

his arms. In distress, he went to eat the poison also, but the Great White Spirit intervened. He announced that Piayutuma was forgiven, since his weakness was love, and commanded him to continue the quest for the shining Gift of Healing. He also proclaimed that Tamalpa's fame would be everlasting, for she would be buried on the mountain top for all to see. Piayutuma's mother suddenly regained her sight and the mountain was covered with flowers.<sup>29</sup>

Totheroh's legend has been repeated in print many times since 1921, when it was first performed at the Mountain Theater. In most retellings the names and essential plot have remained the same. Subsequent storytellers have, however, been concerned about two weaknesses in Totheroh's plot: the reason for Tamalpa's death and the connection between her death and the shape of the mountain. Both of these problems have been solved by a simple alteration in detail. As background information we are told that the witch uttered the following curse, of which Tamalpa was aware, "Let whoever first climbs to the top of the mountain become a part of the mountain." Unable to dissuade Piayutuma from his goal of finding the Gift of Healing, Tamalpa raced to the mountain top ahead of him and so was turned into the mountain itself.<sup>30</sup>

Two writers have made substantial alterations in Totheroh's tale. According to Mabelle D. Nelson, Tamalpa asked her mother, the witch, to allow Piayutuma to continue unmolested in his search for the Gift of Healing. At this request the witch flew into a rage and encased Tamalpa "inside the rugged grey mountain," where she was to stay until liberated by her lover. But the reunion would never take place because Piayutuma was transformed into a huge boulder by the witch. Earthquakes were caused by his "trying to break the bonds which hold him forever a prisoner."<sup>31</sup> According to Stanton A. Coblenz, the hero, now called Piantyuma, found on Tamalpais a magic herb that would make Death disappear and wished to return to his tribe with his new-found lover, Tamelpa. But her mother the witch, Ah-sharon-nee, blocked the way. Piantyuma left her behind and took the magic herb to his tribe. When he returned for her, he found her "in the scarred abyss." Her mother had cast the spell of sleep on her. Moreover, she was unable to break the spell because Piantyuma had taken the magic herb below to his people. To assuage his sorrow for Tamelpa, the Great White Spirit "carved the likeness of his love/ High on the mountain crest," and you can still hear the witch howling "when the storm-gales charge the peak."<sup>32</sup>

Sierra Club members attend a mountain play performance, ca. 1925, in the natural amphitheater surrounded by ancient oaks, redwoods, and madronas at the top of Mt. Tam.

*Photograph by Gabriel Moulin. Courtesy CHS Library, San Francisco, and Moulin Studios.*



In 1932, another of the popular Tamalpais legends made its first appearance in print. One might call it the Romeo and Juliet version:

Many years ago a young woman of the Tamals fell in love with a young man of a neighboring but unfriendly tribe. In order to avoid a fight her father sent her to the top of the mountain, which was considered sacred. He knew that only a very brave man would venture there to claim her. Unfortunately, one of the evil spirits living on the mountain fell in love with the woman. Her beloved rushed in to save her and, after extended hand to hand combat, managed to wound the spirit. The evil one, however, was able to reach the woman first. At the sight of a necklace torn from her lover's neck and the report of his death, she took poison. Later the young brave, himself seriously wounded, dragged himself to her side and was with her when she died. He then collapsed and rolled down the mountain side. "His body is that round foothill to the mountain upon which is now Mill Valley."<sup>33</sup>

Robert O'Brien published another tale of thwarted lovers, the only legend I have located in which Tamalpais is male:

Tamalpais was in love with the daughter of the chief of the Indians living in the Marin area, whose name

is Lagunitas. Uyambelle, the chief of a Contra Costa tribe, also loved her and came to win her hand. She rejected his supplications and ran to find Tamalpais, who learned of her plight and also went in search of her. Finally he sat down by a newly formed lake and heard the winds tell the story of her death. The lake was formed by her tears. At this news he climbed upward and became Mt. Tamalpais. Uyambelle returned home to become Mt. Diablo, who now looks across at the two lovers lying beside each other.<sup>34</sup>

Richard McHale collected numerous other "Indian legends" of Tamalpais, some published but most from people who answered his newspaper advertisements. I include them here to give a sense of the richness of the tradition. The majority are spin-offs from the motifs discussed above. One is another version of the sacrificed woman:

The wife of the chief prayed to the evil spirits on Tamalpais to lift an epidemic afflicting the Tamals. When nothing happened, she prayed to the good spirits instead. They turned her into stone as a reminder not to seek good from evil, and simultaneously the plague left her tribe.

Several end in a tragic drowning:

An Indian maiden of old was gathering flowers



on the side of Tamalpais. When a great flood came, she ran down to save her mother and was drowned.

A God-man in ancient times fell in love with an Indian princess of the San Joaquin Valley. She fled, falling at Carquenis and again at the ocean, making the Strait and the Golden Gate. After she drowned in the Pacific, the God-man was sorry for what he had done and buried her on top of Tamalpais, where she can be seen today.

A long time ago some Indians of Marin visited the Diablo region. A mighty earthquake raised a new mountain in Marin but drowned all the people left behind. Their princess died of grief and was buried on the new mountain.

When Ocean married Tamelpa, she drowned. He placed her body on the mountain.

Two are variations on the unhappy lovers theme:

When a beautiful princess was unfaithful to the chief of her tribe, he killed her. She became one of the Marin hills.

A princess of the Tamals loved a warrior of

another tribe. Her unhappy father gave her the choice of giving up her lover or of being pushed off of a cliff. Just as she was pushed a shaman transformed her into Mt. Tamalpais, where she will sleep until her lover returns for her.

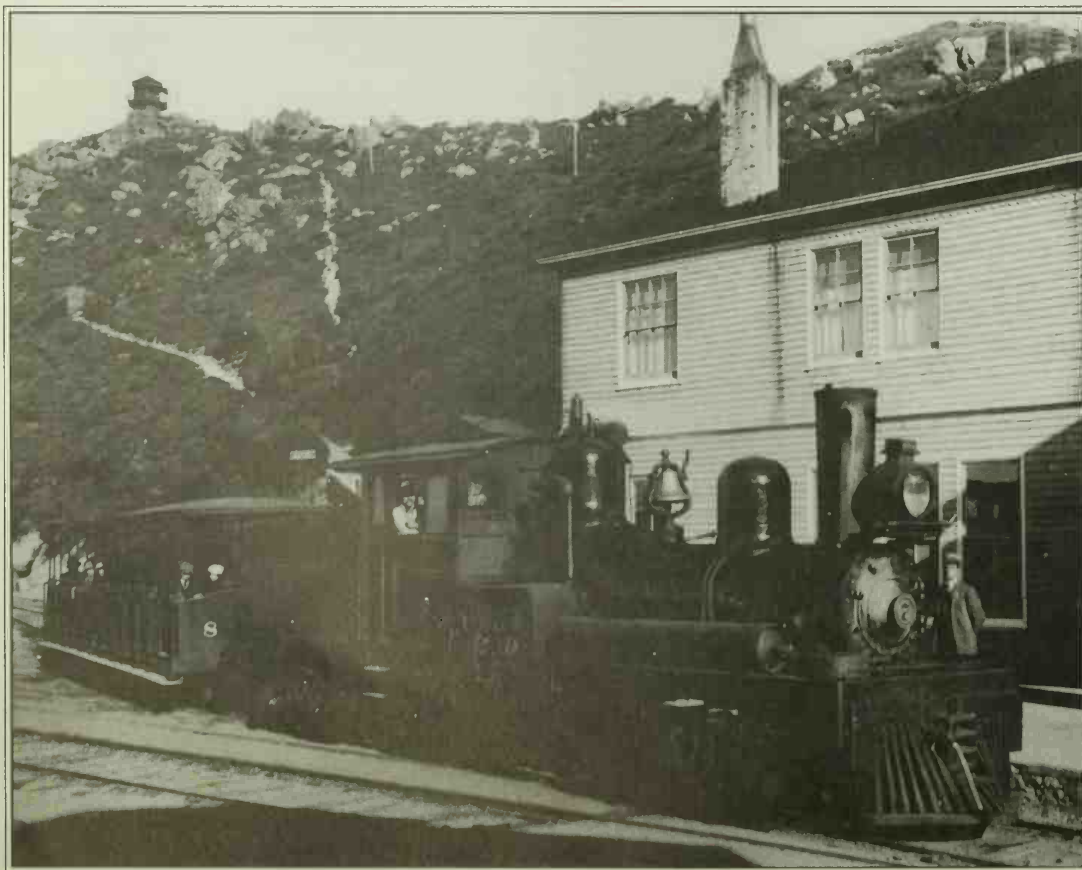
And, finally, there is the funniest of all:

A princess was turned into Mt. Tamalpais because she would not say "nighty nite" when her mother told her to.<sup>35</sup>

A few other legends have appeared in print from time to time, but they add little to our understanding of the tradition as a whole.

The legends of the Sleeping Maiden in all of their permutations signal a deep spiritual attachment to the mountain. They are the first unmistakable signs of the birth of Tamalpais, the sacred mountain, a holy place formed by the geology of indigenous American mythmaking. The attribution to Indians is a classic projective device and a protective cover: the post-Gold Rush writers who are the real authors do not have to acknowledge their maternity. They can cast their hopes

Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, engine no. 7, ca. 1922. Service on the railway ended in 1930. CHS Library, San Francisco.





and fears onto the stage of Indian legend and, at the same time, remain bashful about claiming these emotions as their own. "Listen to these quaint legends those old Indians made up, aren't they interesting?" they say, without having to admit that the legends express their own feelings about the mountain. For that reason, they are all the more valuable a resource for discovering the spiritual meaning of this particular spot on the American landscape.

It is easy enough to understand why most of the legends feature a heroine. From two different vantage points the outline of Mt. Tamalpais resembles a somewhat lanky woman in a supine position. The ease with which this reclining figure can be thought of as a woman lying in state helps explain why the legends end in her death. The etiological character of the stories accounts for many other details of plot development: the narratives need to include an explanation of the origin of such prominent features of Bay Area geography as the Carquinez Strait, San Francisco Bay, the Golden Gate, the Farallons, and Lake Lagunitas.

The geographical confirmation of Marin County and the larger Bay Area may help explain the main character and suggest directions for the plot, but it cannot account for the tragic nature of every single legend, nor for the motif of vicarious suffering that is the prominent feature of the two most popular legends, the one that Totheroh invented and the one involving warfare between the Tamal and Diablo tribes. Why should immigrant Americans, who from the days of the Gold Rush until the present have very nearly equated California with the Promised Land, invent such dark tales to explain the shape of their new land? What need is there for a self-sacrificing figure to ensure health and happiness for those who live in it?

Perhaps the root question, antecedent to all the above, is this: why is the Mt. Tamalpais of legend a burial ground? An intriguing piece of evidence suggests that the idea of associating the mountain with burial may predate the legends. In 1875, six years before the first appearance in print of a Tamalpais legend, Maria E. Sutherland wrote "Mt. Tamalpais." It concludes:

With the Highlander's rapture, my youthful breast swells,  
As I roam free, untrammelled, o'er Marin's green hills.  
I love them! I love them! and shall till I die;  
When I pray that my grave in their bosom may lie.  
Thou, king of them all, with your grey rocky crest—  
When I die, may they lay me to sleep on thy breast.<sup>36</sup>

Interestingly enough, not only is Tamalpais here a



Dan Totheroh, actor, author, and for many years director of the Mountain Players, and his assistant, Lucille Shreve, are shown here in 1963. *Courtesy of Anne Kent California Room of the Marin County Library.*

preferred burial place, it is male. Thus, its contour may not have been the origin of the idea of burial. Rather, the legends of the Sleeping Maiden may be etiological in another and more fundamental way: they may have arisen in order to explain how the mountain came to have an identity it was already known to possess, that of a fitting burial ground.

Over the years Bay Area newspapers and journals have published numerous poems and other stories that referred to the Sleeping Maiden. There were, in addition, the responses to McHale's newspaper advertisements for information about Tamalpais legends. When these materials are combined with the legends themselves, a fairly consistent answer to the above questions emerges: Tamalpais is the burial place of a beautiful young woman who dies in a tragic manner so that it can give comfort to all who live within its sphere of influence. In the emotional economy of Bay Area residents, the Tamalpais of legendary fame is a sign of hope rather than despair. Thus the resultant mood seems not to follow from cause: stories that feature the tragic death and burial of a beloved young woman convey a message of hope.

A good place to begin understanding this apparent anomaly in the laws of human psychology is a letter Genevieve Schneider, a Berkeley resident, sent to McHale. She began with her own version of why Mt. Tamalpais resembles a young woman:

An Indian girl or perhaps Princess, of the Tamal tribe, lived on the mountain with her family. She was beautiful and greatly loved. It seems she died

while very young. The family grieved as did all who knew her. Then one day they discovered the mountain resembled her in its beauty and form.

Schneider claimed she first heard this legend a half century before the date of writing to McHale. She then told him about a modern "reenactment":

Strangely enough this is a true present day occurrence [sic]. At a Berkeley Art show a gentleman [sic] and his mother lingered to admire a Mosaic table top of Mt. Tamalpais. The Mosaic was based on our legend. While talking of the mosaic and of the legend the man and his mother told us of a night many years ago.

The man's sister was in a hospital. On the night she died both mother and brother were there. They went to the hospital porch, and for the first time, noticed the mountains and its resemblance [sic] of a woman. Ever since that time they have not been able to look at the mountain without having thoughts of their departed loved one. They believe it is a wonderful — we forget the word they used as symbol or shrine or remembrance. It was the mosaic mountain that caught their eye and they had to stop and admire. They were pleased. We were very honored that they shared a secret of their heart.<sup>37</sup>

In the imaginations of brother and mother this young woman, like the legendary maiden, was given a symbolic burial on Mt. Tamalpais, which then magically resembled her. By means of this transformation they were able to cope with the loss of someone they love. She has survived in a manner that they find comforting.

Schneider's legend is a help in facing loss. Other legends help people face their own death. The old woman in Caldwell's version said:

I, the last of all the Tamals,  
Soon will turn my face to heaven  
Where my own, my best beloved,  
Waits with outstretched arms, to greet me.

Since the outstretched arms belonged to the chief of the tribe, who in death became the ridges leading to the summit of the mountain, the old woman was here symbolically equating herself with the dead maiden. In this way one whose life became increasingly meaningless as the white people destroyed her civilization imaginatively gained for herself a meaningful death. She will "live" on as the mountain itself. In a similar way a woman by the name of Margo gained a perspective on death by reflecting on the "maiden of Tamalpais":

As you look at the maiden of Tamalpais,  
Sleeping serene on her mountain bed,  
Sometimes eastward she seems to face,  
Sometimes to the west lies her drowsy head.

However you see her, majestic she lies,  
Silent and calm 'neath [t]he changing skies.  
When to the east her face is turned,  
The dawn is before her, the birth of the world,  
The symbol of youth and its power to achieve.  
And when to the west, toward the sunsets' glow,  
She waits for the coming night, you know  
The symbol of age in its majesty,  
Work accomplished, rest won, now ready to leave,  
Facing with joy God's eternity.<sup>38</sup>

The psychological dynamics at work in the above cases are fairly straightforward. Beneath the identification of dead woman with living mountain is a profound emotional equation of the human with the natural. To die in a way that reunites us with the ground of our being is comforting to the one dying and to those who feel the loss. In this context the most significant alteration in subsequent retellings of Totheroh's story can perhaps be understood. The maiden is not laid to rest upon the mountain; rather she becomes the mountain in fulfillment of the witch's curse ("Let whoever reaches the top of the mountain first, so become a part of the mountain"). The effect of the alteration is to make complete our union with nature. If we are natural, then in the end we should become nature, not merely be placed to rest upon a natural object.

The rationale here seems essentially pagan: from nature we came and to nature we return. The course of our lives does not, however, exactly describe a circle. We have our origins in the dust of nature but we return to the rock of nature, something, symbolically at least, harder and more durable. Thus, the dead gain a kind of immortality, but one that does not require transportation outside the realm of the natural. Death is not overcome but incorporated into a total vision of life-death. In this context a mythological reason for the feminine gender of the mountain becomes apparent, supplementing the geographical reason already mentioned. Since we are born from woman, it is imaginatively appropriate that we return to woman.<sup>39</sup>

Since these stories are told, however, in the context of a Christian civilization, it is inevitable that versions of the legend appear promising a more personal and more glorious kind of immortality. The clearest example is Stanton Coblenz's retelling of Totheroh's story. The magic herb guarded by the witch, according to Coblenz, did not merely heal the sick. It actually made "Death disappear." Since Plantyma had taken the herb to his people who live at the foot of the mountain, the witch Ah-sharonnee could not use it to revive her dead daughter, Tamalpa. But one day:

This image, painted by artist Tom Wolff in 1975, is part of a public mural in San Rafael. The mural, badly faded now, represents both the popularity of Mt. Tamalpais and the wide appeal of the story of its creation. *Courtesy of the author.*



... when in redwood tops the wind  
Sighs of the ancient wrong,  
You know the maiden yet shall wake  
From a slumber deep and long,  
And with her lover, arm in arm,  
Go forth in joy and song.<sup>40</sup>

Reference to a Christian context can also help one make sense of the theme of vicarious suffering. Christians are familiar with the idea that health and happiness are possible through self-sacrifice, so it is understandable that American Californians would introduce this theme in stories they made up about Indians. It is as if they needed some reassurance that the same spiritual forces were at work in this new, enchanted land on the far edge of the western civilization as had been at work in Europe and in New England, as if they needed evidence that the land had already been cleansed and so was safe for them to occupy. Instead of supplementing the Christian story, Mormon style, by having Christ come in person to the Americas to prepare the way for them, they supplied the desired evidence by writing a "Christ-figure" into their stories about the Indians.

From an orthodox Christian point of view, these stories quickly get out of hand. Not only does a non-Christian, non-western Indian play the role of

Savior, but she is a woman. More importantly, because this Indian woman is in the final analysis a personification of a place in the landscape of nature, she must be understood as Nature itself. At the deepest level the meaning of the Tamalpais legends is that Nature is healer; Nature can be counted on to make the land safe for human habitation.<sup>41</sup>

How appropriate, then, that Harold Gilliam climbed Mt. Tamalpais in the midst of two of the most important crises ever to face creatures on this planet. Long before him, storytellers had created a tradition that this mountain is a place where calm and serenity come out of tragedy. Tamalpais offers hope for the living and sustains the dying. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 231.*

*David Robertson teaches in the English Department of the University of California, Davis. He is the author of West of Eden: A History of the Art and Literature of Yosemite and Yosemite As We Saw It: A Centennial Collection of Early Writings and Art. He is currently working on a book on California places.*



# ENTREPRENEURS AND URBANISM ON THE CALIFORNIA MINING FRONTIER: Frederick Walter and Weaverville, 1852-1868

*by William A. Bullough*

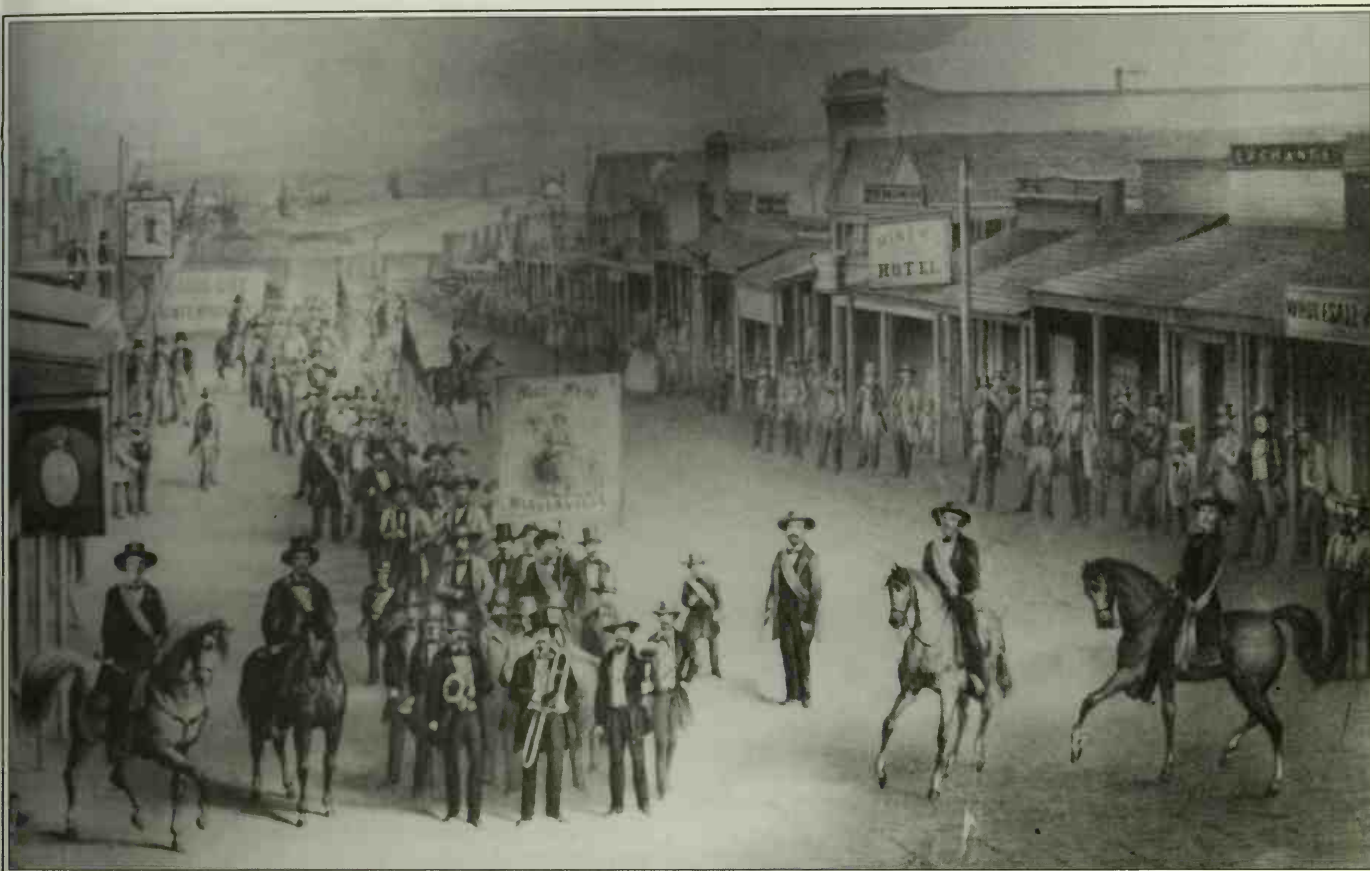
In 1893, in a celebrated and perennially influential address to the American Historical Association, Frederick Jackson Turner argued that the westward movement of settlers interacting with "free" public lands available on successive agrarian frontiers was the key determinant and fundamental explanation of the United States' history and the character of its institutions. According to Turner's hypothesis, particularly as espoused by disciples more doctrinaire than their mentor, individual pioneers on each virgin continental threshold reverted to a virtual state of nature and divested themselves of their ingrained cultural, economic, and political assumptions. As they progressed from their original near-primitive condition, they became settled husbandmen, farmers, and town-dwellers and fabricated uniquely American democratic traditions and institutions out of the whole cloth of the frontier experience. But for dedicated Turnerians, the implications of cities and urbanism—the impulse to create urban societies and to endow them with a degree of permanence—were relics of the Old World that had only limited application in the New. For them, the urban phenomenon functioned essentially as an incidental benchmark, simultaneously delineating the end of one vital phase of the national experience and the need to advance the process of nation-building on yet another, still more distant frontier.<sup>1</sup>

In more recent years, however, studies of towns and cities established on the very fringes of American settlement have provided important and enlightening counterpoints to the Turnerian synthesis. They have demonstrated convincingly that, despite isolation from established seats of political and cultural authority, residents of remote communities rapidly and eagerly recreated the forms of urban order and society familiar to them in previous locales. In frontier towns, duly-constituted police forces, political and judicial systems, benevolent and cultural associations, schools and hospitals,

and other similarly urban institutions quickly replaced kangaroo courts, vigilante justice, saloons, gambling houses, and brothels. Settlers rejected the brawling disorder embellished by the likes of Mark Twain and Bret Harte and, for purposes that blended equal measures of altruism and self-interest, became avid promoters of wilderness communities, frequently touting the very attributes of city dwellers that the Turner hypothesis would have frontiersmen abandon. The impulse to establish the rudiments of urban civility and civilization, moreover, characterized attitudes not only in settlements that endured to become important centers, but also in those that barely held their own or faded to become spectral monuments to a romanticized past.<sup>2</sup> Whether they survived or not, microcosmic "cities in the wilderness" contributed importantly to the frontier phase of the national experience from the colonial period onward.<sup>3</sup>

The histories of numerous California Gold Rush towns and the activities of their residents—including middle-echelon entrepreneurs of Old World and urban origins—add substance to interpretations of the frontier's non-agrarian dimensions and underscore their implications. For it was the persistence of communities on the continent's farthest frontier that both hastened the social, political, and economic development of the hinterland and insured the dissemination and survival of national identity, ideology, and culture. The town of Weaverville in isolated Trinity County and the related career of Frederick Walter, a German immigrant brewer, provide a paradigm of the migration and settlement that Americanized the continent.

Frederick Walter passed but fifteen of his ninety years in Weaverville, from 1852 to 1868. Nevertheless, the period was significant for the man and the town—as well as for the nation. During Walter's decade and a half in Trinity County, the young man became a mature adult, the head of a



*Maifest, Weaverville, May 1, 1860. Weaverville's German-American Citizens Association, perhaps including civic leader Frederick Walter, and its brass band marched down Main Street to begin the annual Maifest celebration. Oliver H.P. Norcross, the town's most prominent and permanent photographer from 1850 to 1871, produced the ambrotype from which this lithograph was made. The presence of voluntary organizations, particularly ethnic associations, was a hallmark of frontier urbanism. Courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.*

family and a thriving business, and a leader in the social, civic, and political affairs of his community. At the same time, the town emerged from the tumult and turbulence of its own gold rush, evolved rudimentary institutions to bring a semblance of order and stability to its citizens, and established itself as a permanent center in north-western California. Indeed, rapid progress toward urban sophistication prompted a local editor to observe in 1857, just seven years after John Weaver and his companions built the first crude cabin in the region, that

It is pleasant to note the change in the state of

society in this place which a few years have effected. Formerly every other house was a gambling saloon, or something equally as bad. Fatal quarrels were of daily and nightly occurrence; drunken men paraded in the streets; blasphemy was heard on every side, and law and order were things heard of but never seen. . . . Now gambling is abolished; a very drunk person is a curiosity; deadly assaults are of rare occurrence. Ladies now promenade our streets and the air resounds with the innocent prattle of little children.<sup>4</sup>

As Weaverville continued to mature, the United States endured the agonies of sectional controversy, civil war, and reunion, all of which affected the town and its residents.



Frederick Walter's photograph appeared on a pamphlet assembled on the occasion of a family reunion in Ohio in 1976. It suggests that, after he left California in 1868, Walter continued to prosper until his death in 1917. Courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.

For Walter, the period spent in the community was memorable. When he penned his brief memoir in 1908, he devoted more than half of his pages to his Trinity County experience, perhaps because the mountain setting recalled his German birthplace adjacent to the Black Forest, the Jura Mountains, and the Swiss Alps.<sup>5</sup> The Weaverville that Walter found in 1852, however, was more reminiscent of scenes from Mark Twain's *Roughing It* than of the European civilization that he had left nearly twenty years before.<sup>6</sup>

Walter made his way to California by a protracted and circuitous route. Born on January 13, 1826, in Huntheim in the Grand Duchy of Baden, a southwestern German province, he was the son of a relatively prosperous farmer, Franz Valtin Walter. When Frederick was only seven, his family left its homeland, possibly as émigrés fleeing the political repression that followed the abortive European revolutions of 1830.<sup>7</sup> From Baden, the family traveled by wagon across France to Le Havre where they booked passage on the ship *Kaiser Franz I* and sailed for the United States, arriving in New

York City after a voyage of forty-seven days. Despite the presence of a well-established German community there, they did not remain. Instead, as passengers on a flat-boat attached to a stern-wheel steamship, the Walters followed the Hudson River northward to Albany; from there they traveled along the recently-completed Erie Canal to Buffalo and then took another steamer along the shores of Lake Erie to Portland (now Sandusky), Ohio.<sup>8</sup>

From the time Walter arrived in Ohio until 1845, when he reached his maturity, he farmed with his father. He then settled in nearby Mansfield, where he apprenticed himself to a brewer. He apparently found brewing beer more congenial than tilling soil, for by 1848 he was not only a journeyman brewer but also the manager of his master's establishment "at the magnificent salary of eighteen Dollars and Board per month."<sup>9</sup> He retained that august position until early 1850, when he felt the sting of the California gold bug.<sup>10</sup>

Together with eight other young men—all of German ancestry—Walter organized a company to travel to the gold fields. On February 19, 1850, the party began its journey by rail, first taking the Sandusky and Marietta Railroad—now part of the Baltimore and Ohio system—and the Mad River Railroad to Cincinnati. The trip required "24 hours which was considered fast them days."<sup>11</sup> The companions continued their excursion by steamboat down the Ohio River to St. Louis and up the Missouri River to Independence, the point of departure for most organized wagon trains bound for California. In Independence, they acquired equipment for their venture: two wagons, eight mules, and a store of tools and supplies. Walter and his friends also demonstrated sounder judgment than many small groups heading westward; they affiliated themselves with a larger party of thirteen wagons and forty-five men. On April 15, the train began its hazardous trek, but apparently it avoided the misadventures that frequently befell travelers on the Overland Trail. The only remarkable incident that Walter recorded took place shortly after the party traversed Jim Bridger's fabled South Pass through the Rockies. One man drowned as the wagons forded the Green River, just west of the Continental Divide at a point that is now the southwestern corner of Wyoming.<sup>12</sup>

Once across the mountains, Walter's party headed for Salt Lake City for refitting and subsequently proceeded along the California Trail to the gold country. The Argonauts arrived at Hangtown (Placerville) on July 18, 1850, and there, Walter commented, "I done my first mining." He spent approximately two years in various Sierra and



Mother Lode regions where he pursued mineral wealth by a variety of means. But, like many of those who arrived in California after 1848, he experienced the disappointment of only "indifferent success," prompting him to seek his fortune elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Why he selected Trinity County remains unclear. Perhaps journalists' glowing reports of rich strikes in the northwestern part of the state influenced his decision. Or perhaps his companions from Ohio encouraged the move. Whatever the case, Walter and several compatriots headed up the Sacramento River to Red Bluff, made their way to Shasta City and French Gulch, and followed the rugged trail over the Trinity Mountains to Deadwood and Lewiston. They arrived in Weaverville early in 1852, shortly before the town of several hundred residents—and more in outlying settlements such as East and West Weaver—became the Trinity county seat.<sup>14</sup>

In Weaverville, lessons learned in both Ohio and the Sierra dictated Walter's course. He had undoubtedly observed that the wealth of the gold fields rarely accrued to individual miners. Instead, it flowed to entrepreneurial types who organized mining ventures or fulfilled the needs of those who dug in the earth. And he determined to leave grubbing in dark tunnels and icy streams to others and to employ his brewmaster's skills to lay the foundation for his fortune. Accordingly, with John Shook—a fellow-Ohioan and Weaverville neighbor—Walter established the Pacific Brewery at the corner of Main and Oregon streets early in 1853. The task was no minor undertaking, as Walter's description of its construction suggests:

It naturally was of primitive style we having done most of the work ourselves, sawed the necessary lumber by hand as lumber sold at two hundred and fifty Dollars per M feet there being no saw mills [and] all lumber being sawed by hand. Our first Beer Kettle held two Bbls. [barrels] as we could not have packed in a larger one as it had to be packed on mule back over [Deadwood] mountain trail, but we enlarged our Kettle by putting on a three Bbl. wooden addition so that we could brew about four Bbls. of beer. Our Malt we ground by hand Mill, sold Beer at two Dollars per Gall. Paid nine Dollars per Bushel for Barley, three Dollars per pound for Hops [both of which initially were shipped from Sacramento or San Francisco].<sup>15</sup>

Walter's prices and costs document the inflation that plagued mining town economies; so, too, do the charges extracted by saloonkeepers. Residents paid the same price for a glass of beer, a shot of whiskey, or a cigar: twenty-five cents in cash or dust, a substantial sum in the 1850s.<sup>16</sup> But mining was thirsty

## PACIFIC BREWERY.



Junction Oregon and Main Streets,  
WEAVERVILLE.

F. WALTER & CO.

THE UNDERSIGNED ARE MANUFACTURING, and have always for sale, a superior quality of **LAGER BEER**, which they will deliver, in large and small quantities, in any part of the county, and to FAMILIES when required. Their Brewery is supplied with pure, cool

**Spring Water,**

and a cellar of ice temperature, which enables them to manufacture and preserve the liquid in great purity, and always fit for immediate use.

F. WALTER & CO.

Weaver, June 1, 1858.

2017.

Walter advertised the Pacific Brewery in the *Trinity Journal*, one of two weekly newspapers published in Weaverville and distributed throughout Trinity County during the later 1850s. He extolled not only the superiority of his lager to that of his competitor, the Bavaria Brewery, but also his ability to deliver beer anywhere in the region, "always fit for immediate use." From the collection of William A. Bullough.

work, and the Pacific Brewery achieved rapid success in the booming town, despite vigorous competition and repeated setbacks. The products of several other breweries—most of them also run by German immigrants—vied for local favor. Even more hazardous to the business was the constant threat of fire. In 1853, Walter's establishment escaped severe damage in one of the conflagrations that regularly devastated the town. A year later, however, when residents believed that a new water distribution system rendered them safe, another blaze roared through the community and burned the Pacific Brewery to the ground. To recover their losses, Walter and Shook turned to mining, probably on one of Walter's claims, either on Cañon Creek to the west or Swift Creek farther north. By 1855, they had accumulated sufficient capital to rebuild and enlarge their operation and locate it in a \$26,000 iron-shuttered edifice built of bricks produced in local kilns.<sup>17</sup>

The investment proved to be fortuitous; by 1858 the partners reportedly grossed \$20,000 annually from the operation of the Pacific Brewery, in addition to the income from the adjacent Harmony Saloon (formerly the Weaverville Beer Cellar) operated by another German immigrant, A. M. Kruttschnitt. In 1860, Walter reported his personal worth at \$7,000, probably a substantial understatement, and in 1865 he paid income taxes of \$650 which, under provisions of Civil War era law, suggests an annual income exceeding \$15,000.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, Walter's brewing enterprise suffered periodic reversals. Floods undermined the Pacific Brewery annually, until the partners diked Ten Cent Gulch at the rear of their property. And the menace of fire also persisted. An early morning blaze in July 1859 destroyed the entire business district in just thirty minutes and even did \$4,000 damage to Walter's fire-resistant building. Another gutted its interior in 1861 and inspired the formation of the principally-ceremonial Weaverville Hook and Ladder Company. Yet another scorched the brewery's walls in 1864.<sup>19</sup> Still, the operation continued to prosper, as Walter and Shook repeatedly rebuilt and improved their facilities. In 1858, they piped water some 1,300 feet from a spring to the brewery, probably through primitive conduits made from bored logs. Two years later, they added a cellar that stored 4,000 gallons of beer at a constant forty-degree temperature. In 1864, they purchased a competitor's equipment and acquired machinery to produce lemon and sarsaparilla soda in addition to the popular lager that they distributed throughout the county. Thus, the brewery supported Walter well until he sold it in 1865.<sup>20</sup>

In the interim, the enterprise also permitted him luxuries that included a trip to Ohio to visit friends and family and find a wife. Late in 1858 he followed the new Weaverville-Shasta wagon road back across the mountains, took a stage to Red Bluff, steamed down the Sacramento River, and in San Francisco booked passage on the Panama route to the East. When he retraced his journey and returned to Trinity County in February 1859, he was accompanied by his bride, twenty-year-old Mary Wilhelm of Monroeville, Ohio. The couple lived for the next eight years in Weaverville, and the town witnessed the birth of the first four of their nine children and the death of one of them.<sup>21</sup>

Walter's success in the Pacific Brewery—coupled



*Carte de visite* photographs (2 ½ x 4 ½-inch calling cards) were a worldwide rage during the 1860s, and Trinity County was no exception. Here, three of Weaverville's "solid citizens" pose, possibly for photographer J.O. Welsh, ca. 1867. The man standing at the center bears a very striking resemblance to the portrait of Frederick Walter taken late in his life. From the collection of Peter E. Palmquist.





Like their male contemporaries, women in mining towns succumbed to the *carte de visite* craze. This quartet, ca. 1867, not only confirms the presence of "respectable" women among the early residents of Weaverville but also suggests a degree of sophistication, affluence, and, in their costumes, awareness of the fashions of the world outside their remote community. *From the collection of Peter E. Palmquist.*

with investments in real estate, mining claims, water operations, and other enterprises throughout Trinity County—endowed him with substantial comfort and considerable status in the growing community.<sup>22</sup> The contributions of Walter and others like him however, involved more than individual economic accomplishments.

In some frontier towns, the introduction of physical, social, and cultural amenities commenced only with the arrival of large numbers of respectable women and families. But in the case of Weaverville, where the male-female ratio remained at more than two-to-one as late as the 1860s, it is clear that pride in the place prompted local leaders to promote development well before wives, mothers, and daughters appeared on the scene. Walter and several of his associates, for example, undertook projects aimed at improving living conditions in their town very soon after they arrived. They diked and diverted streams—especially Garden Gulch and Ten Cent Gulch, which perennially inundated the community—and improved roads that had

regularly broken axles and heads. To maintain access and communication with the outside world, they built wagon roads and bridges and supported two local newspapers, and to enhance public health and safety, they constructed water conduits and cisterns. To broaden cultural horizons, they patronized two theaters that occasionally featured nationally-recognized performers, instituted the Cosmopolitan Art Association, and funded a common school. They devised a rudimentary town plan and constantly improved and beautified the place, including private residences, well before the arrival of civilizing feminine influences. In justice, however, it must be acknowledged that even in their absence—perhaps *especially* in their absence—women prompted men to mitigate conditions and make frontier communities more attractive to longed-for feminine companions.<sup>23</sup>

During the same early years, local citizens formed associations that responded to social needs and preserved ethnic and religious identities. Irishmen founded the Fenian Brotherhood and St. Patrick's Benevolent Association; the Chinese joined in four rival tongs that reflected political and provincial affiliations in their homeland and on occasion clashed over traditional animosities. Simultaneously, a small Jewish community formed the Hebrew Society and a *minyan* to preserve social and religious life, and more numerous German-born citizens—eleven percent of the population in 1860—organized themselves similarly.

In the activities of his compatriots, Fred Walter played a major role. Almost from his arrival in Weaverville, he was an active member and officer in both the German Citizen's Society and its adjunct organizations. These included the German Hospital Society, which subscribed funds for a second medical facility and a doctor, the Weaverville Brass Band, which performed at both private and public functions, and a *Turnverein* (gymnastics society) to preserve the fitness of its members. Walter also helped to organize his compatriots' annual *Maifests* and *Oktoberfests* throughout his years in Trinity County.<sup>24</sup>

Leadership among his fellow Germans was not, however, Walter's sole contribution to the development of the Weaverville community. In frontier towns, as in established cities, lodges were the nexus of fraternal identity and camaraderie for their members. But they were more than social institutions. They also functioned as benevolent associations that provided for the well-being of members' families, as sponsors of such community services as volunteer fire companies, as promoters of civic and social improvement, and on



occasion as vehicles for assimilation. Walter was initiated as a charter member of North Star Lodge Number 61 of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) soon after it was founded in July 1856.<sup>25</sup> Throughout the subsequent dozen years, he remained active in the lodge, held office almost constantly, and served as a delegate to state and regional Odd Fellows conventions. In addition, he also participated in the organization's numerous civic and social activities and programs.<sup>26</sup>

Simultaneously, Walter maintained his business activities and devoted additional energy to one of his major concerns: local and national politics. Neither his partisan affiliation (if any) in Ohio nor the extent of his political activity during his earlier days in California is known. Soon after he moved north, however, he commenced an active career that led to positions in the local Democratic organization and to offices in county and state government and that ultimately may have influenced his departure from the region.

Despite its relative isolation, Trinity County constituted a microcosm of the political conflicts embroiling the state and the nation in the later 1850s. Walter's first recorded foray into local partisan affairs occurred during the summer of 1857, when he became secretary of the County Democratic Central Committee.<sup>27</sup> His election to that office coincided with growing factionalism in his party, not only in the state but also in the nation at large. The California Democracy in 1857 was barely recovering from the effects of an internecine feud between William Gwin and David Broderick for one of California's United States Senate seats. Since 1854 the national party also had been reeling under the impact of the volatile issues of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Lecompton Constitution, "Bleeding Kansas," slavery in the territories, and most recently the Dred Scott decision. The local party felt the impact of each of these controversies, and although no specific record remains of Walter's position on each question, his actions suggest that he stood with the majority of Trinity County Democrats. They styled themselves "Lecompton" (later "Regular") Democrats and aligned with Stephen A. Douglas, sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and champion of popular sovereignty in national affairs and allied with the southerner Gwin and the Chivalry faction of the party in the state.<sup>28</sup>

Their allegiances—and the fact that residents of Trinity County took their politics quite seriously—became especially apparent during the presidential election of 1860, when residents of a nearby

community changed the name of their town from Kanaka Bar to Douglas City in honor of Abraham Lincoln's Democratic opponent. During the same contest, both the Union (Bell) and Republican parties waged energetic local campaigns, and Walter threw his hat into the ring as the Democratic candidate for the state Assembly. Somewhat surprisingly, Trinity County defied national (or at least northern) trends and gave its approval to Douglas over Lincoln by 918 votes to 578. Walter won his seat in the Assembly by approximately the same margin.<sup>29</sup>

Walter's service in the Twelfth Session of the legislature, however, was something less than spectacular. While in Sacramento, in his words, he "helped to make the first appropriation for the California state house and the first charter for the San Francisco Street Car Line."<sup>30</sup> He also participated in the tumultuous controversy surrounding the selection of a replacement for Senator David Broderick, recently killed in his infamous duel with Judge David Terry. Walter's candidate did not win, but Governor Milton Latham, another Lecompton Democrat, garnered enough votes to assume Broderick's place.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the potent anti-Lincoln sentiment that emerged in the largely-Democratic state during the 1860 election and the subsequent Senate fight, it would be a mistake to conclude that Trinity County or California in general harbored significant numbers of advocates of slavery or disunion, except in isolated pockets, principally in southern parts of the state. Nor were there numerous sympathizers for the kind of secessionism exemplified by an abortive Pacific Republic scheme to create a separate nation of California, Oregon, Washington, and assorted other western states. Most California Democrats, in Trinity County or elsewhere, could hardly be identified as pro-secession, despite their alignment with Gwin and the so-called "Chivs." Indeed, that alliance probably is most closely related to intraparty antagonism between "city" Democrats (the San Francisco contingent led by Broderick) and the "country" wing (the rest of the state).<sup>32</sup> Most thoughtful California Democrats opposed the election of Lincoln on the basis of states' rights constitutional position and in the belief—quite correct, as it transpired—that Republican policies on the containment of slavery would lead certainly to disunion and probably to war. Most denounced slavery as an unmitigated evil, but they also opposed federal efforts to destroy or contain the South's peculiar institution by legislation (deemed unconstitutional) or military force (considered unconscionable). These, essentially, were the views of



Although Walter's memoir did not discuss conflict with Indians, an incident of frontier violence in Trinity County reflected attitudes of settlers throughout California in the years before and following the Civil War. This engraving from an early Sacramento newspaper illustrates the hostility of Trinity-area citizens, who reportedly avenged the murder of a local butcher by taking the lives of more than a hundred Indians camped in the region. *From the collection of Peter E. Palmquist.*

Fred Walter and his fellow Trinity County Democrats before and during the Civil War.

Although concerns about the issues of slavery and union were intense in the region, when armed conflict came, it touched Trinity County and California at large only indirectly. A few local volunteer militia units participated militarily, principally on garrison duty within the state. In addition, the war increased the demand for the region's principal product: gold. Despite limited direct impact, however, the war and related issues remained topics of constant concern and conversation. And despite the decreasing popularity of his views, Walter maintained his political and philosophical position throughout the Civil War. Consequently, he incurred the suspicion of some of his neighbors of both parties, including that of David E. Gordon, Unionist editor of the *Trinity Journal*, who denounced Walter and other local Democrats as "copperheads, traitors," and worse.<sup>33</sup>

In reality, Walter's position on the questions of slavery, union, and war may have approximated

the opinions of many Weaverville residents. Even Gordon himself wrote in 1861 that, although slavery was a great evil, "Better to let it alone" and allow it to cannibalize itself and expire, rather than to sunder the nation.<sup>34</sup> The editor articulated a version of the "natural limits" theory, the notion that slavery was an anachronism in the nineteenth century, that it could only be employed in gang-labor situations, and that it therefore contained the seeds of its own destruction. Although flawed by erroneous racial, geographic, and economic assumptions, the idea was nevertheless a comfortable position and one shared by numerous anti-slavery Democrats and Republicans alike. Local ambivalence of this sort, combined with Walter's obvious contributions to the community and his equally apparent basic loyalty, may have cushioned antagonisms against him and allowed him to survive the war years with his personal reputation virtually intact.

It was not sufficient, however, to persuade his fellow Democrats to nominate him to run for a





Cris Meckel, one of Frederick Walter's successors as proprietor of the Pacific Brewery, receives his *Trinity Journal* from a newsboy on donkey-back, ca. 1910. The business sign indicates that the Meckel brothers had expanded operations to supply imported beer, as well as their own product. C.E. Goodyear photo, courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.

second term in the Assembly in 1862.<sup>35</sup> Despite disappointment at this turn of events and sensitivity to local hostility toward those of his political persuasion, Walter remained active in partisan affairs. He cosponsored a ball and rally "in favor of the Union and the Constitution," exhorted Trinity County Democrats to remain steadfast in their principles, publicly condemned secessionism, and assumed leadership in the reorganization of his party, perhaps a necessary response to persistent accusations of "copperheadism."<sup>36</sup>

Precisely why Walter drew more than his share of such charges is not entirely clear. It may have been that his home state—Ohio—was also the residence of the nation's most notorious "copperhead," Clement L. Vallandigham, who was convicted and deported to the Confederacy for his views. Or Walter's leadership of the local Democracy, the consistency of his views, and his outspoken expression of them may simply have made him a convenient target for opportunistic Republicans and Unionists. Charges of treason and other adverse publicity had their impact on his party; its ranks diminished appreciably. Walter, however, remained firm in his convictions and, despite his failure to win renomination for the Assembly, he continued to serve as chairman of the Democratic County Committee throughout the war years.<sup>37</sup> He also managed to retain the respect of the local community; when

the war ended, he was serving as a superintendent of Weaverville schools, and by August 1865 he had regained sufficient support and confidence to declare his candidacy for the office of tax collector on the "opposition" ticket.<sup>38</sup>

In response to Walter's announcement, *Trinity Journal* editor Gordon revived his charges against him, again denouncing him as the "leading spirit in the copperhead ranks" in Trinity County during the war.<sup>39</sup> But inflamed partisan rhetoric did not have the anticipated result. Walter won by some 100 votes, and he was the only successful Democratic candidate in the county in 1865, prompting allegations that he had purchased his office.<sup>40</sup> That Walter bought his support is unlikely for several reasons. Practically, the office would not have justified the investment. The tax collector received no salary, only fees based on revenues actually collected. Law required that office-holders post a \$20,000 bond to certify their performance, and Walter's accounts as tax collector from 1866 to 1868 balanced precisely.<sup>41</sup> Finally, the position carried little prestige or power, and the fact that Walter was the only victorious Democrat in 1865 suggests that the respect he commanded in the community was sufficient to overcome animosity toward his wartime views but not toward other members of his party. In short, his victory was a personal one.

Walter recalled that the duties of his new position



were quite demanding: "This office taking up my entire time, we sold the brewery" to John Lorenz and Henry Hagelman, proprietors of the rival Bavaria Brewery. In fact, the transfer took place in October 1865, just one month after Walter won his office and six months before he assumed his duties in March 1866.<sup>42</sup> The decision to divest himself of his major business interest (while retaining substantial real estate holdings throughout the county) may indicate that Walter already had formulated plans to extend his political career in California. While serving as tax collector, he maintained an active interest in local political affairs, sponsored a controversial petition to eliminate or reduce discriminatory penalties for Chinese convicted of gambling, and continued to hold office in the IOOF and on the Democratic County Committee. And in August 1867, he accepted his party's nomination to run for the office of state senator from Trinity and Shasta counties.<sup>43</sup>

The subsequent canvass marked Walter's final involvement in Trinity County partisan affairs and, although he could not have known it at the time, probably contributed to his seemingly abrupt departure from the region. He campaigned energetically for the Senate, as both a Democrat and an Independent, but the results were disappointing. He lost the election held in September 1867 by almost exactly the margin that carried him into office two years earlier, ninety-four votes, perhaps because adverse Shasta County ballots diluted his strength at home.<sup>44</sup>

Walter continued to serve as tax collector until the following March, but when his term expired, he left Weaverville for good. Why he departed is not entirely clear. As late as August 1867, when he declared his candidacy for the state Senate, he apparently intended to remain. Despite the sale of the Pacific Brewery and almost weekly reports of diminishing gold resources in the county during late 1866 and 1867, Walter's own financial position was reasonably sound. He had the income of his office, as well as many potentially lucrative properties, including a mining claim and ditch company on Swift Creek near Trinity Center, the Indian Creek Hotel and adjacent property, the Washington Hotel and mining property at Cañon Creek, and various plots and buildings in Weaverville itself.<sup>45</sup> Still, several factors may have prompted his departure. By later 1866, many county residents—Walter's associate A. M. Kruttschnitt among them—had left the region in response to rumors of impending local depression, the lure of the Comstock silver *bonanza* in Nevada, and tales of mineral

strikes and farming opportunities in both Oregon and Washington.<sup>46</sup> These considerations also may have persuaded Walter to leave.

But he may also have acquiesced to domestic influences. Fred Walter and his wife had four children in Weaverville: sons born in December 1859, May 1862, and June 1864 and a daughter in April 1867. The first child died in August 1860, at the age of just eight months.<sup>47</sup> In October 1867, only weeks after the senatorial defeat and six months after the birth of her daughter, Mary Walter and their three surviving children boarded a steamer in San Francisco, on their way home to Ohio.<sup>48</sup> It is possible that the rigors of recent childbirth and the memory of the death of her first-born combined to convince her that, despite the comforts that her husband and others like him had brought to Weaverville, the life of a pioneer woman with a growing family was not for her. If such were the case, hers would not have been a unique decision. Nor would it have been unusual for her husband—especially after political disappointment and in the midst of rumors of impending depression—to accede to her wishes.

Whatever the circumstances, on March 23, 1868—just days after his term as tax collector expired—Fred Walter bade a last farewell to his Odd Fellow brothers, gave his power of attorney to another German-American, E. L. Strauss, took leave of his adoptive home of thirteen years, and followed his wife and family back to Ohio. There he built yet another successful career, and there he died in 1917 at the age of ninety. He left behind him in Weaverville scores of close friends and associates and not a few grudging admirers. The latter included even David E. Gordon; the editor who had previously condemned Walter as a traitorous "copperhead" now praised him for his dedication to the community. Thirty years later, Gordon would recall Walter as an important pioneer and a "good citizen" during the formative years of the town.<sup>49</sup> Clearly, even partisan enemies recognized him as a major contributor to the development of Weaverville. It is apparent, too, from Walter's memoir and the *Trinity Journal* subscription that he maintained for forty years, that he neither forgot his sojourn in the place nor lost his affection for it.<sup>50</sup> For fifteen years, his life was bound up with Trinity County and Weaverville, where he came to make his fortune but remained to make his home.

This, indeed, may serve to explain the commitment of middle-echelon professionals and entrepreneurs like Walter to bringing the amenities of urban life to their frontier communities. To be sure, most arrived in the raw regions with hopes of



Anthony Chabot and Edward Matteson introduced California's principal contribution to mining technology, hydraulic mining, during the 1850s. By the time Frederick Walter returned to Ohio in 1868, the process had been refined and put into use throughout many of the state's gold regions, including Trinity County. Walter's investments in ditch companies that supplied water to mining operations suggest that he may also have been involved in hydraulic ventures. *From the collection of Peter E. Palmquist.*

quick wealth and a rapid return to "civilization." Unlike the frequently-absentee leaders of impersonal corporate giants that soon asserted control over mining, merchandising, transportation, and other enterprises, however, individuals like Walter were residents of local communities who came to regard the isolated towns as permanent homes and to anticipate raising families in them. Therefore, they brought to the primitive frontier the rudiments of urbanism. In the process, they made their cities coequal with the fields and forests in the dispersal of the nation's institutions and the preservation of its democratic ideologies. These were as much consequences of the associational life, physical improvement efforts, cultural development, and sophisticated political debates of the towns as they were of the field-clearings, barn-raising, quilting bees, and other cooperative ventures in the countryside.

Perhaps, too, the fact that many of the frontier

townsmen were, like Walter, either immigrants or the children of immigrants and often from urban rather than agrarian backgrounds, reinforced the incentive toward civility and permanence. In Weaverville, for example, even if the Chinese are excluded from computations, nearly forty percent of the population was foreign-born, and nearly two-thirds of the town's residents had at least one immigrant parent.<sup>51</sup> These facts are hardly conclusive evidence, but they are highly suggestive and invite comparison with the experience of other frontier towns with similar and dissimilar populations. It is entirely possible that both the volatility of the immigrant experience and the desire to recapitulate former social experiences contributed significantly to impulses toward the permanence implicit in urbanism.

Quite obviously, neither definitive conclusions nor universal generalizations may be advanced on the basis of the career of one man or a relatively



brief period in the history of a single California town. It does seem clear, however, that Weaverville and similar outposts of civilization and citadels of nationalism made significant historical contributions. They were, in a sense, the warp and woof of which the national fabric was woven on the frontier. Their institutions ensured communication with the nation at large and served to maintain its ideologies—even conflicting ones. The towns and their residents stimulated the permanent economic development of the hinterlands. Simultaneously, they brought frontier men and women into the debate over the issues confronting the nation and facilitated their often-passionate participation in the political process. Their common schools transmitted to successive generations elements of the national culture. In short, frontier towns like Weaverville and frontier leaders like Frederick Walter preserved the substance of civilization, prevented the fragmentation of a physically vast and diverse nation, and perhaps precluded the necessity for a constant recapitulation of previous historical developments as each frontier receded.

To all of these ends, middle-echelon and urban-oriented entrepreneurs like Fred Walter made

significant and permanent contributions equaling those of the more transient and individualistic trappers, drovers, pathfinders, Indian-fighters, and sod-busters that Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples emphasized. The urban influence that Walter and his counterparts contributed does not diminish the real significance that Turner attributed to other participants in the westering experience; it does, however, suggest a more comprehensive, realistic, and perhaps useful interpretation of American frontier history. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 232.*

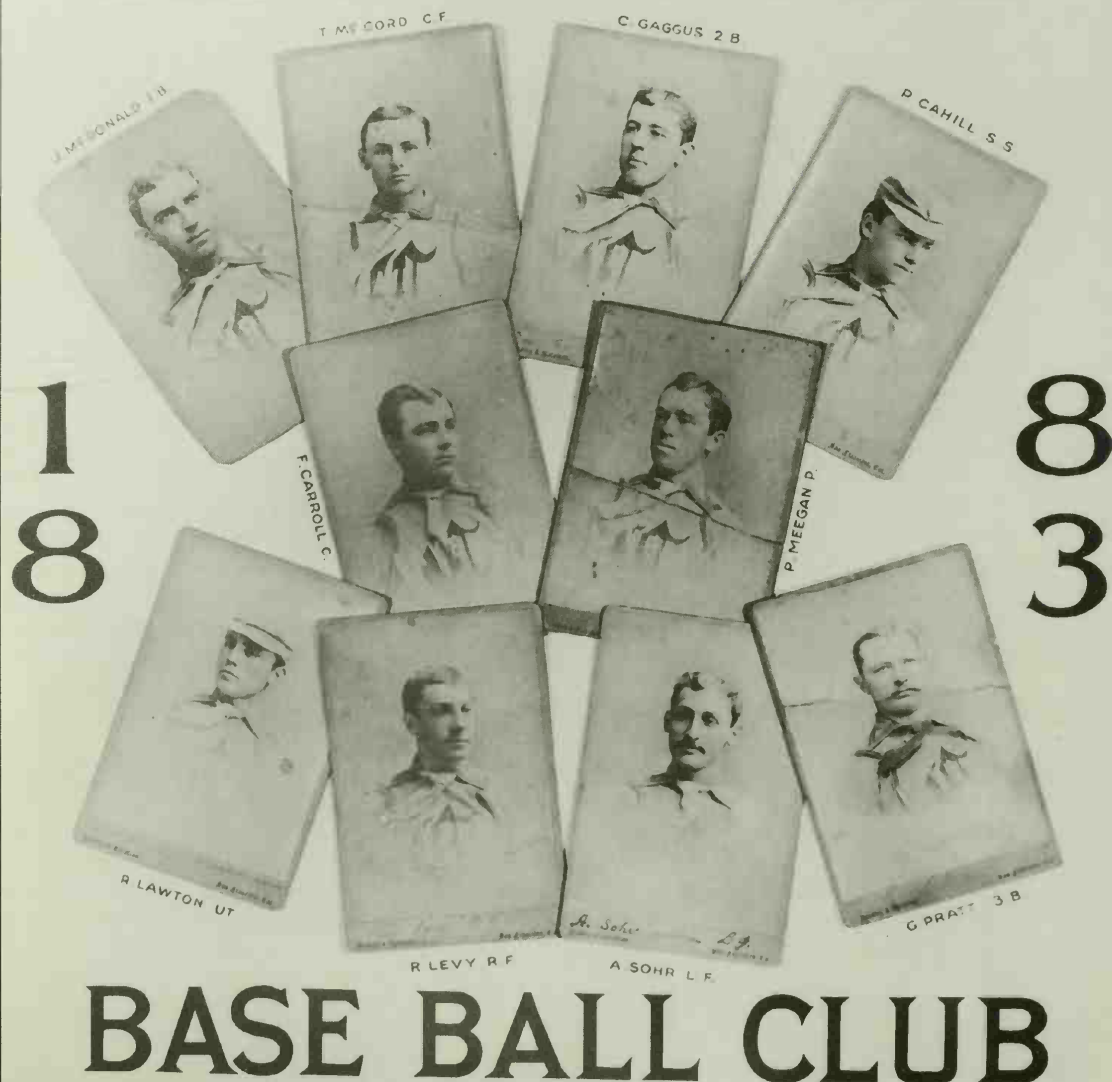
*William A. Bullough, Professor of History at California State University, Hayward, received his Ph.D. degree in American Urban History from the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 1970. He is the author of Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age: The Evolution of an Urban Institution (1974), The Blind Boss and His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco (1979), and articles in The San Francisco Irish, 1850-1976, (James P. Walsh, ed., 1978); The Historian, Pacific Historical Review, and California History. He is co-author of The Elusive Eden: A New History of California.*



Frederick Walter and his partners constructed well, probably better than they realized. In 1978, with a coat of garish red paint and an extension where the Harmony Saloon possibly stood, the Pacific Brewery building continued to provide welcome refreshment to residents of Weaverville and tourists passing through on Highway 299. Photograph by William A. Bullough.



# HAVERLY



This composite features baseball cards depicting members of the Haverly Baseball Club, 1883. Rube Levy, then a right fielder, is second from the left, bottom row. *Courtesy San Francisco Public Library.*

# RUBE LEVY:

## A San Francisco Shoe Cutter and The Origin of Professional Baseball in California

*by Joel S. Franks*

While San Franciscans have been debating if and where a new baseball park should be built in their city, few have considered the long tradition that the "National Pastime" has shaped in San Francisco. San Franciscans have been playing the game since before the Civil War and professional baseball has been played in the city by the bay for over a century. To be sure, the memories of baseball in San Francisco have not all been pleasant, but the excitement of seeing Joe Di Maggio, Willie Mays, and Willie McCovey representing the city with skill, grace, and dignity is something baseball fans cherish.

But among San Francisco's past baseball heroes, there are the long-forgotten. They will never get recognition in the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Very likely they will never be elected to the San Francisco Bay Area Sports Hall of Fame. They do not appear at baseball card shows, and Paul Simon will not write lyrics about them. However, one hundred years ago, baseball fans in San Francisco knew them well. Some, like Charley Sweeney, Fred Carroll, Ed Morris, and Jim Fogarty, achieved a measure of national fame while playing in the big leagues in the 1880s. Others never played professionally outside California. Reuben Levy was one of these, but he was no less a hero to San Francisco lovers of the National Pastime one hundred years ago.

Rube Levy was arguably the most popular baseball player in late nineteenth-century San Francisco.

In the late 1880s, baseball grounds were constructed at the Haight Street entrance to Golden Gate Park. To keep a modicum of decorum alive at the Haight Street baseball park, unattended children were shunted into an area out toward left field, which became known as "Levy's kindergarten." For Levy was the king of outfielders in the old California League, and for twenty years left field was his realm. There, his talent, competitiveness, and geniality made him a hero to San Francisco's young fans and won him admiration from the frequently fickle adults who followed professional baseball in California. Still, Levy was more than just an outstanding minor league ballplayer. He was a Jewish shoemaker who played the National Pastime in a community where professional, commercialized baseball had experienced its share of troubles, as well as triumphs. And what he did for a living, whether in shoe manufacturing or on the baseball diamond, was molded by changes in the world of work and the world of play in industrializing America.

Compared to San Francisco sports contemporaries such as boxers Jim Corbett and Joe Choynski, very little is known about Rube Levy's background. Historical records show that he was born in San Francisco around 1862 to Elias and Angelina Levy. While his father worked as a sales clerk, most of Rube's young life would be spent in the South-of-Market district, which Jack



London described as a neighborhood of "factories, slums, laundries, machine shops, boiler works, and the . . . abodes of the working class."<sup>1</sup>

Although San Francisco had its share of Jewish merchants who rose up to the highest rungs of the economic ladder, Rube Levy's father was not one of them. Certainly, his occupation was one traditionally deemed as white-collar. Yet he always seemed to be working for someone else, mainly in clothing stores. Sales clerks traditionally labored long hours and, in San Francisco, constantly agitated for earlier Saturday closings. As for the pay, many sales clerks might envy the earnings of skilled, non-Chinese, male craftsmen, especially those in the building trades.<sup>2</sup>

The 1880 United States manuscript census reveals that Elias Levy was a sixty-year-old immigrant from Prussia, while Angelina was ten years younger and reportedly born in England. Elias was listed as a sales clerk who had been out of work for nine months of the previous year. California was not the Levys' first stop in America, because living with them was twenty-six-year-old son Marcus, who had been born in Connecticut. Marcus, however, had no job, but his two younger brothers, Reuben and David, were working. Sixteen-year-old Reuben was described as an apprentice to a shoe cutter, while thirteen-year-old David worked in a store.<sup>3</sup>

All in all, bleaker pictures of family life in the Tar Flats could easily have been depicted. Yet at the outset of the 1880s the Levys do not appear to have been exactly upwardly mobile. Indeed, Reuben's family situation reminds us that while there were several shining success stories among San Francisco's Jewish population, there were others who still had to overcome the barriers erected by ethnicity and class.

In the late nineteenth century, anti-Semitism was not one of San Francisco's fiercest problems. Nevertheless, the life of young boxing whiz Joe Choynski suggests that bigotry pervaded ethnic relationships in the city. Choynski wound up in a series of brutal prize fights with James Corbett largely as a consequence of Irish-Jewish rivalry. And Choynski continually had to do battle with the stereotype of Jews incapable of "manly strength" and athletic prowess. At the same time, unlike eastern European Jewish young men and women,

those of central and western European descent such as Choynski and Levy were not hindered seriously by an anti-athletic cultural baggage. Jews had participated in German physical cultural activities, such as the *Turnverein*, both in the homeland and in American cities such as San Francisco. It was not then inevitable that Rube played baseball, but it probably caused little astonishment among his elders.<sup>4</sup>

One suspects that Rube and his brother David, who also took up baseball with somewhat less success, ran into the same kind of anti-Semitism that Choynski faced, although baseball players were generally less taxed with the need to demonstrate their physical courage to the point of insanity. The National Pastime in San Francisco, as elsewhere, largely began before the Civil War as a recreational outlet for non-immigrant, middle- and skilled working-class men. However, by the end of the 1870s team rosters of San Francisco clubs listed more and more players with Irish, German, and Jewish last names. It is hard to believe that ethnic antagonisms did not spill over onto the baseball diamond, but such occurrences did not seem to happen often, if at all. And the leading clubs of the 1880s were well integrated insofar as white ethnic groups went.<sup>5</sup>

Why the young Rube Levy wound up in the shoe trade is difficult to determine. Perhaps Elias had worked as a shoemaker at one time or perhaps a relative in the trade eased Rube's way into the San Francisco industry. In any event, it seems a curious career choice, given the nature of boot and shoe manufacturing nationally and particularly in San Francisco.

There is a quaintness to the census manuscript's description of Rube's occupation as that of an apprentice to a shoe cutter. It smacks of artisan traditions, not forgotten but clearly waning by the 1880s. Much of boot and shoe production in the United States had undergone substantial mechanization and highly detailed divisions within the labor process. This is not to say that custom work had disappeared or that sweat shops, in which workers labored without mechanization beyond the use of sewing machines, lacked prominence. However, the shoemaker as proud artisan generally represented an increasingly distant, preindustrial past.<sup>6</sup>



Porter, Blum, and Slessinger Boot and Shoe Factory, San Francisco's largest footwear manufacturer, late nineteenth century. The shoe cutters union went out on strike against the company in 1883. During much of his baseball career, Rube Levy also worked as a cutter for a rival firm. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

Nowhere was the impact of industrialization more glaring than in San Francisco's boot and shoe trade. Until the Civil War, San Franciscans were satisfied to get their cheaper boots and shoes shipped in from eastern industrial centers. If they wanted customized footwear, they could choose from at least three hundred men listed in the San Francisco City Directory of 1860-61 who were described as shoemakers, bootmakers, boot and shoemakers, and "in boots and shoes."<sup>7</sup>

The Civil War compelled entrepreneurial interests in San Francisco to consider building home

industries in boots and shoes, and other commodities. From the standpoint of would-be industrialists, the problem was that San Francisco boot and shoemakers were too skilled, too few, and too militant to take to factory life quietly. East Coast industrialists had resorted to hiring white women and adolescents to fill their needs for cheap, lesser-skilled labor. However, San Francisco was still a relatively "bachelor" community. The labor solution, nevertheless, seemed at hand in the presence of a large and growing population of Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. Mistakenly assuming the



Chinese laborers were servile and lacking any notion of what their work meant to white capitalists, boot and shoe manufacturers began to employ "the Chinese" after the Civil War. In 1867, a strike conducted by white boot and shoemakers was countered by their employers' hiring Chinese workers to replace them. And by 1869, unionized white boot and shoemakers in San Francisco led the white working-class agitation against Chinese labor.<sup>8</sup> In the long run, salvaging the boot and shoe trade from industrialization and Chinese immigration was a losing battle for white craftsmen. This battle was not made any easier by the fact that the transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, not only brought in more boots and shoes from the East, but also additional white boot and shoeworkers looking for opportunities in the Golden West.

However, thanks to the growing labor market of white workers, the Chinese reticence to cooperate as cheerfully as white employers had hoped, and the effective political agitation of the anti-Chinese movement, the 1870s witnessed more and more manufacturers hiring fellow whites. This did not mean that Chinese shoemakers went away. Rather, they formed cooperatives or sought employment with Chinese manufacturers. In so doing, San Francisco's Chinese shoemakers carved out an important and highly controversial niche in the local trade. Indeed, by 1880 most of the footwear manufactured in San Francisco came from Chinese-owned firms, thus exacerbating an already highly-competitive situation for shoemakers, regardless of their race.<sup>9</sup>

The result was a downturn in wages for most classifications of labor in the San Francisco boot and shoe trade, along with decreasing prospects for steady employment. However, boot and shoeworkers, whether white or Chinese, did not accept these setbacks passively. For one thing, white workers joined the ranks of Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), which in the late 1870s agitated against Chinese immigrants and the white "robber barons" who hired them. After the WPC collapsed, white workers organized the Boot and Shoemakers' White Labor League, which even after the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882 declared war on Chinese competition, at the same time as it organized more orthodox struggles to increase wages and protect and

extend the workers' control of the workplace.<sup>10</sup>

Rube Levy was comparatively fortunate. He not only developed tremendous skills as a professional athlete, but he learned one of the most important and highly-paid skills in the boot and shoe industry. Shoe cutters, as the title indicates, were expected to cut leather to be used in the manufacture of footwear with strength, dexterity, and precision. Because their work was crucial and skilled, they achieved the highest wages in the workplace. Historian John Hittell estimated that during the winter of 1881 and 1882, a "first class" white cutter in San Francisco could earn eighteen dollars weekly. In contrast, a female fitter might earn nine to twelve dollars weekly, while a Chinese shoemaker would be lucky to get that much.<sup>11</sup>

Despite their comparatively aristocratic status in the workplace, shoe cutters did not abstain from work stoppages. In the early 1880s, the cutters had their own union, separate from the Boot and Shoemakers White Labor League (BSWLL). In 1883, the cutters' union sponsored a strike at one of San Francisco's largest factories, Porter, Slessinger, and Co. Essentially, the dispute between the cutters and Porter's was over wages. The strikers demanded that journeymen cutters, receiving \$16.50 weekly, get the eighteen to twenty dollars a week paid to journeymen cutters at other firms. Moreover, they called for a change in how the work was distributed among cutters. They complained that their numbers included men who, while working as cutters for at least ten years, had yet to attain journeyman status and the corresponding higher wages. The company's penury was clearly at fault, the strikers contended. It had refused to give these men work on "outside cuttings," which would push them toward journeymen's status. Porter's cutters, therefore, in a showing of solidarity demanded that all experienced cutters get the opportunity to be journeymen.<sup>12</sup>

When not playing baseball, Levy worked as a cutter. A Reuben Levy was described as a salesman in the 1879-1880 San Francisco City Directory. For more than twenty years, until 1905, Levy was listed in the San Francisco City Directory as either a shoe cutter or shoemaker. Much of his time in the trade was spent in the employ of Orrin Jones, who operated a middling size shop in the 1880s and 1890s. There is little evidence that Levy took any





The San Francisco Baseball Club, ca. 1875, photographed by Thomas Houseworth, San Francisco. The San Francisco team was the champion of the 1875, 1876, and 1877 Bay Area baseball seasons. *CHS Library, San Francisco.*

great interest in either the union or the anti-Chinese activities of his fellow workers. However, according to the Boot and Shoemakers White Labor League minutes book, he did seek and attain membership in that union during the early 1890s.<sup>13</sup>

Levy's interest in the BSWLL came at a momentous time in the union's history. Boot and shoe manufacturers had mounted an attack on San Francisco's unionized shoeworkers. The BSWLL and the female shoefitters' union countered with vigorous organizational activity. But thanks immeasurably to the bad economic times that hit America's working class in the early 1890s, the unions lost the struggle for existence and the boot and shoe trade remained unorganized for the rest of the decade. However, prosperity, the organizing tactics of the national Boot and Shoeworkers Union, and the growing power of the labor movement in San

Francisco brought the closed shop to the boot and shoe trade in the early 1900s.<sup>14</sup>

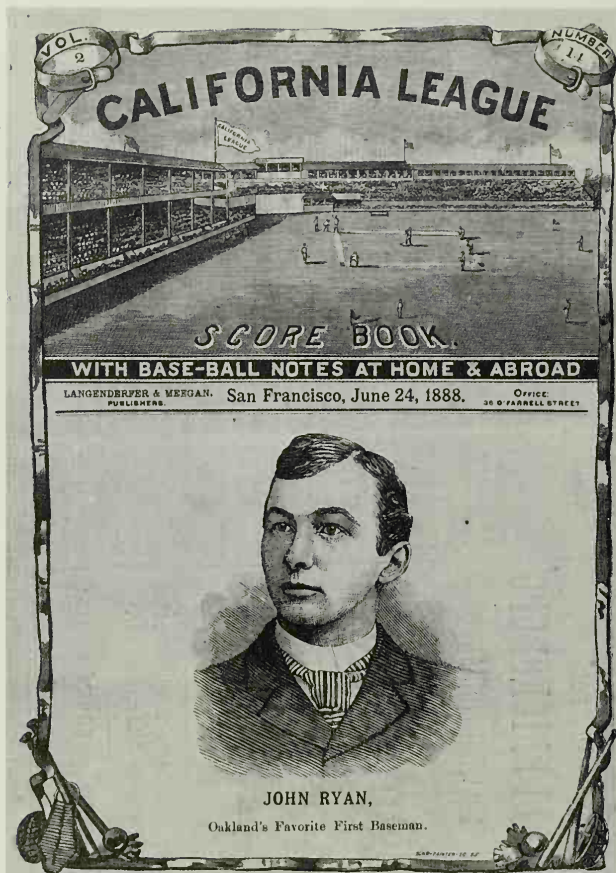
Of course, during these years shoecutting became only a part-time job for Reuben Levy. Yet, just as working in the boot and shoe trade was not the most likely employment choice for a young San Franciscan, taking up baseball as a semi- or full-time profession was not something that even the most athletically gifted Californians had been accustomed to doing. For adults to engage in the National Pastime as a way of making a living in nineteenth-century America was generally considered an unwise and disreputable career move.

Professional ballplayers were probably viewed more favorably than their counterparts in "the manly art" of prize fighting, but they were ranked in status scarcely above professional actors.<sup>15</sup> This jaundiced view of professional ballplaying seems to have struck a responsive chord in San Francisco. For one early professional game in 1881, half the members on one of the teams played under assumed names because they feared that their parents would be embarrassed if their correct names appeared in the box score.<sup>16</sup>

Aside from cultural restraints, baseball as a professionalized sport in San Francisco in the 1880s had not yet developed the stability found in mid-western and eastern seaboard cities. Although San Franciscans had been playing the National Pastime since the 1850s, demographic factors, particularly the extreme geographical mobility of the population, inhibited the evolution of professional baseball in the state. What helped to make the organization of professional baseball clubs and leagues a lively, profitable venture in Gilded Age America was urbanization, inter- and intra-community rivalries, and the accompanying urban boosterism. However, by the 1870s, San Francisco, alone among California cities, had developed the social and economic structure that could conceivably sustain a professional baseball team on the same level found in the eastern cities represented in the National League, formed in 1876.<sup>17</sup>

Briefly in the late 1870s, an effort was made to present professional baseball to the San Francisco Bay Area. Generally operated by small-time businessmen and political officials, various clubs in San Francisco vied not only for the best local talent available, but sought the services of eastern professionals, who saw in California a way to escape blacklists and salary caps imposed by organized eastern baseball. From 1878 through 1880, professional baseball as a spectator sport seemed to be making a go of it in San Francisco and Oakland. Good crowds were often lured to see nationally known professionals such as Ferguson Malone, Ed "The Only" Nolan, William Barrie, "Pud" Galvin, Jim Devlin, and Bobby Mathews, as well as fine California players such as Jerry Denny, Sandy Nava, Andy Piercy, and Bob Blakiston.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, by the early 1880s professional baseball faced a bleak future in San Francisco. A



This California League program and scorebook from 1888 was typical of early baseball programs. Courtesy Oakland Museum.

number of causes could be cited for the decline of the National Pastime as a commercial enterprise there. Centering professional baseball in California in the San Francisco Bay Area meant that the enthusiasm generated by interurban rivalries was largely limited to San Francisco/Oakland confrontations. What made matters worse was that greed, incompetence, boorish behavior, and dishonesty infected the ranks of players and management.<sup>19</sup>

As a consequence, when Rube Levy began his professional career in 1881 and for some years after, he was probably fortunate that at the same time he was learning a skilled and reputable working-class trade. Actually, San Francisco professional baseball was then more akin to what is today's semi-



professional baseball. Levy would play once a week or once every other week. Yet baseball in San Francisco did not suffer from the outrage of sabbatarianists, thanks to the city's large Irish and German population. So games could be scheduled on Sundays, when working-class men such as Levy were free to perform and attend. Wages were not paid. Rather, players and their managers split the gate receipts, probably with catchers and pitchers getting greater shares of the take. During this early, but not the last, dark age of professional baseball in San Francisco, players often got a dollar a game for their participation. However, when one considers that boot and shoe cutters earned three dollars a day for working ten hours in a factory or shop, getting a dollar for playing a couple of hours of baseball might not have seemed insubstantial to the young Levy.<sup>20</sup>

Although Levy started performing professionally in 1881, he most likely had played on several neighborhood clubs that surfaced throughout San Francisco during the late 1870s. For example, in 1879, the *California Spirit of the Times* published the box scores of several games and the January 11 issue lists a Levy playing center field for the Actuals in one game and left field for the Nationals in another. Whether Rube appeared in one or both of these contests cannot be determined, because first names were not published. Still, it is safe to say that Rube served his baseball apprenticeship on clubs such as these.<sup>21</sup>

When the seventeen-year-old Rube Levy made his professional debut, he played in the California League, for the California club that staged its games out of Oakland. Typical of the confusing state of professional baseball in California, there were two California Leagues competing for the baseball crank's interest, one centered in San Francisco and considerably stronger, while the East Bay rival league helped develop younger players such as Levy.<sup>22</sup>

Less well known for his hitting than his fielding, Levy nonetheless wielded a heavy bat in his early games. Against the Oakland Mystics, in one game he collected four hits, including a double, in six at bats. Several months later, in a winter game against the Oakland nine, Levy performed the then quite unusual feat of smashing a home run, except that

he seemed to have neglected to touch all the bases and was declared out.<sup>23</sup>

The next year, Levy joined the Haverly club, organized by San Francisco theater magnate Jack Haverly and long-time baseball player, entrepreneur, publicist, and scorekeeper, Waller Wallace. The Haverlys developed into an early California baseball dynasty. At one time or another, most of the best San Francisco professionals played for the Haverlys, including notable major leaguers such as Ed Morris, Jim Fogarty, and Charley Sweeney. The team's first game in 1882 was played for five hundred dollars a side against the Mystics of Oakland. The Haverlys won this game played at the Mission District's Recreation Grounds and were nearly unbeatable for four years.<sup>24</sup>

Levy very quickly won plaudits for his occasional timely hitting and great catches in the outfield, but he also gained affection for an incident that took place against the Mystics in September 1882. The game itself was horrendous. The Haverlys chalked up twenty-five runs to the Mystics' ten in a contest that lasted three and one-half hours, an incredible endurance contest for players and spectators alike in those days. Like most of his teammates, Levy found Mystic pitching to be no mystery and hit four for six. However, in the seventh inning a Mystic twirler conked Levy on the head. Still standing in the batter's box, Levy looked around the diamond with a curious, absent-minded expression and collapsed on the ground, unconscious. The *Chronicle* reported that "another knight of the diamond rushed forward with a tin bucket full of water" to give life to the soon conscious, but soggy Levy.<sup>25</sup>

However, it was Levy's fielding that gained him the most admiration in these early years. On July 1, 1882, the Haverlys traveled to Contra Costa and beat the locals handily. One of the highlights of the game was Levy's long running catch of a fly ball, which he turned into a double play by running for second base, where he doubled off a mystified Contra Costa baserunner. A defensive gem such as this was what the *Sporting News's* San Francisco correspondent had in mind when he wrote that "Rube Levy . . . is considered to be the surest fly catcher on the whole Pacific Slope, while for long distance throwing Rube just takes the bun, the bakery and all."<sup>26</sup>





A Haverly team photograph, ca. 1890-1900, with Rube Levy, now a seasoned player, in the front row, third from the right. *Courtesy San Francisco Public Library.*

If Levy and his Haverly teammates were the monarchs of California professional baseball, their kingdom was in a sorry state. Indeed, dignity was often the casualty of the quest for money in the National Pastime. On a couple of occasions, for example, the Haverlys were matched against nines culled from visiting theater groups. In July of 1882, the Haverly baseball team played a team representing Jack Haverly's minstrels. The operators of the Recreation Grounds, which served as the site for this exhibition, asked the professional ballplayers to wear burnt cork and funny costumes just like their opponents. To his credit, Levy demurred, as did several of his teammates. The *Chronicle* commented that "in consequence of the half-hearted way in which the promises of those engaged to play in costumes were fulfilled, the managers of the grounds have decided to no more masquerading."<sup>27</sup>

If the Haverlys could have found shelter in a

stable, well-run baseball league, such ventures into show business would have largely been avoided. However, such an organization would not surface until 1886. In the meantime, the destiny of professional baseball in San Francisco and California was tied to the curious travails of the city's California League. Each year since 1881 an organization calling itself the California League would rise from the fog of San Francisco and inevitably disappear before the scheduled season was finished. In the spring, of 1883, for example, the directors of one early version of the league proudly announced a thirty-six game, four team schedule. Before the season was well underway, scandal hit. Seven players accused of throwing games were blacklisted. Among the seven was a fast-ball throwing pitcher named Charley Sweeney, who presumably permitted the Haverlys to play tee ball with his pitches, to the tune of twenty-two runs. Sweeney might have given in to the entreaties of gamblers, but

more likely he simply wanted out of his California League contract so that he could sign with a major league club. By mid-summer of 1883, this version of the California League was no more, and the *Sporting Life* could only remark that its failure was natural, given the tentative status of baseball in the Golden State.<sup>28</sup>

During the 1884 season, the Haverlys became deeply involved in the self-destructiveness of the California League. Its season started late that year; very nearly at the same time eastern leagues were closing. Presumably, the California League intended to incorporate the numerous California ballplayers who had finished their eastern engagements and would return home to spend the winter in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Haverlys thought so, and they played a match game against a team of "Eastern" all-stars. But the other California League clubs and the league's management challenged the Haverlys' action, ostensibly because the "Easterners" wanted more money for their services than the California League was willing to pay. The Haverlys, as a consequence, quit the league, and even though they eventually returned to the fold, the California League season had again been fatally disrupted.<sup>29</sup>

If anything, the 1885 season promised even more uncertainty. At the start, the California League was in disarray, while San Francisco clubs declared that their city had found the cure for baseball fever and they were compelled to seek out-of-town engagements if they were going to make any money at all. Indeed, the so-called "interior" towns of California sustained a lively interest in the sport, and Sacramento was enthralled by baseball for much of the year.<sup>30</sup>

Capital city baseball fans were divided in their loyalties between the hometown Unions and Altas. Both of these nines contained top-notch players who would eventually make names for themselves in professional circles, and a Fourth of July game between them attracted 10,000, an excellent crowd by any standard of the time. By late summer, however, the Altas had emerged clearly as the superior team, and without the competition between the two clubs, Sacramento's fervor for the National Pastime subsided accordingly.<sup>31</sup>

Still, the Altas had other worlds to conquer. As champions of the "interior," it was only fitting

they should take on the champions of San Francisco, the Haverlys, in a three-out-of-five-game series in San Francisco. The victor would enjoy the honor of being California's finest ball club. The Altas were good; the Haverlys were better. In one memorable game during the series, Haverly pitcher William Incell showed the Altas how things were done in the big city by striking out over twenty batters and twirling a no-hitter. But of greater importance was that this series for state supremacy, by generating the kind of intercity rivalry that supported the success of eastern baseball, established baseball for the first time as a popular spectator sport in the San Francisco Bay Area, as crowds of ten thousand now became typical of Sunday ball games in San Francisco's Central Park.<sup>32</sup>

In the spring of 1886, two Bay Area baseball leagues emerged to advance the cause of professionalism. The California League revived yet again, featuring the Haverlys and playing its games near Neptune Park in Alameda. The new rival circuit was imaginatively called the California State League (CSL), and its main venue was San Francisco's Central Park. Both leagues possessed good teams, and ballplayers, but the CSL could not recover from the flight of Oakland's Greenhood and Moran club into the East Bay's California League. The G&Ms formed a natural rivalry with the San Francisco clubs in the California League—particularly the Haverlys. Not only did the G&Ms ultimately topple the Haverlys from the pinnacle of California's baseball world, but their games often were highlighted by keenly competitive pitching duels between Incell and the Oakland club's young southpaw sensation, George Van Haltren. For their time and place, they were the 1880s version of Koufax and Marichal, setting down one befuddled batter after another.<sup>33</sup>

Despite occasional rivals, the East Bay-based California League attained a degree of stability and respectability during the late 1880s. And for many of its followers, especially those in San Francisco, a California League season without Rube Levy would have been a Christmas without St. Nick.

From 1886 to 1888, Rube Levy cheerfully adorned left field for the Haverlys, now managed by a merchant named Henry Harris. In 1889, the Haverlys and another San Francisco nine, the Pioneers, merged to become the San Franciscos. While the team name on the uniform had changed, however,



the left fielder was still Rube Levy, and while he would shift to center field on occasion and even make a few disastrous appearances as a pitcher, he would remain a local hero until the California League collapsed of its own weight in August 1893.

Levy continued to be best known as a fly catcher with few peers. Although Levy hit for a good .322 average in 1885, sports writers complained frequently that "if Reub could but get his batting eye" he would be the greatest of all of California's outfielders. Moreover, his displays of batting power often caught observers by surprise. After watching him slug a double, triple, and a single against Stockton in September 1889, a

*Chronicle* reporter remarked in a patronizing fashion that "Levy is getting to be quite a hitter."<sup>34</sup>

Actually, Levy was a better-than-average hitter among California League players. And while no one would confuse him with present-day Jose Canseco, his batting power in those dead-ball days raised an eye or two. In July 1885, Levy powdered a ball over the fence, which, according to California League rules, should have earned him nothing more than a ground-rule double. The impressed umpire, however, awarded Rube a home run, and since it took place during a match game and not an official league game, the ruling stood. A few years later Rube was not so lucky. In September 1889, Levy became the first man to crush a ball out of the California League's two-year-old Haight Street grounds. The ball went over the right field fence, struck a shell roof, and bounced back into the

---

An aerial view of San Francisco's Central Park, at Market and Eighth streets, 1896. CHS Collection, San Francisco.



playing area. This time, the umpire held Levy to a double.<sup>35</sup>

As an outfielder, Levy could be compared with men possessing major league credentials, such as Ed "Live" Taylor, who had played baseball in San Francisco off and on since the mid-1870s. Moreover, he was a veteran performer for eastern and midwestern minor and major league teams. In 1886, he was one of the brightest stars in the California League, and the *Chronicle* declared that both Taylor and Levy "keep cool and . . . never misjudge a ball."<sup>36</sup>

Another great California League player was the mysterious Henry Moore. Beyond very sketchy details, little is known of Moore. His professional career began in California in the early 1880s. He played a year of minor league ball in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1883, moved on to perform effectively in the major leagues in 1884, and disappeared over time into oblivion. He was an independent, high living player who had little patience for baseball authority. In one game against the Haverlys in 1887, Moore demonstrated impressive outfielding skills. Yet, according to the *Chronicle*, so did "the handsome Rube." Indeed, Moore and Levy gave "as fine an exhibition of fielding as has been seen this season. . . . Verily, verily, they are dandies both."<sup>37</sup>

Rube was also known as an intelligent ballplayer, who rarely resorted to the vicious tactics employed by too many professionals in the 1880s and 1890s. Yet Levy's honesty had its limits. In one game, the *Chronicle* reported, Levy showed that he had "a long head and ought to have his salary raised." Apparently, his tired San Francisco pitcher was getting roughed up by the opposition. At that time, teams did not carry squadrons of relief pitchers to replace a sagging starter. But in this case, Rube thought he could help his teammate when a ball was hit into territory foul of the left field line. Hoping to give his pitcher some time to collect himself, Levy acted puzzled as to the whereabouts of the ball. Since official baseballs were not numerous, the loss of one was a serious matter, and fans, as well as players, were called on to demonstrate patience while the search proceeded. Levy's earnest "searching" was not about to be denied until a helpful spectator pointed out the lost ball to an ungrateful Rube, who chased

him away. After a couple of minutes, the umpire caught on and ordered the outfielder to bring the ball back into play.<sup>38</sup>

If there was a weakness in Levy's game, it was his lack of versatility. He was an outfielder and generally a left fielder at that. Levy did make a few ill-advised trips to the pitcher's box. Unhappily, he stayed long enough actually to do some pitching. Interestingly, Levy's occasional pitching foray was the result of one of the earliest attempts by a manager to play the percentages by calling on a left-hander to pitch against left-handed batters. In 1891, Levy was the only southpaw on the San Francisco team, and Henry Harris thought he could be used effectively against left-handed batters. Levy, too, apparently fancied himself a hurler of great potential. One game against Los Angeles, when both San Francisco's established starters went down with injuries, Harris started Levy, "who always had a sneaking notion that he was a southpaw pitcher." The Los Angeles batters ought to have disabused both Harris and Levy of any fancies, as they piled up so many hits and runs that Harris was forced to remove Levy from the box before a single out was made.<sup>39</sup>

Levy was, by the standards of his time, one of the more angelic professional ballplayers in his off-field behavior. It is possible to say this, because newspaper reportage of the on-and off-field activities of professional baseball players was, compared to most of the first half of the twentieth century, relatively straightforward. Players and management were not lionized to the extent that their human foibles were hidden from the public, except possibly in the area of sexual activities. Thus players and managers who could not behave themselves usually found their antics in the newspapers the next day.

Moreover, there was much in the way of misbehavior to be found, not only in the California League, but in all professional leagues in the late nineteenth century. While of late Jose Canseco has been castigated for failing as a role model for America's youth, it is well to remember that the baseball heroes and their bosses of one hundred years ago were too often intemperate, dishonest, greedy, and ill-tempered. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, there is little evidence





Two March 1893 editions of the *San Francisco Chronicle* poked fun at an older, huskier Levy, "after his first put-out" (left), "working off his corpulency" (center), and "guyed [harassed] by the Kindergarten" (right). Reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU, Hayward.

in Levy's case that he drank excessively, fought with opponents and teammates, swore at fans, or played at any level other than his best.

Levy, however, was no Frank Merriwell. As suggested by the aforementioned "missing ball" incident, he was not above a little cheating. And when Levy disagreed with an umpire's decision, he was less inclined to abuse the arbiter directly than to appeal to the fans for support. The fans, in turn, would most likely tell the umpire interesting things about his heredity. Apparently, Levy also had a penchant for gambling, a weakness shared by countless ballplayers, past and present. After a winter game lost by the Haverlys, it was reported that Rube had gambled away a week's wages betting on his team.<sup>40</sup>

The most striking aspect of Levy's long playing career in San Francisco was his enduring loyalty to the game and its fans. Moreover, this loyalty was reciprocated. While California's professional baseball teams rarely fielded many of the same players from one year to the next, Levy's association with the Haverlys and the San Franciscos was one of the few elements of the game upon which San Francisco fans could rely. No player performed in

California professional circles for a longer stretch in the nineteenth century than Rube, and no other player came even close to playing for a San Francisco professional team as much in the 1880s and 1890s.

The reason for his longevity was not just that he was a good ballplayer. There were others just as good, if not better. But their professional careers in California were interrupted by sojourns to eastern leagues, injuries, declining baseball skills brought on by age or self-indulgence, or just a desire to do something else with their lives. Levy, according to a newspaper article published in 1893, did have offers from the East, but wanted to remain in California. Nevertheless, anti-Semitism existed in organized baseball, as elsewhere in American society, and it is possible that offers reaching Levy were not as numerous or as attractive as those tendered his contemporaries.<sup>41</sup>

Levy's playing days were largely unhindered by injury or distraction. Game in and game out, he appeared in the line-up for the Haverlys, and later the San Franciscos. This writer has come across only one official California League game from 1886 to 1893 that Levy would have missed, had that contest not been called on account of rain. Levy

had failed to suit up that day because he had contracted a nasty case of poison oak.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, what helped make Levy a fixture in California baseball was his seemingly untarnished love for the game and his willingness to maintain his skills with craftsmanlike persistence and ingenuity. One can well imagine that just as he might have taken pride in performing time and again the skilled tasks of a shoe cutter, the old pro Rube Levy genially plied the trade of an expert professional ballplayer.

The baseball fans of San Francisco appreciated all that Levy brought to the game. Especially enamoured of Rube were the local fans making up "Levy's kindergarten," not the easiest of crowds to please. As opposing players no doubt found out, good manners in the heat of battle were not one of their traits. Yet they were Levy's captives until an Oakland left-fielder named Joe McGucken began to win over the Haight Street "kindergarten" in 1893. At the beginning of the 1893 season, Levy



Photograph of the Greenhood and Moran club, the first professional team from Oakland. This group became a major rival of the San Francisco team on which Levy played. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*



made "a most remarkable catch" of a fly off the bat of Oakland's Howard Earle. Levy ran over about "2 acres of sod" to squelch a potential double, but when he doffed his hat after his sensational play, he "was geyed by the kindergarten," now captivated by McGucken.<sup>43</sup>

At the peak of his popularity, in the late 1880s, however, Levy had been one of the idols of San Francisco baseball fans. After hitting a key home run and making a circus catch in a crucial game against Sacramento in 1889, a "Frisco admirer" presented Levy with a "handsome cane." The next season, the *Chronicle* declared that "Rube Levy continues to be the favorite of the kindergarten. He received more applause than any other man on the home team." And at the end of the 1890 season, he was voted the most popular player in the California League, an honor for which he was awarded a diamond badge.<sup>44</sup>

Winning such acclaim in the California League was no small matter. From 1886 through 1893, that organization served as the heartbeat of professional baseball in the Golden State. Rival leagues cropped up here and there but then collapsed in the face of the California League's superior play and command of the most attractive playing grounds. Actually, the name Northern California League would have been more accurate. Until 1892, when Los Angeles joined the league, most of the franchises hailed from San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, Stockton, or San Jose.<sup>45</sup>

Nationally, the California League was an outlaw league until 1889. That is, it had chosen not to abide by the famed "National Agreement," which established organized baseball in the East. While player contracts were inviolable within the league, the California League did not honor the reserve clause, which eastern organized baseball employed to keep ballplayers tied to a club for at least a year after their contracts expired. Moreover, while each club had managers and boards of directors to run things, there was a cooperative spirit among owners and players prevailing in the California League not found in other organized baseball leagues. For example, players divided the gate money evenly. And during the late 1880s, there was a great deal of gate money to be divided. A well-attended game at Haight Street grounds, with a crowd of ten to

twenty thousand, could mean that individual players might bring home one hundred dollars. Nowadays, that figure might be worth a bead of sweat on a baseball star's forehead, but for the time and place, it was a heady amount to earn for a couple of hours of ballplaying.<sup>46</sup>

In 1889, the California League finally accepted the National Agreement, and its clubs began to assume the character of eastern franchises. Players were put on salary and a tighter leash. In the early 1890s, outfielders such as Levy were normally paid about eighty dollars a month. Players who challenged management or showed disrespect for proper decorum were subject to fine, suspension, or dismissal.<sup>47</sup>

The California League had been doing well before it became more businesslike, and it continued to sail along without too many problems until the early 1890s. Most of its franchises were making money. Its pennant races were often tight. And its rosters boasted of many former and future major leaguers, such as Charley Sweeney, Fred Carroll, George Van Haltren, Bill Lange, Jerry Denny, George Stallings, and Clark Griffith.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, in August 1893, the California League collapsed, and serious professional baseball play in the Golden State was not resumed until the turn-of-the-century. Several factors explain the downturn in baseball as a commercial venture in California. The severe depression that hit the state and the rest of the nation in the early 1890s must be held partially accountable for discouraging lower-income people from flocking to the ballparks. At the same time, those middle-class spectators who struggled less to make ends meet were diverted by the rise of popular rival sports—bicycling, prize fighting, and college football. The league's internal problems were also serious. It is possible that the league overextended itself by moving into areas such as San Jose and Los Angeles, which clearly were not ready to support professional baseball teams in the early 1890s. At the same time, league management was divided by personal and regional rivalries and frequently exercised bad judgement.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the demise of the California League, Rube Levy continued to be a part of the destiny of professional baseball in San Francisco and California. He played in the leagues that surfaced and rapidly disappeared in the city during the

mid-1890s. For part of the fall of 1893 he even managed a team briefly. A weak successor to the California League, Levy's team was called the Pioneers. His managerial experience, however, proved to be short and not very sweet. The *Chronicle* contended that "envious persons assert that since Mr. Levy became a manager the scar on the back of his head has rapidly grown wider." Levy soon thereafter left the managing to others.<sup>50</sup>

Late in the summer of 1894, a California Players' League briefly appeared, giving hope that professional baseball would reclaim the sporting public's affection. Ostensibly run by players in the San Francisco Bay Area and the Central Valley, this league had two clubs in San Francisco—the San Franciscos and the Californians. Rube and his brother Dave played with the San Franciscos club. By this time, "the old warhorse of the diamond," as the *Chronicle* referred to Levy, had put on considerable weight. "Rube," the *Chronicle* maintained, "is now the biggest man in the business. . . . While chasing fly balls in his new white uniform, Rube looks like a yacht under full sail, but he does not travel so fast."<sup>51</sup>

When in 1898 the California League began to establish itself again on a solid footing in northern California, Levy was once more called into service, but this time as an umpire. The sight of Levy working as an umpire might well have struck many old-time San Francisco baseball fans as ironic, considering his love of showing up umpires in his playing days. Moreover, his umpiring then, as later, did not give fans total satisfaction. As a result of a game between Sacramento and San Jose in 1899, the San Jose *Mercury* condemned Levy's "rank decisions," even though they were against the Sacramento nine.<sup>52</sup>

The call of the outfield grass was just too much for Levy to resist, as he once again joined his old boss, Henry Harris, to play for the San Franciscos club in 1900. A good crowd of four thousand came to San Francisco's Recreation Park on opening day of the 1900 season, and Levy was hailed as a returning hero. However, toward the end of the season the *Chronicle* harped that the badly slumping veteran ballplayer "cannot hit a slow sailing balloon."<sup>53</sup>

The 1900 season, which was to be Levy's last as a ballplayer, marked a turning point in the destinies

of professional baseball in California. A clearly rejuvenated, again outlaw, California League attracted the services of professionals dissatisfied elsewhere, players like Brooklyn's great pitcher, Jim Hughes—a Sacramento native—and the colorful Rube Waddell. Its success also attracted the ire of eastern organized baseball, which planted a rival league in California cities for the 1903 season. The California League retaliated that season by expanding into the Pacific Northwest, where an allied league of the eastern baseball establishment had previously held sway. The result was the establishment of the venerable Pacific Coast League (PCL), which joined eastern organized baseball in 1904, but maintained a hostile attitude to the eastern baseball establishment for many years to come.<sup>54</sup>

Among the first umpires hired by the new PCL was Rube Levy. In 1903 and 1904, umpire Levy lost some of the popularity he had gained as a player. At a game between San Francisco and Portland late in 1903, Levy was heckled unmercifully by the San Francisco crowd because of his debatable decisions. And such incidents happened often to poor Rube.<sup>55</sup> The cordial relationship between Levy and San Francisco baseball fans had broken down. "Acting as an umpire," the *Chronicle* later maintained in Levy's obituary, "that cordiality, perhaps, was less apparent, but it was only in the heat of the moment that the fans railed at Levy. Such expressions had nothing to do with his popularity as a man or player."<sup>56</sup>

Levy left umpiring and organized baseball behind after the 1904 season. He and his wife Rebecca, who was the sister of another California League professional, Mike Fisher, had moved to Noe Street in San Francisco. The San Francisco City Directory still listed him as a shoe cutter in 1903, but in 1905 he was listed as a bartender. Before the earthquake, Levy moved to Sacramento, where he started his own business. After the 1906 earthquake, Levy returned to San Francisco and opened a cigar store on Fillmore. Levy's return was short-lived, however, for in February 1907 the forty-two-year-old ex-ballplayer and shoecutter died. The *Chronicle* reported he had died of a brain tumor linked to an attack of ptomaine three weeks earlier. The *Examiner* wrote that stomach cancer





Like young boys everywhere across America, late-nineteenth-century Ventura County grammar school ballplayers (above) and Mount Tamalpais Military Academy students (right) harbored dreams of one day joining the big leagues. *Courtesy of Ventura County Museum of History and Art and CHS Collection, San Francisco.*

claimed his life. In any event, Levy's remains were buried at the Jewish Sharon Cemetery in Colma.<sup>57</sup>

Little is known of Rube Levy's private life. He and Rebecca had no children. Of his brothers, Dave played actively on a semi-professional level and even got a chance to play professionally with California League teams, as well as the Pacific Northwest League in 1890. Nevertheless, by occupation a fireman, Dave toiled in the shadows of his well-known brother.<sup>58</sup>

Reuben Levy was a Jewish San Franciscan, a skilled shoemaker, and a veteran, popular minor league ballplayer of the nineteenth century. To a great degree, his life reflected the growing importance of professional baseball in an industrializing, urbanizing America. For Levy, the sport might have provided an escape from the tedium of the modernizing workplace, even while he remained within the industrial, urban setting in which he toiled and lived. For those who played it and watched it, the charm of baseball was undoubtedly both pastoral and premodern, on the one hand, and modern on the other.

In a pastoral grass playing field setting, it was possible for player and spectator alike to forget for an hour or two that lying just beyond the outfield might be slums and factories, men and women on strike, and hoodlums terrorizing Chinese immigrants. Moreover, while the workplace was undergoing industrialization and becoming de-personalized, baseball permitted participants, especially highly-adept players like Levy, to take on the roles of master craftsmen, completely in command of the product of their labor.

Nevertheless, baseball was equally governed by new realities of the modern world. Officially at least, it cherished precise rules and continued efforts to better the game. It honored teamwork and expertise, just as did the official rhetoric of industrial capitalists and bureaucrats. It gloried in accurate record-keeping and quantification. It demanded that a game last a few hours so that the urban workforce could take the time to see it. And, indeed, it would not have existed as a profitable spectator sport unless patronized by an urban population eager for entertainment, and gradually



possessing bigger paychecks and greater leisure time. Just like America, baseball was modern, but not so modern.<sup>59</sup>

Levy himself survives largely in old newspaper accounts of past ballgames. Among his contemporaries there were surely better ballplayers, and his accomplishments on the diamond pale miserably beside twentieth-century San Francisco baseball greats. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to think of Levy as a working man who took the playing of baseball seriously enough to master it as an artisan would his craft, who did not trivialize the sport and demean its followers by failing to perform at his best. The problem with modern sports, as Christopher Lasch has written, is not that they are taken too seriously, but that they are not taken seriously enough. "Games derive their power from the investment of seemingly trivial activity with

serious intent," according to Lasch. "An illusion of reality" is created in sports, he maintains, and "in this way the game becomes a representation of life," invested with pride, public responsiveness, purposefulness, and wonderment.<sup>60</sup> In turn-of-the-century San Francisco, Rube Levy performed the drama of baseball in its finest sense.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 234.

Joel Franks holds a Ph.D. from the Program in Comparative Culture, University of California, Irvine. Currently teaching history and cultural pluralism at San Jose State University, he is researching and publishing in the area of sports and cultural diversity in California.



# MEN ON THE ROAD:

## Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California

*by Gregory R. Woirol*

A 1917 survey of national labor conditions concluded that in the United States "probably no more striking example of extremely seasonal industries exists than in California." The report went on to claim that "the seasonal irregularity of employment is so great that there has grown up a large class of migratory homeless laborers." According to another observer at the time, "there is a migratory class of labor in California because there must be. Without them the industries on which California's fame depends could not exist." A 1915 article on casual labor in the state estimated there were "150,000 migratory workers employed in the summer," or between ten percent and fifteen percent of the total California labor force. Corroborating the importance of seasonal, migratory labor in many industries, census and state labor department data from the time show that during the week ending March 23, 1912, 253 people were employed in fruit and vegetable canneries in the state, while 13,831 were employed the week ending August 17. In January 1909, 14,401 men and women were working in the lumber industries of California, while in July there were 28,986 employees in the same plants. Manufacturing employed 94,252 people in February 1909 and 132,280 in September. In agriculture, from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand workers were needed from August 1 to December 1 each year just to pick raisin grapes.<sup>1</sup>

All observers agreed that the importance in California of agriculture, lumbering, construction,

canning, and associated seasonal industries was the critical factor in creating the large itinerant labor force. But who were the people who held these jobs? What was their background? Why were they "on the road"? These questions had been asked in the United States since the first appearance of a large floating labor class in the years after the Civil War. Several individuals had written accounts of firsthand experiences on the road, and a few surveys of the tramping population had been made in the East and Mid-West. But the characteristics of the migrant population in the state that was "distinctively the home of the itinerant" were almost unknown.<sup>2</sup>

The public attention given to the Wheatland riot of August 1913 and the march of Kelley's army of the unemployed in March 1914 created reasons for the state government to investigate the living and working conditions of itinerant labor in California. As a result of these events, according to one investigator, "there began such a widespread and agitated discussion of the condition of the state's casual workers, that the two years of 1913 and 1914 will be known in western labor history as the 'period of the migratory worker.'" Under orders from Governor Hiram Johnson, the newly formed California Commission of Immigration and Housing organized the collection of facts about migrant and casual workers in the state. Agents were hired to gather data and write reports that provided the first detailed information about men on the road in California.<sup>3</sup>



This photo, by C.C. Pierce, ca. early 1900s, perhaps near Napa, shows a tranquil resignation that seems remarkable, given the itinerants' usually-inescapable living conditions of poverty, illness, and insecurity. *Courtesy Ticolor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

Frederick C. Mills was one of the agents hired by the Immigration Commission. A recent University of California, Berkeley, graduate, Mills's first assignment was to go out on the road disguised as a migrant worker. He spent two months in the summer of 1914 traveling in the Central Valley between Fresno and Redding, pausing to investigate working conditions in orange packing and picking, a Sierra

lumber camp, and on a road construction crew. He wrote five reports for the commission based on his findings. While on his journey, he kept a daily journal recording his experiences. Mills was impressed by the large numbers of men living by temporary jobs and traveling the highways and railroads of the Central Valley. He talked with dozens of these itinerants and wrote about these encounters in his journal:<sup>4</sup>





Harvesting grain at the Patton Ranch in the San Fernando Valley, 1890. Many itinerants worked the wheat harvests during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.  
*Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

May 25 [1914]—6:30 P.M. [in Lindsay]

The number of vagrants who hang around the tracks and depot here [in Lindsay] is quite large, considering the size of the place. In the middle of the afternoon today I counted 14 in two groups near the depot. Local people say they will not work, and that is probably true, for there is plenty to do at this season in the orange groves and packinghouses. A short time ago the marshal drove a horde of them out of town, I am told.

June 1—7 P.M. [in Sanger]

After lunch I sauntered down the track leaving my roll of blankets in the restaurant. Passed greetings with a group of three in a jungle about 200 yards out, introducing myself by asking "what was doing," the by-word of hoboland, and joined

them. It developed that two of them were the same ones I had seen in the Jungle near Reedley in the morning. . . .

The tramp problem appears to be largely that of seasonal, casual work. All so-called "hoboes" work 2 or 3 days for a stake and then move on. The great proportion of seasonal work is done by this class. Only a small class of hobos are yeggs [criminals]. —All the rest do odd jobs, working at many things in the course of a year.

Stockton—June 22, 10 A.M.

After eating a lunch I bought a newspaper (this was Sunday) and read it on the courthouse lawn, surrounded by an uncounted multitude of other bums of various sorts, most of them, I judged, being town bums. Stockton has more unemployed



Migratory workers at the Durst hop ranch in Yuba County, August 1913, one day before the Wheatland Riot. Hundreds of unemployed workers arrived at the ranch to find that the jobs advertised were not really available, and housing conditions were disgraceful. The ensuing riot led to four deaths and numerous injuries and finally to the establishment of the Commission on Immigration to gather statistics and information on the itinerant population. *Courtesy Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.*



than any other town I have yet visited, and many more are in evidence than in the larger cities. Every public lounging place is covered with them, not only on Sundays, for I saw the same crowd the following day. They are as thick as peas near the railroad tracks. The traveling class of tramps, stiffs, etc, are thick also, doubtless because of the central position of Stockton on all the railroad lines. Typical hobos without rolls, countless bums with rolls on their backs are seen around the stations and on every street. A more striking and palpable instance than this daily sight in Stockton of the industrial maladjustment or whatever it may be that is called the unemployment problem would be difficult to find.

Chico—June 28th, 9 A.M.

Comparatively few bums carry blankets, flopping where and how they can. Often they travel all night, and doze in the jungles in the day time. This method of sleeping, irregular, unprotected, uncovered, must inevitably weaken their vitality. One young man told me that he didn't get very cold till four in the morning. He wore one shirt, loose overalls, shoes, socks, hat, coat, nothing else.

The number of them who seem to have the rasping, wheezing cough is appallingly large. The proportion of consumptives among them must be large.

Redding—July 21

A hobo, about 45, a miner, he said, tried to hook up with me. He had some money, and offered to buy a jungle feed, or treat me to a meal. It is the constant craving for human company, for friends, that is so strong among the floating class. Denied wives, or families, or circles of sympathetic friends, this feeling can only be partially satisfied thru the institution of "partners." Most men hate to travel alone on the road. This man was quite intelligent. Told me of his family and of the success of his brothers. He discussed thoughtfully the condition of men on the road, unmarried, drifting, miserable. Tho he was friendly and generous, I was forced to stay away from him, as I could not travel with anyone.

"General" Charles T. Kelley addresses his "army" of migratory and unskilled laborers in San Francisco, February 1914. *Courtesy Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.*





The interior of an orange packing house in Ontario, California, ca. 1905. Early packing houses and canneries were one of few industries that employed significant numbers of women as well as men. Many itinerant men sought seasonal labor in fruit packing houses and canneries. *Courtesy Ticolor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

Mills met a wide variety of individuals on the road, but found that several common features characterized the itinerant population. Almost all the migrants he met were men, almost all were unmarried, they generally traveled alone or with a single partner, there was a surprising range of ages (although most were young), and ill-health was common. He found exceptions to these generalizations in particular seasonal industries. In the orange industry, for example, he met women who moved each year from southern California to work in Central Valley packing sheds, and he found that orange

packers often were married. There were also groups of immigrant workers who traveled as work gangs. But the generalizations about sex, marital status, traveling companions, age, and health held for the majority of the itinerants Mills met in the Central Valley.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these personal characteristics, Mills concluded that there was a dynamic element to itinerancy that affected almost all men on the road. He became convinced that the rigors of a life of irregular work and travel between jobs created pressures on stable, reliable workers to degenerate into casual laborers. The following is a sample of his comments:

Stockton—June 22, 10 A.M.

This man, other than as regards small, trifling jobs, was of the "unemployable" type. He could not have stood a hard day's work. By his conversation, it appeared that he had been living in this



migratory way practically all his life, first as a tramp royal when a young man, and now as a derelict "blanket stiff," of little or no productive value in the world, soon to be entirely a social burden. 'Tis a way of life they all must go.

Stockton—June 23d, 9 A.M.

This boy was a most engaging youth, intelligent, well-spoken, handsome. A type of the "road-kid," with no family ties, looking for adventure. May kind providence save him from the life he is starting on.

Stockton—June 23d, 2:30 P.M.

Both were broke. I told them where to get a freight. These two represent the result of the continuous pressure that is forcing the less fit of the steady workers out into the army of the itinerants and casuals. A large proportion of this shiftless army is made up of such as these, forced by hard times and pressure both of numbers and of superior skill and ability out of the ranks of the steadily employed.

Marysville—June 26th, 4:30 P.M.

These are types of men who are forced into itinerant life perhaps thru some trouble. Soon they would learn to travel by freight and passengers, to bum meals and money, if they stayed with it for a few more weeks, and then they would be tightly tied to the life.

After his journey, Mills summarized his observations of the state's itinerant population. He did this only in a rough way because he believed that "all the various types on the road shade off by minute degrees into each other." He thought that a distinction could be made "between the migratories who are essentially workers and those who are essentially vagrants," but concluded that this distinction was of limited value because it "ignores the successive steps by which an ambitious worker may degenerate into the lowest derelict. This constant pressure downwards, the constant lowering of standards which is inseparable from life on the road, is probably its most evil feature." Keeping the dynamics of a migratory life in mind, Mills found that in the itinerant population:<sup>6</sup>

there are workers, criminals, adventurers, runaway boys, derelicts. The class includes construction laborers, farm-hands, fruit pickers, lumber-jacks—thousands of society's hewers of wood and drawers of water. And riding with them on the trains will be yeggs and dope fiends and perverts of all types. . . . Some are provincial and local, road duplicates of the rural type whom the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] love to call "scissor-bills." Some are world travelers, sailors, miners, soldiers, who have seen life in the varying garbs of the five nations.<sup>7</sup>

Given the diversity of men on the road, Mills concluded that:

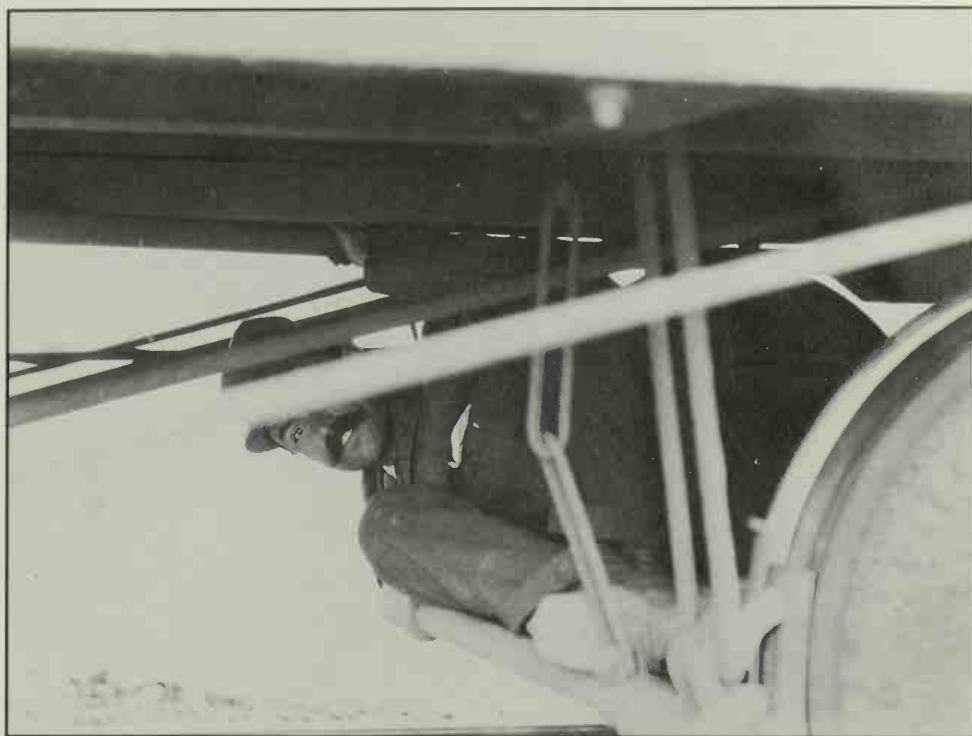
generalization in regard to the types found on the road is difficult. Various types can be distinguished by applying different criteria. As concerns the time spent annually on the road the essentially itinerant class shades off with many gradations into the class made up of those who are essentially laborers. As to methods of traveling, there are the "bundle stiffs" who walk, the class who ride freight trains, and the tramp royal type whose means of transportation are mostly passenger trains. The lines of cleavage here are again indistinct. Then there are those who support themselves by work of various kinds, those who bum or beg meals and money, enough to live on, and the yegg or criminal class who steal the means of support.

Again, the criterion of origin may be applied. Love of adventure as a moving force is comparatively unimportant. Your "for to admire" type is restricted to a relatively few young fellows who either escape from the life or fall into other classes sooner or later. Of far greater importance is the whip of economic necessity. The existence of such a class is essential under the present organization of industry on a seasonal, irregular basis. As to the individual make-up of this necessary army the determining factor may be one of many causes—physical or mental unfitness, pressure of circumstances, environment. . . . My observations lead me to believe that there is a very large element, perhaps 50% of the casuals, who have been from the beginning nothing but what they now are. They have adopted this mode of life either willingly or with little or no resistance to the pressure of environment & of chance.

As to the numbers on the road constantly, throughout the State, or the numbers who resort to this migratory life between periods of work, it is impossible to reach an approximation. Only can it be said that there is a great shifting army of them, tramping, riding, back and forth, over the State. Several times I have counted from 40 to 60 on a single freight train; often as many as 20 will be stowed away on a fast passenger. Every train bears them; every road sees the weary blanket stiff; every railroad town has its "jungles," frequented by an ever-flowing stream of itinerants.<sup>8</sup>

In this summary, Mills presented his conclusions about the causes for men to be on the road. According to Mills, the "whip of economic necessity" was the main factor behind the existence of the large itinerant class in the state. In his words, "the constitution of California industry demands an immense reserve labor force of migratory, seasonal workers." This was not the popular explanation of the time. The conventional wisdom was that itinerants were on the road because of personal choice. In this view, it was personal failings that led to a life of temporary, transient work. Mills

Free, if dangerous, transportation awaited the daring California freight train rider in this C. C. Pierce photograph taken early in this century. Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.



did not deny the existence of this factor (included as general shiftlessness in his analysis), nor did he deny that love of adventure could be a motivation. He acknowledged that personal factors such as a lack of skills, mental deficiencies, and the pressure of circumstances could lead men to take to a life on the road, but the ultimate cause in almost every case was the "economic necessity" of a California economy based on the existence of a vast number of temporary, seasonal jobs.<sup>9</sup>

Mills did not pursue the question of why the California economy had this particular structure. If he had, he could have developed a more complete analysis of itinerant labor. A careful examination of the factors creating the enormous number of men on the road would have required investigation of the process of national industrialization, contemporary industrial hiring practices, and the impact of unrestricted immigration. In making such an analysis, later writers confirmed Mills's insight that basic economic forces were the cause of the itinerant labor problem.<sup>10</sup>

Mills's conclusions were based on his firsthand experiences among the itinerant population. Carleton Parker, the chief investigator for the Immigration Commission, had

a wider range of sources available. He directed commission field agents in their collection of data and wrote summary reports based on their findings. The most important of these reports with respect to the characteristics of men on the road was based on 222 life histories of itinerants collected by Immigration Commission agents.<sup>11</sup>

The portrait of the California itinerant population in this late-1914 report confirmed many of Mills's generalizations while adding important details. The features of the itinerant population that stand out in the life-history statistics include the following:<sup>12</sup>

1. All of the itinerants interviewed were men.
2. As Mills had found, there was a wide range of ages among men on the road, with the majority between twenty and forty. The age range in the life-history data was from sixteen to over sixty-five, with only 2.3 percent under twenty-one and 19.1 percent over forty. Almost a majority, 44.6 percent, were from twenty-one to thirty.
3. The majority of the men were unmarried. In the sample, 76.2 percent were unmarried and 4 percent were widowed, divorced, or not living with their wives. The solitary and isolated nature of the life was emphasized by the fact that only 11.7 percent of the men said they were regularly visiting





The orange industry in southern California, illustrated in this photograph, ca. 1900, offered jobs to seasonal workers, who usually spent only a few weeks in one area before moving on. *Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

relatives, only 36 percent said they were writing to relatives, and only 41 percent said they were "maintaining relations."

4. The number of foreign-born (51.6 percent) and American-born (48.4 percent) was approximately even. There were twenty-four nations represented among the foreign born, with the dominant countries being Ireland (15), Sweden (14), and Germany (12). Most of the foreign-born came from northern Europe. The only significant nationality from southern or eastern Europe was Italian (9). Many of the foreign-born, however, had been in the United States for some time (55.5 percent for over five

years). As a result, the percentage of U.S. citizens in the sample was 61.3 percent.

5. Of those interviewed, 41.5 percent had been casual laborers for less than six years. These were the young recruits to itinerant life that Mills commented on. Mills had argued that the life, once lived for any length of time, became a habit that was hard to break. The fact that almost 60 percent of the men had been casual laborers for over six years and 27.6 percent had been part of the life for over ten years supported this position. The permanence of the life also was indicated by the fact that 25.2 percent of those interviewed planned to continue "floating" and 42.3 percent had no plans for the future. Only 28 percent were looking for steady work.

6. Mills's claim that itinerants lived by working a never-ending cycle of temporary, low-paying, unskilled jobs also was confirmed by the data. Under the category "Nature of last regular job," sixty-one different types of jobs were listed, only

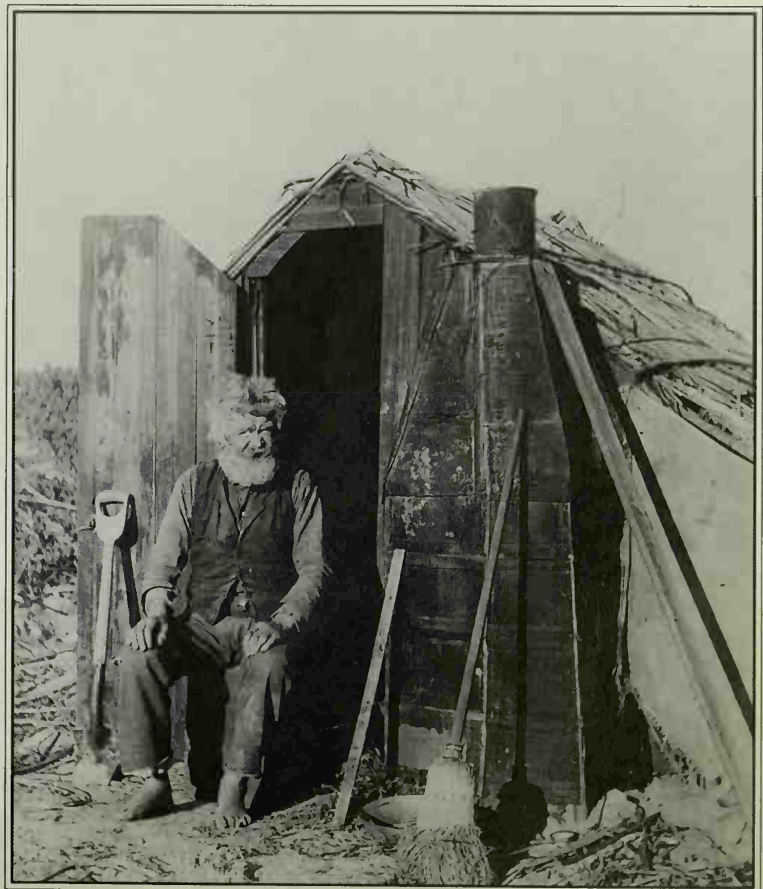
a small minority of which could be classified as skilled. Under "Work at which earnings were made," sixty-six types of jobs were listed, and under "First jobs" fifty-six types of jobs were listed, again mostly unskilled. The fact that 52.3 percent of the men had received no training to qualify them for their first job (only 0.4 percent indicated they had school training for their first job), affirmed the low skill level of itinerants, as did the fact that 70.8 percent of the men reported earnings per day on their last regular job of under three dollars. The temporary nature of the work was suggested by the facts that 25.1 percent of the last jobs held lasted less than a month (40.9 percent less than three months, 54.9 percent less than six months) and that 79.9 percent of the men worked less than ten months in the past year.

7. Mills spent part of his trip attempting to determine the impact of the Industrial Workers of the World (iww) on the itinerant class. He found that only a few casual laborers were members of the iww. Commission data confirmed this impression

with its finding that only 8.1 percent of those interviewed belonged to or had belonged to the iww. This figure apparently far understated the degree of itinerant sympathy with iww views, however. Under the category "Attitude on political and economic questions," the survey classified 36.9 percent of the sample as "Radical," and added the important footnote that "only those are classed as 'Radical' who believe in complete destruction, either through political or direct action, of the present social system." This was one of the most dramatic findings of the study. The iww may not have had much of an impact in terms of formal organization of itinerants, but the hardships of a life of irregular work were reflected in attitudes sympathetic to the iww message. As would be expected from this result, unions in general received a favorable reaction by itinerants (42.7 percent belonged to unions other than the iww).

8. Mills often referred to the effect of a life on the road on the health of workers. The commission found that the majority of the men (54.9 percent)

An old man sits in front of his shack at Pismo Beach on California's central coast, early 1900s. Compared to the labor and hobo camps in which most migrants lived, this rudimentary dwelling provided privacy, security, and independence. The chimney and ready display of shovel and broom suggest the man's pride and relatively stable residence. *Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*







Weighing and sacking sugar beets at Pacific Sugar, Visalia, ca. 1900. *Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

were in fair to bad physical condition and 21.4 percent were unclean in their clothes or person when interviewed. Over a quarter of the men (25.6 percent) admitted to a jail record and 2.7 percent admitted to being users of drugs such as opium and cocaine (only 5 percent of the men did not use alcohol, tobacco, or drugs of some kind).

In a second report, also published in late 1914, Parker summarized the commission's investigations of migrant labor camps. Mills had blamed the general ill health of itinerants on the difficulties of a life on the road. The report on labor camps showed that unsafe job conditions often had just as bad an effect on a worker's health. According to the report, of 801 camps inspected, 31 percent were classified as bad and 38 percent as fair by commission inspectors. Over half (54 percent) had no toilets or filthy toilets, 36 percent had no screening on kitchen and dining areas, and 40 percent had no bathing facilities.<sup>13</sup>

In a later article, Parker added two further characteristics of the itinerant population in California. According to Parker, "the Department of Education of Stanford University tested two hundred unemployed of the migratory labor class and almost an even 25 percent were found 'feeble-minded.' Binet tests made in 1913 by the Economic Department of Reed College, Portland, covering 107 cases taken from the unemployed army showed the percentage of feeble-minded to be 26." The findings of these tests were consistent with Mills's impression that many men were forced out on the road because they were not able to meet employer standards for keeping a stable job. It was the weakest and least able who fell into the itinerant pool under the "whip of economic necessity" and created a large seasonal laboring class.<sup>14</sup>

A second characteristic thought that Parker applied to some itinerants was homosexuality. "A California state official of long technical experience, whose duties bring him in direct contact with the young vagrant," he reported, "believes that he has the data to prove a widespread practice of homosexuality among the migratory laborers." Although he did not provide statistics, Parker added that "investigation reports of a most dependable and technical nature show that in California lumber camps [homosexuality] within the entire group is as developed and recognized as the well-known similar practice in prisons and reformatories." Although Mills did not discuss the sex life of the men he was observing, in two places he added a note in his journal indicating that he intended to comment on the subject. What Mills meant to say is not known, but it is apparent that he was aware

of the situation Parker later described. No estimates exist from the time of the percentage of migratory workers involved in homosexual practice. Nels Anderson, in a study of hobo life in the Midwest in the early 1920s, found that "all studies indicate that homosexual practices among homeless men are widespread. They are especially prevalent among men on the road, among whom there is a tendency to idealize and justify the practice." But Anderson concluded that "homosexuality is not more common among tramps than among other one-sex groups," and referred to prisons, the navy, and the merchant marine as comparison populations. The contemporary observations of Parker, Mills, and Anderson that homosexuality was widespread among itinerants have been generally supported by recent studies.<sup>15</sup>

Parker later summarized his own views about the forces creating the large number of men on the road. He agreed with Mills that the structure of the economy was the critical factor, and also supported Mills's contention that a life of itinerant work created pressures on individuals to degenerate as workers. According to Parker:

The casual migratory laborers are the finished product of an economic environment which seems cruelly efficient in turning out human beings modeled after all the standards which society abhors. The history of the migratory workers shows that starting with the long hours and dreary winters of their farms they ran away from, or the sour-smelling bunk-houses in a coal village, through their character-debasing experience with the drifting "hire-and-fire" life in the industries, on to the vicious social and economic life of the winter unemployed, their training predetermined but one outcome, and the environment produced its type.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time that the Immigration Commission was studying itinerant labor in California, the United States Commission on Industrial Relations was conducting a broad investigation of labor relations nationwide. As part of its work, the Industrial Relations Commission ordered Peter Speek, one of its principle investigators, to study itinerant labor issues. Using as his source over one thousand personal interviews with migrant workers across the country, Speek's conclusions, incorporated in a report published in mid-1915, supported those of Mills and Parker. His best guess "put the actual number of the lowest grades described—floaters and down-and-outs—somewhere about five million" in the United States. This made the number of itinerant workers between ten percent and fifteen percent of the total labor force, a figure close to Parker's estimate for



California. Equally important to Speek was "the impression. . . that the numbers of these laborers, and especially the men of the down-and-out type, are increasing more rapidly than are the other classes of population in the country." His investigation also led him to conclude, as did Mills and Parker, that "an increasingly large number of them go downward, instead of upward. Meeting failure after failure, their ambitions and hopes go to pieces, and they gradually sink lower and lower into the ranks of migratory and casual laborers." Speek presented a lengthy account of the life of a typical native-born American floating laborer, starting from boyhood on a farm, through the decline into itinerancy, and ending with a death as tragic "human-wreckage." This was not an actual case history, but a composite based on hundreds of personal interviews with migrant workers. Speek followed this story with similar discussions of unskilled itinerant workers who had started as child laborers, immigrants, skilled workers who had lost their trades due to technological change, and professionals who had failed in their callings. The stories Speek told of failure and personal decline were a powerful indictment of a society that provided almost no support for the economically disadvantaged.<sup>17</sup>

Further support for California Immigration Commission findings can be found in other contemporary surveys of the tramping population. These studies indicate that the characteristics of California itinerants were similar to those elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> Two earlier surveys provided similar information. A sample of 644 men arrested for vagrancy in Philadelphia in 1874 and 1875 had found that 40 percent were under thirty, about 60 percent had been born in the United States, and only a few listed professional or white-collar occupations. An early 1890s survey of tramps and hoboes found that "an overwhelming proportion were single men who had never been married; . . . most were under forty years of age, with approximately 5 percent under twenty; most were white northerners; most were confessed heavy drinkers or alcoholics."<sup>19</sup>

The work of the California Commission of Immi-

gration and Housing was an important part of the process of uncovering the basic facts about itinerancy in the United States. At the time, most investigators believed that the number of migratory laborers was rising rapidly. In the decades ahead, however, the relative importance of tramping workers in the national economic structure declined. There was less need for workers to tramp because of the evolution of the economy away from dependence on primary industries as major employers, population growth that provided local workers for seasonal jobs, and the eventual creation of programs such as social security, unemployment insurance, and welfare benefits. The number of people on the road in the United States soared again during the 1930s, but conditions then were different. The 1930s migrants were economic refugees and not a part of the regular work force in a normally operating economy, as had been the vast number of itinerants on the road in the fifty-year period after the Civil War. Although coming near the end of the period when large numbers of men were on the road, the details about the itinerant population in California provided by the studies of the Immigration Commission provide important information about a group of workers who played a critical role in the history of the United States economy.<sup>20</sup> CHS

---

*See notes beginning on page 235.*

*Gregory Woirol is Professor of Economics at Whittier College. He received his Ph.D. in economics from the University of California, Berkeley, and his B.A. from the University of Washington. His research interests are in U.S. labor history, and his publications in that area have appeared in such journals as California History, Labor History, Southern California Quarterly, and Pacific Northwest Quarterly.*



One area of Frederick Mills's investigation of working conditions in California centered on a Sierra lumber camp, probably very much like the one pictured here. This pre-World War II photograph of loggers on Chowchilla Mountain, Madera County, shows the typical, rustic hillside cabins that sheltered the men. Near the center of this photo, workers are seen gathering outside the meal hall. *Courtesy Harry Pidgeon Collection, Department of Special Collections, Henry Madden Library, California State University, Fresno.*



# COMMUNICATIONS

## CALIFORNIA MISSION INDIANS: TWO PERSPECTIVES



Indian leader Pedro Pablo and his headmen attending a meeting on tribal affairs called in 1885 by the federal Indian Bureau at San Antonio de Pala, *asistencia* [branch] of Mission San Luis Rey, located at the foot of Mt. Palomar northeast of San Diego. These descendants of the mission Indians were the contemporaries of Lorenzo Asisara. Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.

### EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The Fall 1989 issue of *California History* included a document translated, edited, and introduced by Edward D. Castillo: "The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The Narrative of Lorenzo Asisara." A former Indian neophyte at Mission Santa Cruz, Asisara gave the narrative orally in 1877 to a historian employed by H. H. Bancroft during the gathering of information for Bancroft's famous multi-volume history

of California. Based on the oral tradition he said he received from his father, who was one of the conspirators in the 1812 assassination of Padre Quintana by mission Indians, Asisara's narrative raises numerous issues important to understanding the impact of Spanish missionization on the Indians of California. The publication of Asisara's narrative elicited a communication to the editor from Professor Doyce Nunis and a response to Nunis's critique by Professor Castillo. In view of the importance of the subject, both communications are published below.

## COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR NUNIS

### TO THE EDITOR:

In the Fall 1989 issue of *California History*, Edward Castillo presented an article under the alluring title, "The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians at Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The Narrative of Lorenzo Asisara."<sup>1</sup> This was based on a dictation taken down in 1877 by Thomas Savage for Hubert H. Bancroft. For readers not familiar with the Asisara dictation, it should be pointed out that the document has been known for many years. It certainly is not new nor a recent discovery. Bancroft even dismissed the Asisara dictation as among those sources that "give many absurdly inaccurate details which it is unnecessary to reproduce."<sup>2</sup> In addition, Bancroft published the first translation of the dictation in his *California Pastoral*.<sup>3</sup> Like Bancroft, most historians, with ample justification, have found the document flawed in the extreme, and therefore have not used it as a source worthy of being treated as sound and reliable historical evidence. Unfortunately, Castillo compounds Asisara's flawed narrative by trying to bolster its reliability with occasional historical misinformation. To provide a context for Asisara's account of the murder of Quintana, Castillo overstates the amount of revolutionary action by mission Indians, as well as misinterprets the evidence. For example, Castillo writes: "In 1801 soldiers surrounded the neophyte rancheria at Mission San Carlos and arrested three Indians for plotting to kill the padre," citing Bancroft's *History of California*.<sup>4</sup> The latter actually reads: "At the mission of San Carlos there were rumors current in 1801 of a plot formed by the Indians to kill Father Vinals and burn the buildings. The rancheria was accordingly surrounded and all the Indians were captured; but, as was usually the case in such alarms, the rumors proved to have no foundation, having been circulated by a neophyte for purposes of revenge."<sup>5</sup>

Next, Castillo writes: "That same year [1801] three missionaries were poisoned by the neophytes at Mission San Miguel; one missionary died."<sup>6</sup> Again, the source is Bancroft, the text of which reads:

At San Miguel. . . . It was in February 1801 that Cancier and Martin were attacked by violent pains in the stomach, supposed, to have been the result of poisoning by the neophytes. These two friars recovered their health, but Father Pujol who came down from San Carlos to relieve the sick missionaries, died from a similar attack. . . . There is no special lack of recorded information respecting this event. But from all that was written on the subject we can gather nothing beyond the fact that the friars were ill; that poisoning was suspected; that a small military force was sent down to investigate, and that three Indians were arrested.<sup>7</sup>

Further, Bancroft reads: "Pujol died in 1801, under circumstances indicative of poisoning." "His death was witnessed [at San Antonio] by [five persons and Dr. Morelos] . . . . It was intended to have a post-mortem examination, but the body was in such a condition that it was not practicable." When the friar's body was

later transplanted to another burial site, "an examination was made and the intestines found to be black and putrid."<sup>8</sup>

Stricken toward the end of February, the friar was returned to his own mission on February 27, already seriously ill.<sup>9</sup> He "suffered excruciating pains in the intestines" as the malady became more acute.<sup>10</sup> Pujol's death on March 15, 1801, was pathetic. It was described thusly: "the force of the fever drove him unconscious nor did he recover consciousness, convulsions and horrible spasms shaking the body all over with pains, especially in the intestines which caused him to cry out aloud."<sup>11</sup>

Contrary to Bancroft, an autopsy was performed the afternoon of Pujol's death "in the presence of witnesses to determine, if possible, if poison was the cause of death." Undertaken by Dr. Juan de Dios Morelos, the government physician, the autopsy was only able to ascertain "that the inside [of the abdomen] was entirely rotten and gangrened, for the stench which came out left no room for more investigation."<sup>12</sup>

One authority has pointed out that in the San Miguel case that poisoning "was not caused by the Indians but rather because of the fact that [the friars] . . . had drunk some mescal from a copper container lined with tin," a theory that was concurred in by Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, father president of the California missions.<sup>13</sup> A more recent conclusion finds that "It was not copper or tin that contaminated the mescal but lead." Lead residue was commonplace in alcoholic beverages of that day since it was widely used in the processing and storage of spirits.<sup>14</sup> The clues presented here make possible a more informed diagnosis. Pujol's malady resulted from drinking contaminated mescal, which provoked considerable nausea. This, in turn, caused a bowel strangulation, or more likely the rupture of an already diseased appendix. Any of these would manifest itself by dreadful pain, high fever, and convulsions, all symptoms detailed by eyewitnesses and confirmed by the autopsical findings. This is a classic description of general peritonitis.<sup>15</sup>

In another instance, Castillo writes: "A San Diego neophyte fatally poisoned Padre Panto for his extreme cruelty."<sup>16</sup> In another essay, he phrased it in this way: "Padre Panto was given a lethal dose of poison by his personal cook. The terrified neophyte admitted killing the priest to escape the padre's intolerable beatings."<sup>17</sup> Again, Bancroft is the source of this statement (though an erroneous page reference is cited, the subject is treated elsewhere).<sup>18</sup>

Bancroft recounts the affair as follows:

Panto was a rigorous disciplinarian and severe in his punishments. One evening in November 1811 his soup was poisoned, causing vomiting. His cook Nazario was arrested and admitted having put the 'yerba,' powdered *cuchasquelai*, in the soup with a view to escape the



padre's intolerable floggings, having received in succession fifty, twenty-five, twenty-four, and twenty-five lashings in the twenty-four hours preceding his attempted revenge. There is much reason to suppose that the friar's death on June 30th [1812] was attributable to the poisoning.<sup>19</sup>

In the extracted transcript of the Nazario trial before Judge Domingo Carrillo, nowhere does the word cruelty appear. José María Pico, who defended the accused, argued that Nazario should be "given his liberty," since "the herb was not poisonous enough to cause death, since it was nothing more but bitter broom (*ascoba amarga*) . . . [and] consideration should be given to the desperation that overcame him in view of the continual chastisements by whipping that Padre Panto had been giving him."<sup>20</sup> As for Padre Panto, he at first refused to bring charges or testify against Nazario for he knew that if convicted, the neophyte's felony was a capital crime. Only when his superior ordered him to cooperate, with the proviso that the accused, if convicted, would not be sentenced to death, did Panto bear witness.<sup>21</sup>

As for Padre Panto, he testified, "Oh, yes, he had given him [Nazario] some lashes, for which he had taken offense. He said that he had not noticed anything before; on the contrary, he had taken him for a pacific and calm Indian. As for the whippings, he said yes, he had punished him." Sergeant Mariano Mercado of Mission San Diego confirmed what the padre said, adding that "he *had* heard that he [Nazario] had been given 25 lashes, but he did not think that for such a short punishment he should have held a grudge against the said padre." The sergeant's testimony was the only one offered that touched on the number of supposed lashes given the cook.<sup>22</sup>

One legal point must be underscored in respect to meting out punishment to neophytes by the mission padres. Franciscan policy was clear on this subject. If punishment was warranted, "The limit allowed for castigating an Indian was from twelve to twenty-five [*azotes*] and then only once . . . this was a regulation no missionary would have dared to disregard."<sup>23</sup>

From a purely medical point of view, Padre Panto did not die until *seven and half months* after the food tampering by his cook. At the time of the incident, the padre "noticed a kind of powder, between white and brown [in color] and very burning and bitter [in taste] in the soup; that, 'partly because of its effects and partly from anxiety, it caused him considerable nausea and, after drinking a glass of warm water, [provoked] strong vomiting that continued for a long half hour.'"<sup>24</sup> Thus the friar expelled the entire contents of his stomach by vomiting immediately, a standard therapeutic procedure in such cases, either voluntary or induced. Obviously, the friar died of other causes; in no way can his death be attributed to a non-fatal dose of a non-poisonous plant ingested seven and a half months prior to his demise. In this instance, Bancroft is in error in suggesting otherwise, a mistake which has plagued other historians who have followed his summation of the case

without returning to the original source, the surviving trial transcript.<sup>25</sup>

As for the dictation by Lorenzo Asisara, it is quite remarkable that a fifty-seven-year-old man could so vividly recall events as detailed to him by his father (and perhaps others?), events in which he had no personal involvement, which took place sixty-four years before being recorded, even down to verbatim conversations. Yet, from the outset of the dictation, the reader finds the first caution in the erroneous introductory sentence: "The following story was told me by my father in 1818." Castillo in a note points out that "Lorenzo's date is undoubtedly wrong," and then cites the mission baptismal record which proves the informant was born in 1820.<sup>26</sup>

Other than the deep-seated bias held by Asisara against the "Spanish Padres," one particular point in his narrative stands out rather quickly as a blatant falsehood: Asisara's reference to "silver," "money," and "gold and silver," and in one place, "the colored silver [that is the name Indians gave to gold]." <sup>27</sup> For the source to support this alleged magnificent, precious treasure, which Asisara says the Indians divided as part of the fruits of their murder of Quintana, Castillo cites the work of Robert Archibald, *The Economic Aspects of the California Missions*.<sup>28</sup> In a note to Asisara's dictation, Castillo writes further on this subject:

The sources for this gold and silver were numerous and included the sale of surplus grain and manufactured goods, as well as the renting out of native laborers to the residents of the nearby pueblo of Branciforte. After 1810 a widespread and illegal clandestine trade with foreign vessels provided a substantial income for the Santa Cruz missionaries. This trade included grain, livestock, tallow, cattle hides, and other pelts, all, of course, procured by forced Indian labor.<sup>29</sup>

Not to protract the discussion of this absurd point, suffice it to say that precious metals, least of all gold, since silver was the main coin in circulation, were virtually unknown in California commerce until the late 1820s, and even then very infrequently. Never has such a treasure been recorded in the history of Hispanic California. Asisara's fantasy in this respect is totally without foundation in fact and cannot be substantiated with solid evidence. Here is what Archibald actually has to say on this score:

The economy of Hispanic California was conducted primarily on a barter basis . . . Both missionaries and military were paid in goods since pesos would have been of little use in California. . . . Indians were not attracted to the missions by money, but by those items which money could buy. For food and trinkets, with utilitarian value to them, they would enter the missions and work at agriculture and industry . . . Cash was of no value where there was nothing to buy. . . .<sup>30</sup>

Also the official investigation held immediately after Quintana's death records no stolen property, let alone "a treasure chest." That surely would have been missed



Mission Santa Cruz in 1934, shortly after restoration. The mission was the scene of the 1812 murder of Padre Andrés Quintana by mission Indians. *Courtesy Ticolor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

by the *mayordomo* when he went to the Santa Cruz storeroom. Moreover, under the rule of St. Francis, no Franciscan could handle money, be it gold or silver. Indeed, Franciscans were forbidden by their rule to have anything to do with commercial transactions, and they had to rely on a middleman or agent, a layman who was employed as the commercial agent, broker, bill collector, and trader. This is why each mission had a "*mayordomo* who supervised the economic activities of the missions."<sup>31</sup>

As for the Quintana murder case, what actually happened has yet to be resolved. One reason is that no documentation of the formal investigation and trial has surfaced. Perhaps one day it will, since a complete file was sent to Mexico and, if found, would reveal all. In the meantime, the plausibility of Asisara's account of the circumstances surrounding the death of Quintana must be challenged on several scores.

According to him, Quintana was strangled in the mission garden on the night of October 11, 1812.<sup>32</sup> One of the assailants then castrated one of the padre's testicles. He was then carried, fully clothed in his habit, back to his cell where he was then undressed and placed in his bed. Shortly after, he regained consciousness, the strangulation having been botched, whereupon his second testicle was crushed and removed. At this point, the friar expired.<sup>33</sup> This is pure nonsense, totally without medical validity. If this had been the actual scenario of Quintana's death, there would have been a trail of telltale evidence, evidence impossible to eradicate.

If the friar had been strangled, it would have left one or more of the following anatomical by-products of strangulation: bulging eyes, a swollen tongue, bruises and contusions around the throat, mayhap a broken or ruptured windpipe. Had he been castrated, significant hemorrhage would have bloodied his habit and subsequently his bed. Lastly, there would have been an obvious bodily wound in the genital area. Yet when the body was discovered on the following morning, there were no signs of violence to the body. There was no blood-stained habit or bedding, which most assuredly would have resulted from the Asisara scenario.

In truth, there is a far more reliable witness than Asisara. Two years after Quintana's death, a contemporary fellow missionary who was privy to the legal proceedings brought against the nine or ten Indians implicated in the friar's death provided first-hand, factual data. Narciso Durán, father-president of the California missions, wrote to a colleague, on October 2, 1814: "Those of the house [mission] murdered him [Quintana] in so barbarous a manner that I doubt if such cruelty has ever been resorted to in the most barbarous nations for they tortured him *in pudendis* [involving the genitalia] and suffocated him at the same time with cloths used in administering extreme unction."<sup>34</sup>



Bancroft has this to say about Quintana's "brutal murder":

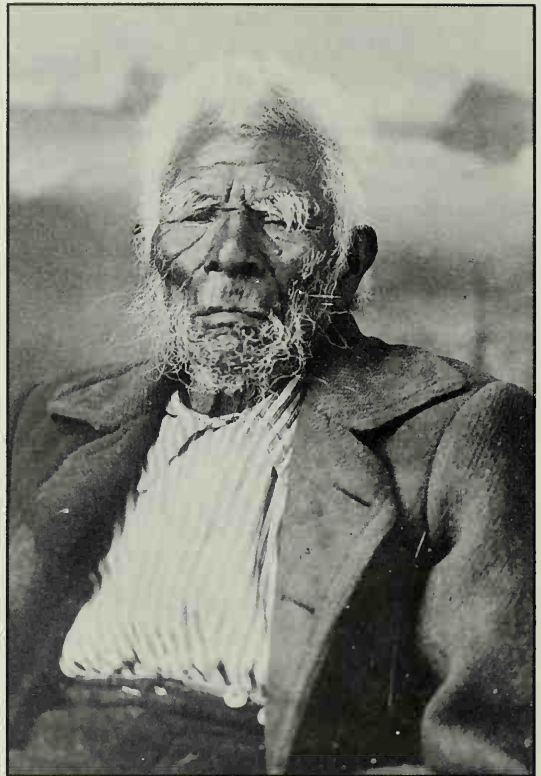
... [he] was found in bed on the morning of October 12, 1812, and was buried by Viader and Duran, who chanced to be at Santa Cruz on the 13th. The suddenness of his death caused an investigation . . . during the following week; but the conclusion was there were no signs of violence, and that the friar, who for some time had been in poor health, unable to dress himself unaided, had died a natural death. About two years later suspicions were aroused; a new investigation was made, and it was ascertained that Quintana had been called from his room at night to visit a man said to be dying, and that on his way he was murdered in a diabolical way and replaced in his bed . . . Respecting the discovery of the crime and the details of the trial there are no original records extant.<sup>35</sup>

The reader will note that Bancroft's account simply contradicts Asisara's narrative relating to the death of Quintana. The historian did not deign to make use of any of the dictation in summarizing the padre's death.

Asisara's dictation tells us that the "Fathers from Santa Clara and other missions came and they held the Father's funeral." All believed Quintana died a natural death, but the deceased's stomach was opened "in order to be certain that the Padre had not been poisoned. Officials, sergeants, and many others participated in these acts but nothing was discovered."<sup>36</sup> The truth of the matter was that there were only two priests at Quintana's funeral, one from Santa Clara, Father José Viader, who arrived at Santa Cruz by pure happenstance around 9:00 p.m. on October 12, and Narciso Durán from San Jose, who arrived by coincidence on the following morning, October 13.<sup>37</sup> Also likely in attendance was the mission guard, but there were no other officials. There is no evidence that the abdomen of the deceased was opened either by the two priests or anyone else present.

Finally, Asisara tells us that "by chance, one of those present [at Quintana's supposed examination] noted that the testicles were missing, and they were convinced this was the cause of death. Through modesty they did not reveal the fact and buried the body with everyone convinced the death had been a natural one."<sup>38</sup> As pointed out above, Quintana was not castrated; he was tortured *in pudendis*, which would suggest that his genitalia were severely manhandled but not sufficiently to leave any obvious wound, let alone such a severe one that would have been produced by double castration. The Death Register records that Quintana died a natural death.<sup>39</sup> This was duly inscribed by Fray Marcelino Marquínez, the head missionary at Santa Cruz, who arrived shortly after the burial, having been absent in Monterey consulting the government surgeon Dr. Manuel Quijano for reasons of health.<sup>40</sup> For a priest to counterfeit any church record is a serious offense, nor would a priest likely perjure himself in signing a fraudulent church document. Such actions were contrary to establish policy, then and now.

The suddenness of Quintana's death did stir an



Victorianno, formerly an Indian neophyte at Mission San Gabriel, shown here about 1885, when he was reportedly 136 years old. As a youth, he had helped to build the mission. Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.

immediate official investigation. Governor José Arrillaga ordered José María Estudillo to undertake an immediate, on-the-scene examination. Estudillo wrote to Fray Marquínez, October 15, 1812: "It is absolutely essential that Surgeon Manuel Quijano make a post-mortem examination of the body of Padre Quintana, who, according to common report, died on the morning of the 12th—the circumstances of his death, being very suspicious." He asked for permission for the exhumation of the body for that purpose. That same day, Marquínez acquiesced.<sup>41</sup>

Lieutenant Estudillo rendered his formal report to the governor on October 23: "the post-mortem examination of the body, and the investigations in relation to the death of Padre Quintana, were commenced on the 14th and terminated on the 22nd. *No evidence of violence was found. The padre was a valetudinarian [a chronic invalid], and was unable even to dress himself.*"<sup>42</sup> Accepting Asisara's story, Castillo castigates Quijano's autopsy, which he says "can most kindly be described as incompetent."<sup>43</sup> Such was not the case. Quijano was an experienced

physician and served the longest of any government surgeon in Spanish California, 1807-1823.<sup>44</sup>

Asisara maintains that the motive for the murder of Quintana was his extreme cruelty.<sup>45</sup> When another formal investigation was instigated in 1816 to evaluate reputed Franciscan cruelty to Indian neophytes, the newly appointed governor, Pablo Vicente de Solá, personally made "the most secret and closest investigations." He declared that the only evidence that supported the allegation that Quintana "had a whip of iron made to punish" the Indians came from those involved in the crime. One of that number stated that "The Father commanded it made for punishment" of one of them. Another declared, "the Father punished much, and that he ordered said whip of iron made, and that he punished with it two who almost died in consequence."<sup>46</sup> However, Solá could find no collaborative evidence to sustain the defendants' allegations. It would appear he decided that since no other witnesses had come forth to corroborate the charges, other than the three defendants, the latter had connived to fabricate the story of cruelty, the iron whip, and its brutal use on two neophytes in order to provide themselves an alibi, self-defense. By doing so they in effect invoked Spanish law, which made it a crime to treat Indians in an unusual and cruel fashion.<sup>47</sup> No wonder officials in Mexico "evidently attached some importance to the testimony," thus provoking Solá's investigation.<sup>48</sup> Solá, moreover, was known as a liberal, thus he would have been probably more prone to level criticism against the church if he could find any supportive evidence.<sup>49</sup> As for Governor Solá, his judgment on Quintana was direct:

. . . I also know that this good Father went to excess, not in punishing the Indians but in the love with which he ever regarded them. He strained all his faculties as far as zeal and industry carried him in order to improve and advance them. He distinguished himself among many for the solicitude and tenderness of his pastoral care to relieve his neophytes of whatever savored of troublesome vexation. For this he would not hesitate to sacrifice his own tranquility. . . .<sup>50</sup>

Castillo in his postscript to the Asisara dictation offers a rationale that explains away Governor Solá's praise of Quintana and his repudiation of charges of cruel practices on the part of the Franciscan friars. Castillo simply does not take the governor's report at face value. Instead, he second guesses it by conjecturing, without evidence, that there was deliberate, conniving collusion between the Franciscans and Solá, in essence a political deal. According to Castillo, the Franciscans would not press charges of dereliction against the military for the failure of the Santa Cruz mission guards to protect Quintana when he left the mission compound. In exchange, since the government was embarrassed by Dr. Quijano's "incompetent" autopsy, the governor's "report. . . would contravene the Indian charges of cruelty to the neophytes and help redeem Quintana's and his order's reputation." Through this arrangement the Franciscans would not have to face "the

embarrassing revelation of the coercive nature of Christian conversion throughout the Franciscan empire." Besides, the "church authorities were anxious to preserve and extend their colonial prerogatives."<sup>51</sup>

This is pure conjecture bordering on fiction. Not one bit of evidence is brought forward to document this projected supposition. The facts are that Solá was a man of impeccable reputation who did not shy from confrontation and controversy.<sup>52</sup> The father president of the California missions at the time, José Señan, was a man of great integrity and piety who would not have lent support to any kind of political deal.<sup>53</sup>

When Asisara was seventy, thirteen years after the Savage dictation he gave a second one to Edward S. Harrison, who was preparing a history of Santa Cruz County.<sup>54</sup> That dictation does not allude to any of the events given in the Savage dictation respecting the death of Quintana. Yet Castillo declared: "This latter interview . . . adds more details of his life, as well as corroborates his earlier testimony."<sup>55</sup> The Harrison dictation only corroborates autobiographical details; it does not corroborate the Savage dictation in respect to the Quintana episode.

The discussion presented herein leads to only one conclusion: Quintana was smothered as he was being tortured. The manner of his death left no visible sign of violence nor was there any supportive evidence uncovered to indicate the way in which he died. To label Quintana's death a "political assassination" as Castillo has done, is a vain attempt to paint this crime with an acceptable veneer of rationalization; this cannot be accepted, for it is contrary to the evidence. To cover up this crime, the story of the padre's extreme cruelty was concocted and his invention and use of "a *cuarta de hierro* [a horse whip tipped with iron]," to use Castillo's translation, becomes the rationale.<sup>56</sup> This deception Castillo accepts without question, as he does all of the Asisara dictation—going out of his way to annotate statements with supposed supportive evidence—but he cannot resist embellishing on it. In another essay published in 1989, Castillo had this to say:

In October 1812, Padre Quintana . . . had made for him a wire-tipped whip (which cut the buttocks deeply) and used it on nine luckless neophytes. When this new instrument of torture was introduced and the priest nearly beat two Indians to death, a number of them decided to kill the sadistic padre. On the night of October 11, Quintana was lured outside the mission compound and strangled. The conspirators placed the padre's body in bed to suggest natural causes. And the ruse worked.<sup>57</sup>

To document this abbreviated account of Quintana's death and the punishment of the neophytes, including the statement that "a wire-tipped whip . . . [was] used on nine luckless neophytes," Castillo cites Bancroft. Yet on the page and including the notes he references, as well as an examination of the several adjoining pages, nowhere is there any mention of a "wire-tipped whip," the beating of "nine luckless neophytes" with it, nor the inference that "the priest nearly beat two Indians to



death." In respect to the latter comment, Bancroft merely paraphrases the defendants' testimony in the 1816 investigation; the allegation was not his own for he clearly states that such "was testified" to by the Indians involved in the crime.<sup>58</sup> Castillo has attributed details to a source where no such details exist, on the one hand, and on the other he suggests a faulty inference that is patently misleading and erroneous. Nowhere does one find any evidence of Quintana's reputed cruelty except in the testimony of three of the nine or ten Indians, the number usually mentioned in sources, who confessed their participation in the friar's murder. One should also recall the official report which described Quintana as a chronic invalid, "even unable to dress himself."

Castillo, in bringing Asisara's dictation to publication, laid down some rather extravagant claims. The first: "Lorenzo's reliability as an informant is strengthened by supportive evidence found in the notes accompanying this account. Without a doubt, he offers us an exciting inside story which has remained obscure." A second: "Lorenzo's narrative is rich in detail and comprehensive in its chronology."<sup>59</sup> As to the veracity of these judgments, the decision rests with you, the reader.

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.  
Professor Emeritus  
University of Southern California

## COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR CASTILLO

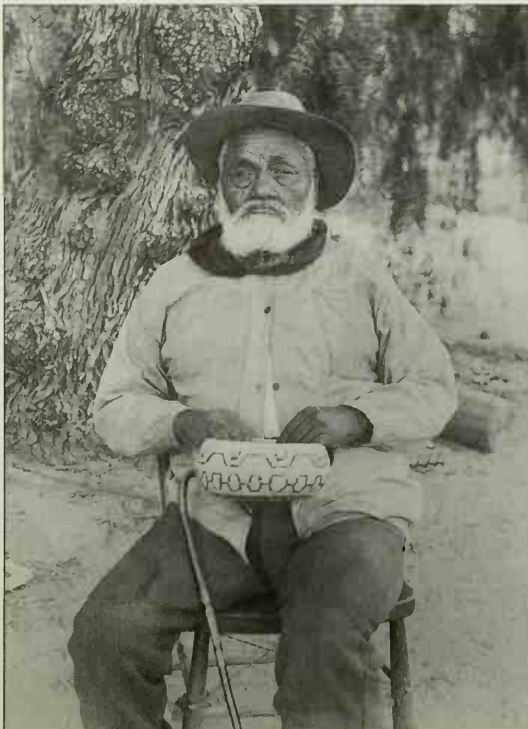
### TO THE EDITOR:

Advances in writing history over the last thirty years have demanded that practitioners broaden their pool of knowledge to include a variety of related disciplines, including archaeology, ethnography, and related humanities perspectives. This becomes especially important regarding the writing about ethnic and racial conflict occurring in a colonial setting. The missions of California are one of the many colonial institutions that have come under increasing scrutiny by a new generation of scholars who are cognizant of the biases inherent in the documents authored by colonial officials.<sup>1</sup> Much to the dismay of mission apologists, these researchers have uncovered much that has challenged the distorted, highly romantic, Euro-centric, and dated church self-histories and similar writings that have hitherto dominated the field.

In his critique of "The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The Narrative of Lorenzo Asisara," which I annotated and introduced, Dr. Doyce Nunis has accused both Lorenzo and me of a number of sins. What follows are my responses to a number of issues that seem to trouble him concerning a Native American voice in California's history.

I will begin by agreeing with Nunis that my citation of the Quintana assassination in the award-winning Smithsonian Institution's *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West*, Vol. I, was incomplete. I should have cited the Asisara manuscript, not just the Bancroft summary appearing on pages 387-89 in Volume II. Furthermore, I am willing to concede that I am guilty of a pagination error elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Much of the thrust of Dr. Nunis's attack on the Asisara document, however, seems to be based on his outright rejection of any Native American testimony, past or present, that reflects unfavorably upon the Franciscans in California. Dr. Nunis is apparently unaware of a large body of scholarly literature that has demonstrated handily that non-literate peoples treat the spoken word more carefully than do those from literate cultures. Furthermore, scholars in this field greatly value native accounts of historical events precisely because they offer a unique and valuable insight into how non-literate native groups perceived their experiences with Euro-American colonial forces.<sup>3</sup> A recent study of Hopi oral traditions concerning the arrival of the Spanish in their territory and their role in the great Pueblo Revolt of 1680, for example, demonstrates that even free-form oral testimonies



José Pedro Lasero, former neophyte at Mission San Gabriel, shown here in 1899. Courtesy Tidor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.

given 250 years after the events described proved to be amazingly accurate regarding both substances and sequence of events.<sup>4</sup> Historians and other scholars working in the area of cultural conflict in an exploitative colonial setting can hardly expect native accounts to conform explicitly with documents authored by colonial authorities. To do so would assume that only one truth and one reality existed, that of the colonists.

Limiting one's research to only European or Euro-American produced documents ultimately leads scholars to incomplete understandings of cross-cultural contacts. Historian Calvin Martin explains the pitfalls of this approach:

We should quit deluding ourselves about the significance of and explanatory value of such history, for it is essentially White history: White reality, White thought world. As such it has its place, certainly, but the point is that it has subtly transgressed its explanatory boundaries, to pose as the sole or only valid, or only serious explanation of what transpired when the Indians and Whitemen met.<sup>5</sup>

Hopefully, modern scholars have both the courage and humility to recognize the implications of this form of historiographic colonialism. California historians need to acknowledge that the limited written records of Indian perceptions of Hispanic colonial contact require today's researchers to seek additional tools to produce more balanced accounts of this cultural contact.

Recognizing these conditions and the limitations the traditional written records provide, many scholars have adopted a multi-disciplinary approach called "ethnohistory," and more recently called "New Indian History." This approach, especially where one combines anthropological data with more traditional forms of historical documentation, seems to provide the most satisfactory attempt at reconstructing an Indian perspective of culture contact. But modern researchers need to do more. This approach's focus on Indian-centered history is explained by historian Robert Berkhofer:

Both Ethnohistory and the New Indian History aim to see beyond traditional White prejudices and scholarly specialties so as to portray native peoples in their own right, acting for their own reasons, in light of their own cultural norms and values. To accomplish this goal, the New Indian Historians search beyond traditional White produced documents of past Indian contact to locate new sources in oral history and artifact.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to Nunis's failure to recognize the need for a full and equal consideration of an American Indian perspective in the cross-cultural milieu of the California missions, he defies his own absolute faith in colonial documents when they disagree with his own convictions. For instance, he asks readers to believe that José María Pico must be in error concerning the number of lashes (*not spankings!*) administered to a terrified San Diego neophyte accused of poisoning the disciplinarian Padre Panto. Without a shred of evidence he asks readers to believe him, instead of the colonial document he

supposedly read. Especially revealing is Dr. Nunis's insistence that colonial officials, both secular and clergy, are always more reliable sources of information on Indian affairs than Indians themselves. At one point, he tries to convince his readers that the father-president of the California missions was a more reliable "witness" than local Indians to events surrounding the assassination, despite the fact the padre was nowhere near Mission Santa Cruz when it took place. Nowhere in the Asisara reminiscence, or my introduction or notes, is Lorenzo identified as a "witness." Dr. Nunis has performed a leap of logic when he tries to squeeze Padre Durán into the role of witness.

Well-informed scholars of colonial Spanish America have known for many years that both Spanish law and Franciscan rules were not carefully observed in New Spain, especially on the remote fringes of the empire.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Nunis presents a flawed argument when he assumes that the existence of a law or rule prohibiting specific acts effectively eliminated those acts. Nunis himself unwittingly provides us with a perfect example of this faulty reasoning when he adamantly denies that gold and silver specie existed in Alta California before 1820 and was never handled by Franciscans. Archaeological evidence at the site of Mission Santa Cruz and colonial documents demonstrate quite the opposite.<sup>8</sup> The Santa Barbara Mission Archive possesses an account book of an early Yankee trading ship, *The Mercury*, dated 1806-1807. This most interesting journal cites numerous examples of specie given directly to Franciscan missionaries to balance accounts largely transacted in trade.<sup>9</sup> In light of data cited above and lacking any specific contradictory evidence presented by Dr. Nunis, it would appear his allegation that the Asisara story about a box of coins was "totally without foundation. . . and cannot be substantiated with solid evidence" is at best ill-informed.<sup>10</sup>

It will come as no surprise to scholars familiar with Dr. Nunis's writings that he routinely embraces, without question, secondary sources of information authored by Franciscan apologists. For instance, he asks readers to accept the dubious theory of Franciscan historian Francis Guest that Indians in the missions of California were "spanked," not whipped, for not performing labor or for infractions of Franciscan discipline.<sup>11</sup> Despite Nunis's convictions in this regard, he curiously translated the term *azote* as "whippings," and again later as "lashes," when referring to neophyte punishment reported by José María Pico. In the same vein, readers are asked to accept without question the cozy character references Franciscans regularly supplied for one another.<sup>12</sup>

The numerous cases of reported poisoning of Franciscans by neophytes are not a fabrication on my part, but a documented aspect of the colonial record. Prudent scholars and medical authorities usually avoid post-mortems that are 179 years old and based upon questionable medical expertise. However, one thing is certain. When Franciscans died under questionable circumstances, the suspicion that Indian neophytes may have





A family of former mission Indians at the San Antonio de Pala *asistencia*, in front of their home in Pachango Canyon at the base of Mt. Palomar, northeast of San Diego, in the late nineteenth century. Evident in the photograph is the mixed culture that characterized former California mission Indians well into the twentieth century. Americanized clothing and rectangular building construction testified to their partial adaptation to the conquering culture, but the traditional Indian thatch siding and roofing persisted. Until the 1920s and 1930s, the descendants of mission Indians continued to live in such dwellings in the remote countryside surrounding San Diego, occasionally making meager wages working on white-owned farms. At the same time, they practiced the hunting and gathering economy that had yielded an abundant food supply to their ancestors, but for them proved less and less productive because of disturbance of natural conditions. *Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

poisoned the padres invariably arose. Might this fact alone raise questions about the self-congratulatory mission histories that would have us believe that Native Californians gladly surrendered their land, resources, and labor in exchange for the dubious benefits of *reducciones* missionization?

Dr. Nunis has attempted to show that the author of Volume II of Bancroft's multi-volume *History of California* dismissed Lorenzo's account of the Quintana assassination. This is in fact not correct. To support his contention he cites only part of Henry Oak's footnote 44, on page 388. The sources of information dismissed by Oak, that "give many absurdly inaccurate details which it is unnecessary to reproduce," were historical reminiscences of colonists: M.G. Vallejo, Nazario Galindo, Juan Bautista Alvarado, and José María Amador. Had Nunis read the original manuscript he

would have recognized that the pages Oak cites for the Amador manuscript (within which the Asisara document is enveloped) refer to Amador's comments, not Lorenzo's.<sup>13</sup> Only two paragraphs and the very end of the Asisara account appear on one of the pages cited by Oak in note 44. Those two paragraphs deal not with the assassination of Quintana, but the punishment of the conspirators. If, indeed, Hubert Howe Bancroft had actually thought the Asisara account was "flawed in the extreme," why would he have published a translation of it (deleting all sexual references found in the complete version I have presented) in 1888?<sup>14</sup> Apparently Bancroft was able to overcome somewhat the widespread intellectual prejudice against American Indians of his day.

Dr. Nunis has alleged that I have been deceived by the Asisara account and that I have accepted Lorenzo's reminiscence in its entirety. This, like many other of

his accusations, is contradicted by fact. Careful readers of my translation will note that I have both contradicted and or questioned a number of statements in the document (see footnotes 26, 33, 34, 49, and 50). Furthermore, the Asisara account is in fact supported in several major areas by a number of documents, including the carefully-edited letter of Narciso Durán of October 2, 1814.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, Nunis has gone to great lengths to challenge the assassination scenario presented by Lorenzo's account. Again, Asisara's broad outline of the killing scenario conforms with the historical record, differing only in detail.<sup>16</sup>

I am one among a number of scholars who have criticized Dr. Nunis's peculiar perspective on California Indians.<sup>17</sup> Much of that commentary resulted from Dr. Nunis's participation in the preparation of the notorious "Serra Report." That paper was assembled by Monterey Bishop Thaddeus Shubsda to thwart a growing chorus of criticism over church efforts to canonize California mission administrator Junípero Serra. In that report, Nunis claimed, without documentation, that native Californians "had no sense of fidelity to each other, there was no spirit of loyalty, there was no commitment. You stayed together out of necessity rather than out of appreciation. In other words they had no idea of social compact . . . they had no sense of morality." Later he falsely claimed California Indians had "no sense of land ownership . . . they had no sense of place, only a sense of area." On aboriginal culture he ominously warned the faithful, "Life was very hard. Very hard. They simply had to grub for a living. And living meant just eating and staying alive." Nunis and other contributors made other equally misinformed assertions about California Indians, for which there is absolutely no credible evidence, in the "Serra Report," but these examples serve to illustrate the paucity of factual information that supports Nunis's judgment in matters concerning California Indians.<sup>18</sup> It is thus readily apparent why he is not likely to give native accounts of missionization much credence.

In a recent thoughtful essay, the dean of borderlands historians David J. Weber examined the badly distorted histories of Indians in Franciscan missions and found them to be filled with knowledge but lacking in understanding. He goes on to characterize authors who dismiss Indian perspectives on mission experiences as "Christophilic Triumphalists" (a sort of Franciscan manifest destiny). Furthermore, he characterizes the numerous native assaults on Franciscans this way:

The action, however, of natives who killed Franciscans, mocked Christianity, and desecrated the friars' sacred objects and shrines, makes it clear, at least in retrospect, that these rebellions represented efforts to achieve freedom of religious and cultural expression.<sup>19</sup>

Weber later argues that Franciscans, in attempting to impose religious orthodoxy by force, ensured violent resistance. In another study of the methodological shortcomings of earlier generations of borderland historians, Weber pointedly reminds scholars that understanding the cultural clashes that erupted on colonial frontiers requires writers to take into account peoples and their motives on both sides of the frontier.<sup>20</sup> Finally, he summarizes the Indian response to the mission environment this way: "Oppressed in body and spirit, many mission Indians sought ways to extricate themselves from the loving embrace of the Sons of St. Francis."<sup>21</sup>

In the final analysis, I have provided a new translation of a valuable native document of missionization, the Lorenzo Asisara account of the assassination of a Franciscan priest, to stimulate further research and dialogue concerning Indian life in the missions of California. Dr. Nunis has not presented any new documentation that might cause fair-minded readers to dismiss this important ethnohistoric document.

Edward D. Castillo  
Director, Native American Studies Program  
Sonoma State University

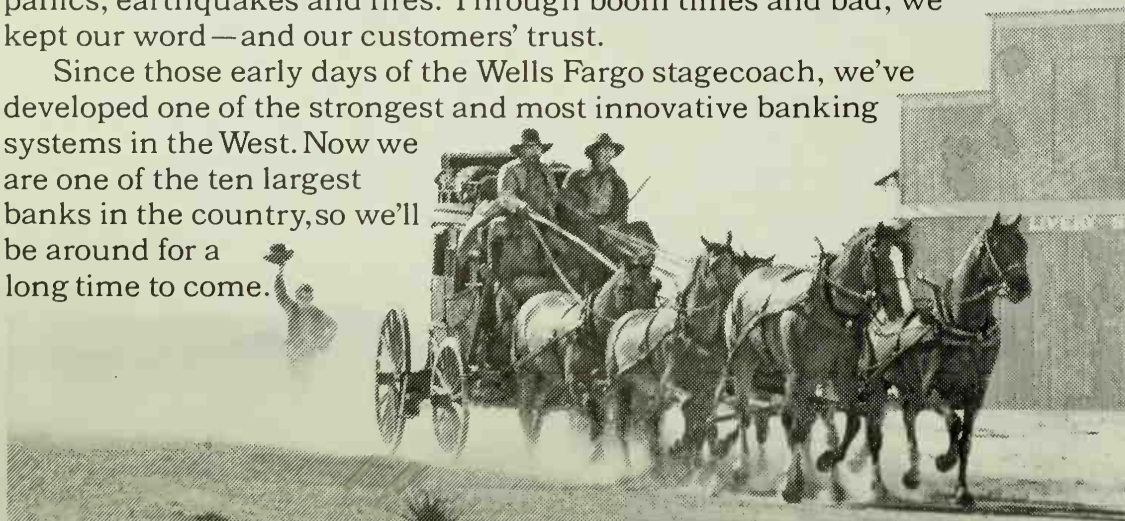


# Trusted by Californians since 1852.

## Wells Fargo comes through.

For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word — and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.



© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC

### WELLS FARGO BANK

Edited by James J. Rawls



A southern California woman homesteader, late nineteenth century, is photographed accepting the patent to her land from a land agent. Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.

## *So Much To Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier.*

Edited by Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christiane Fischer Discham. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990, 325 pp., \$12.95 paper.)

## *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939.*

By Peggy Pascoe. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, 300pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Jacqueline Baker-Barnhart, Professor of History at California State University, Chico, and author of *Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849-1900*.

"Women have not been well served in traditional assumptions about the American frontier. Western mythology is replete with stereotypes about the active role of men and the symbolic function of women." This quote from *So Much to be Done* immediately becomes less accurate with the publication of the excellent collection of readings edited by Moynihan, Armitage, and Discham, and the equally revealing *Relations of Rescue* by Peggy Pascoe.

*So Much to be Done* is a consistently interesting compilation of letters, diary entries, and reminiscences of frontier women who were far from symbolic functionaries or passive in their roles. Excerpts include accounts of women who supported themselves, their children, and occasionally their husbands, with a variety of jobs, from farming to sewing, from selling presidential prints to running cattle ranches. Other sections in the book reveal women's views on their environment and the western society they had joined. Sometimes pithy, sometimes despairing, women wrote about the hardships and the joys of their new homes and neighbors.

What this collection does better than many others is show there was no typical frontier woman. Some may have passively followed their adventure-seeking husbands, but others anticipated their own adventures with equal excitement, and still others saw themselves as equal partners with their men in the perceived advantages of the West. *So Much to be Done* would be a particularly useful collection to use in frontier or westward movement classes.

Peggy Pascoe's *Relations of Rescue* is a feminist study of Protestant missionary women in the American West and, as the subtitle reveals, the "search for female moral authority." Pascoe's work is one of the better examples of the



often-repeated truth that some of the most exciting historical work being done is in women's history and particularly in feminist history. The new questions and new interpretations are forcing a new evaluation of historical events, not the least of which is the question of frontier settlement.

*Relations of Rescue* focuses on four rescue homes for women in the West: San Francisco's home for Chinese prostitutes, Salt Lake City's home for polygamous Mormon women, Denver's home for unwed mothers, and a program for American Indian women in Nebraska. In each case Pascoe shows the attempt of the mission women workers to carry out a plan of women's work for women. The rescue homes were to be the shining examples of the attempt of Victorian women reformers to eliminate patriarchal power in the home and to show the "Christian home as the bulwark of female moral authority."

The struggle to produce their ideal changed. "In early years of home mission work," Pascoe writes, "middle-class women's search for female moral authority in the American West was expressed largely as tension between women and men." As they succeeded in establishing their domain, however, "their quest for authority" was found "less often in relation to men and more often in relations with rescue home residents." The close contact between the rescue home workers and the residents led these Victorian women to an understanding of the racial and cultural differences that would not be part of the larger social consciousness for decades. The relationships that developed as a result of these insights is the subject of one of Pascoe's most interesting chapters: "Home Mission Women, Race, and Culture."

In what Pascoe calls "Anticlimax," but what might also be labeled the inevitable order of bureaucratic development, the mission women lost their hard-won control as the homes became successful. As they gained more and more influence, they requested financial support from national church organizations and ultimately lost control. As they gained power, they demanded the institutionalization of their goals in state laws and, eventually, unwillingly relinquished their role as moral authority.

*Relations of Rescue* is not without fault. Although the development of the argument of the struggle for moral authority is eminently reasonable, the interpretation of the evidence is not conclusive. In fact the repeated—too often repeated—phrase "Female Moral Authority" occasionally seems to be Pascoe's use of a talisman of truth rather than the inclusion of examples that might support the conclusion. And to move from minor complaints to the petty, there is too much social science jargon.

However, none of these minimal problems detract from the importance of Pascoe's work. She opens our minds to provocative new ideas of Victorian women in the West, their relationships, their goals, their social feminism. CHS

## Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness.

By Alfred Runte. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990, xii, 271 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Roderick Frazier Nash, Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of Wilderness and the American Mind.*

The problem with the way Americans refer to their national nature preserves is that the word "park" conjures up expectations that wild places cannot and should not fulfill. Think about it. We have amusement parks, ballparks, garden parks, manicured city parks—all heavily influenced by technological civilization. People traditionally went to parks to see pretty things. Raw wilderness was the last thing expected; nature was supposed to blossom and smile on the human pursuit of pleasure.

But then Americans invented "national parks," either in 1864 as Alfred Runte suggests in this book or, as others have contended, in 1872 with the establishment of Yellowstone. These were *wild* parks with all the contradictions implied by that association of words. What Alfred Runte does in this important book is expose and explore these contradictions. His focus is on Yosemite, the flagship national park, established as a state reserve in 1864 and substantially enlarged in 1890. His subject is the changing and conflicting visions Americans have entertained about this shrine in the California Sierra. We learn of the basic tension between the view that parks are for nature (and its components—like bears, squirrels, even insect "pests") versus the parks-are-for-people perspective. The first view of parks supports the preservation of wilderness complete with predatory animals, waterfalls that do not "perform" all year, discomfort, danger, even death. The alternate vision is that national parks should cater to their clients, provide amusements and, in the process, make a tidy profit for the private concessionaires fortunate enough to gain a government-granted monopoly to operate in the park.

A talented historian and sometime national park seasonal interpreter, Dr. Runte is well qualified to analyze the Yosemite experience. But this book is not a history of Yosemite; it is an account of the conflicting ideas people have had about the management and objective of Yosemite. More precisely, this is an argument against over-commercializing, over-humanizing, and over-crowding that makes use of history. Runte has his heroes (Frederick Olmsted, Joseph Grinnell, Newton Drury, and David Brower) and his villains (William Hall, David Curry, Ed Hardy and, surprisingly to some, Ansel Adams).



Yosemite National Park's Wawona Big Tree, also known as "tunnel tree," symbolized human intrusion into nature and the everpresent conflict between human recreation needs and wilderness preservation in national parks, the theme of Runte's book. *Courtesy Tigor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*

---

A generation ago it would have been argued that Runte's book was not "objective," but today historians are more frequently looked to for guidance on policy issues. They are praised for descending from the ivory tower, rolling up their sleeves and becoming "relevant" to questions of social importance. Although it has cost him friends among the powerful in Yosemite Valley, Dr. Runte is not afraid to call them as he sees them. His careful research and documentation leave little room for objectors—unless they chance to be on the side of civilization as opposed to nature. CHS

### *How Shakespeare Won the West: Players and Performances in America's Gold Rush, 1849-1865.*

By Helene Wickham Koon. (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1989, xi, 177 pp., fourteen black and white illustrations, \$24.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Marvin R. Nathan, Professor of Humanities at San Francisco State University, Coordinator of San Francisco Interdisciplinary Courses and author of numerous articles on nineteenth-century San Francisco cultural history.*

Simply put, the writing of history involves three stages. First, a field of inquiry must be clearly staked out. Second, vigorous research must be undertaken into the primary and secondary materials concerning the subject. Finally, after analyzing and reflecting upon the fruits of the research, the historian must develop a point of view toward the subject matter that is expressed in a thesis and in certain decisive ideas that



give coherence to the historical narrative and, as much as possible, relate phenomenon to pattern, particular to universal. Seen from this perspective, *How Shakespeare Won the West* is a reasonably successful piece of historical reconstruction. Professor Koon has chosen to concentrate on one extremely important and revealing part of early western cultural life during a crucial sixteen-year period beginning with the Gold Rush. It was from 1849 to 1865, and particularly from 1849 to 1856, that Shakespearean drama swept across the West, winning immense popularity from frontier audiences and gaining stardom and wealth for many an actor. Despite the facts that the narrative deals predominantly with performances in northern California rather than those throughout the West and that a good part of the territory the book traverses has been covered before, most notably in the great WPA *San Francisco Theatre Project* and in Edmond Gagey's *The San Francisco Stage*, the author earns her spurs with an exhaustive job of researching primary documents such as theatrical reviews, playbills, and personal memoirs, as well as with her impressive command of Shakespeare's work—not simply plots and characters, but also the liberally bowdlerized seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts that actors in the mid-nineteenth century often used when performing the Bard's work. Koon's extensive research brings to light many significant facts about theatre, Shakespearean and otherwise, in the early West: the great diversity of acting styles available to Gold Rush audiences; the surprising preference for Shakespeare's tragedies over the comedies and histories; the swift evolution of sophistication in audience taste and esthetic judgment; the criteria on which early theatrical reviewers judged performances; and the vast disparities of theatrical facilities in towns from San Francisco to Salt Lake City. The discussion is enlivened by the frequent use of quotations from early theatrical sources who tell the story of Shakespearean theatre in their own words. Some of the vignettes Koon dredges up are quite rare, as when stellar actress Julia Dean Hayne, playing Juliet on a makeshift stage in Marysville, became overly expressive and tumbled into one of the barrels supporting the board on which she was performing; or when a certain Mr. Defries, being pelted by a barrage of missiles during a dismal rendition of *Hamlet* in San Francisco, caught an orange hurled in his direction, peeled and ate it while delivering the great soliloquy. It must be added, however, that there are a number of factual errors in the text, including the misdating of the discovery of gold in California in the first sentence of the first paragraph and, two pages later, the incorrect dating of the opening of San Francisco's three Jenny Lind theatres.

Although *How Shakespeare Won the West* is a solid piece of work in respect to the importance of its subject and the breadth of its research, it fares less well in respect to the energy that it expends on developing overarching ideas that might give

depth and resonance to the factual material. When the author attempts to explain deeper cultural meaning and pattern in her material, as she does in chapter one and occasionally later on, her insights are sometimes impressive. Unfortunately, she devotes only sporadic effort to articulating and deepening our understanding of the historical and artistic implications of her factual material, or to consolidating her plentiful economic data into a sustained discussion of the financial side of theatrical life, or to expanding the book's fascinating material on acting styles and stagecraft into a more trenchant and coherent discussion of these elements of early Shakespearean theatre in the West. Indeed, after a compelling first chapter, the remaining eighty percent of the text, like almost all books on early western theatre, is given mainly to a long recitation of actors' biographies, performances, and itineraries. We trace the careers of the Booths, the Chapmans, the Bakers, and the Starks, as well as dozens of other performers, and while the weaving together of so much factual material is quite skillful, the narrative is often so dense that the significance of the data is lost. For instance, actress Jean Margaret Davenport is given one and one-half pages of biography in which only one of her Shakespearean roles in the West is mentioned, while Estelle McCormack Potter's life is recounted over two pages with no specific mention of any Shakespearean performances she gave in the West. Certainly such historic moments as the beginning of Edwin Booth's career as a leading man in San Francisco Shakespeare productions are important to chronicle, but many, many other actors whose careers have no particular artistic distinction and whose work is not meaningfully related to larger cultural issues are laid before us with only the most cursory scholarly commentary. Professor Koon is capable of first-rate scholarly appraisal, as when she writes:

The miners may have felt a special kinship with Shakespeare's larger-than-life characters, perceiving them as living epic lives like themselves. Their own quest for gold, their hardships, the very scenery around them was larger than the world they had known back East, and they could see their own feelings mirrored in the powerful emotions. The violent confrontations of an Othello or a Macbeth were paralleled every week on the streets of Poker Flat and Hangtown. Not even the language troubled them. The ringing Elizabethan eloquence was not alien to a generation reared on the cadences of the King James Bible.

But she can just as easily conclude a chapter on one of the important early acting families with overly brief and glib judgments such as: "If they [the Starks] were not great themselves, they most certainly created a taste for greatness"; or "Their [the Chapmans'] originality was not in innovation

but in that area where the theatre is most powerful: performance. Their audiences were amused, awed, surprised, and delighted." The concluding chapter is barely two pages long. Given the extensive research and scholarly apparatus of the book, more potent and fully developed conclusions might be expected.

On balance, *How Shakespeare Won the West* is a valuable contribution to the history of early theatre on the frontier, and particularly in California and San Francisco. We get to meet many interesting figures, learn a good deal about their acting techniques, tastes, and the conditions in which they performed. We become intimately familiar with the always exhausting western theatre circuit from San Francisco to Sacramento to the gold mining towns, back to San Francisco, over to Australia, and, eventually, home to the East Coast. We are given some credible reasons why local interest in Shakespearean drama was beginning to pall by the late 1850s and why theatre in the West came to grow stylistically distinct from its eastern counterpart during the 1860s. However, for all of the book's virtues, had its rich material been more aggressively mined, and had the cascades of biographical data been more imaginatively organized and related, *How Shakespeare Won the West* might well have been an exceptional, groundbreaking piece of scholarship. CHS

### *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion and Social Conflict.*

Edited by Norman M. Klein and Martin J. Schiesl.  
(Claremont, California: Regina Books, 1990, x, 240 pp., \$26.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Lawrence B. de Graaf, *Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, and co-editor of The Journal of Orange County Studies.*

In design, this anthology is a welcome addition to the literature on Los Angeles and modern urban history. Seven essays deal with "hidden Los Angeles: minority politics and institutions . . . such as police, promotion, planning, and organized crime." They address the demise of old districts and the role of minorities around themes of social conflict between minorities and white culture, and the role of "key bureaucracies" in determining the fate of neighborhoods and cultures. A post-script concludes that Los Angeles has become a "bimodal society" whose bureaucracies and policies are in need of "radical restructuring."

In practice, however, this is a collection of discrete essays, and unifying themes are secondary. Four essays concern the history of minorities, two on Mexican Americans before and



Twentieth-century California has witnessed changing demographic patterns, in which minority ethnic groups have always figured strongly. Here, teacher and pupil at a Chinese school in Los Angeles maintain cultural traditions in their dress and surroundings, ca. 1900. *Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*



after World War II and comprehensive histories of the Asian and African-American communities. Space considerations make each essay an overview, summarizing existing scholarship and select original sources. An interesting overall theme is the loss of a distinct ethnic community as a cause of social problems and lack of political power. Lonnie Bunch portrays the 1900 to 1930 period as a "Golden Era" for blacks along Central Avenue and laments their later dispersal and the decline of that area. Similarly, Carlos Navarro and Rodolfo Acuna criticize the flight of Mexican families to suburbs and the failure of East Los Angeles to maintain a stable population. Martin Klein's witty piece on the promotion and planning of Los Angeles views those policies as dominated by a series of "myths" that depicted the central city first as a climatic attraction and later as a "noir image" to be torn down. Martin Schiesl contributes a well-researched narrative on "Police and Social Discontent in Los Angeles since 1950" that serves as a model for incorporating this subject into urban histories. But the essay on organized crime fails to establish its message or place in this anthology.

To the reader unfamiliar with these topics, this work is a useful introduction. For those already familiar with modern urban history, several essays invite deeper questions. The whole book has a liberal slant that sees conditions such as neighborhood decay and middle-class flight as the avoidable results of a discriminatory bureaucracy, rather than as the structural consequences of urban growth. Thus there is no systematic treatment of these issues through all essays and no statistics from which to analyze the factors causing them. While the preface suggests this work could be a model for studying urban life, most authors fail to relate Los Angeles to other cities. Thus, the book concludes that Los Angeles is "a dangerously divided, highly segregated city" (231) without noting that the same could be said of many others and that the causes of this condition may lie deeper than the idiosyncrasies of local institutions. Finally the theme that a "white-dominated bureaucracy" is at odds with the interests of minority communities needs to be tested against the history of the Bradley administration, whose long tenure and multi-ethnic coalition receive only passing notice. Had the essays done so, they might have presented a more convincing analysis of political realities that, in turn, might have given their conclusions a firmer foundation.

CHS

## *Citizen Lawmakers: The Ballot Initiative Revolution.*

By David D. Schmidt. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989, 345 pp.)

*Reviewed by Eugene C. Lee, Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.*

David Schmidt is one of the nation's foremost proponents of ballot initiatives. This book, described in the dust jacket as a "handbook for activists," is a summary of his views. It is unabashedly an advocacy piece.

The book is most useful to history buffs in providing an account of the rise of the initiative process in the United States and offering several vignettes of initiative campaigns, both in California and elsewhere. Among the case studies presented are the People's Lobby and its leader Ed Koupal in the 1970s, the 1976 nuclear safeguards measure, Proposition 13 in 1978, rent control initiatives in Berkeley, the nuclear freeze movement of the 1980s, and attempts to create a national initiative procedure. A final chapter in the book is a "campaign manual" that instructs citizens in non-initiative states how their constitutions might be amended to provide for the initiative and, for those in initiative states, the best ways to conduct a ballot-measure campaign.

While the historical case studies are presented in a relatively straightforward manner, this book is not the place to find an objective, detached examination of the initiative and its impact on institutions of representative government and the political process, most especially in California. Schmidt's unswerving advocacy of the initiative is exemplified by his chapter entitled "Arguments For and Against" the use of of ballot measures: five pages are devoted to the arguments "for," four pages to the shortcomings of legislatures, and seven pages to "answering the objections" to the initiative process. His selective use of evidence is suggested by the comment—in response to concern over "ballot clutter"—that an average of only two initiatives per state per general election have qualified for the ballot. Scant comfort to California voters confronted with eighteen such measures in 1990.

One must look elsewhere for a serious analysis of the problems created by the initiative in California, such as the rise of a powerful initiative industry, the growing use of the initiative by elected officials, the reduction of complex issues to thirty-second television commercials, the demonstrated lack of voter understanding of many measures, and the fact that many ballot measures are transformed by the courts, to name but a few examples.

The last third of the book is comprised of useful appendices that include brief state-by-state histories of the initiative process and state and local petition requirements across the country, and the results of statewide measures passed by voters in the several states between 1970 and 1988.

CHS

*Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture.*

By Thomas C. Blackburn and Travis Hudson.  
(Menlo Park: Ballena Press and Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, 1990, 225 pp., \$34.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

*California Indians: Primary Resources, A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations.*

By Sylvia Brakke Vane and Lowell John Bean.  
(Menlo Park: Ballena Press, Revised Edition, 1990, vi, 366 pp., \$45.00 cloth, \$33.00 paper.)

*Reviewed by George H. Phillips, Associate Professor of History at the University of Colorado and author of Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California.*

The extent of California Indian artifacts housed in museums in continental Europe, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan will surprise most scholars of the California Indian

and those members of the general public interested in the state's indigenous population. By identifying the museums and listing their holdings, Thomas Blackburn and Travis Hudson have produced a most important catalogue. Included in the volume is an account of the origins of the collections and a brief history of the authors' efforts to locate the materials. The project began in 1983 when Hudson, then Curator of Anthropology at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, visited the Institute and Museum of Ethnography in Leningrad. Visits to museums in Frankfurt, Rome, Madrid, Paris, London, and Oxford followed his Leningrad stay. Hudson returned to Europe in 1984, viewing California Indian collections in Florence, Zurich, Munich, Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow, and other cities. After the premature death of Travis Hudson in July 1985, Thomas Blackburn, who had accompanied him on his third trip to Europe, carried the project to fruition.

Besides listing the artifacts in the museums, the volume includes a bibliography of the relevant published primary and secondary sources, eight pages of photographs of clothing, baskets, and other artifacts from a selection of the museums, an extensive index, and perhaps most important, a list of the addresses of the museums.

An Indian woman, descendant of mission Indians, poses in the late nineteenth century with an example of her work, the intricately-beautiful but rapidly-vanishing artistry of basketmaking. *Courtesy Ticor/CHS Collection, University of Southern California.*





Complementing the catalogue is Vane and Bean's guide to manuscripts and other sources pertaining to California Indians. First published in 1977, this important book concentrates mainly, but not exclusively, on archival and library collections of primary documents and printed sources primarily located in California. The relevant depositories—museums, libraries, information centers, missions, historical and archaeological societies, art galleries, and state and federal agencies—are organized by counties.

If information is sought, say, on the Cahuilla, a southern California desert tribe, the researcher could turn to Riverside County and find that pertinent documents and materials are located at the Malki Museum, Palm Springs Desert Museum, Thomas Rivera Library, and Jurupa Mountains Cultural Center. Collections held in other states and countries are also listed. For example, the Huntington Free Library of the Bronx, New York, contains the papers of anthropologist Constance Goddard duBois, who studied the Indians of southern California during the 1930s.

Vane and Bean conclude their book with a list of periodicals that have published articles on California Indians, a section on booksellers, and a guide to audiovisual materials, collections of recorded music, photographs, and slides.

Complementary and invaluable, *Timés Flotsam* and *California Indians: Primary Resources* belong within easy reach of those seeking to expand their knowledge and understanding of the indigenous peoples of California. CHS

## *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents.*

By David J. Weber. (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1990, 82 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Richard Batman, Professor Emeritus of History at San Francisco State University and author of American Ecclesiastes and The Outer Coast.*

David J. Weber's slight, eighty-page *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827*, is appropriately sub-titled "A New Cache of Documents." These documents, seven letters bearing on Smith's activities in California during 1826 and 1827, were discovered by Weber in Mexico's Archivo General de la Nacion in 1984 and 1985. Four of the letters, two written by Smith and two by his second in command Harrison Roger, are in English. The other three, written by Captain Luis Argüello, comandante of the San Francisco presidio, are in Spanish. These, Weber admits, he has translated "rather freely," but provides the Spanish text for those who prefer to do their own translation.



A rare, posthumous portrait of Jedediah Smith, trapper and explorer of Spanish California and the West, is believed to be the work of one of his companions, painted from memory in the late nineteenth century. Courtesy Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies, University of the Pacific.

The most valuable aspect of these newly discovered letters is the insight they provide into the thinking of Rogers, Smith, and Argüello. Beyond that, the documents provide a few previously unknown details but do not add anything essentially new to the story of Jed Smith's visit to California.

Neither does the author's commentary. Certainly, he offers an accurate summation of the visit, but it suffers somewhat from being the wrong argument at the wrong place. In an attempt to make these documents seem more important than they are, he constructs a straw man labeled "most historians." Of Smith's first departure from California, for example, he writes, "most historians, perhaps supposing that the pious Smith could not have been deceitful, have given Smith the benefit of the doubt by arguing that he must have thought that once he left the area of the California

coastal settlements, he was out of California and 'had complied with the Governor's orders.'"

Such an interpretation may be true of popular, hero-worshipping works on Smith, but surely correcting the misconceptions of that audience is not the purpose of this work. A book containing "A New Cache of Documents" must be aimed at serious historians, few of whom have uncritically accepted Smith's version of the events in California. Certainly Dale Morgan did not, nor have most of those who have written on the subject since.

The goal of correcting an uncritical, hero worshipping approach to Jedediah Smith is an admirable one. But the fact that Smith was sometimes less than honest with the Californians is already well accepted in historical circles. If Professor Weber really wants to reassess Jedediah Smith's reputation, he could begin with the implications of his comment near the end of the book that Smith "lost his life to Comanches in a careless moment on the Santa Fe trail." To that he might add George Yount's claim, after talking to Smith's fellow trapper Arthur Black about the Umqua massacre, that "this was Smith's second defeat by Indians. . . . In both instances the disaster was attributable to carelessness." Thinking through the implications of these comments raises questions about an aspect of Smith's reputation that "most historians" have continually ignored. CHS

### *California: The Irish Dream.*

By Patrick J. Dowling. (San Francisco: Golden Gate Publishers, 1988.)

*Reviewed by Richard H. Frost, Professor of History, Colgate University, author of The Mooney Case and a specialist in Pueblo Indian history.*

This is a book for dreamers, for lovers of Gaelic myths and California magic. It was written by an Irish archivist and storyteller in San Francisco, who has resolved that his fellow Irish-American Californians should not forget their glorious history in the Emerald Isle and the Golden State. The book begins in third century Celtic Ireland with the invitation of the auburn-haired princess Niamh to the warrior-bard Oisín to sojourn with her in "Tir-na-nog," the Kingdom of Youth, a land "the most delightful of all under the sun," where trees are burdened with blossom and fruit, the air is filled with sweet music, and Oisín's days would be spent free of sickness or wasting, with horses and hounds, feasts and drink, and "a hundred glad young maidens" (p. 5). The nymph was promoting California real estate: Oisín was the first of myriad to succumb. Eventually he returned home to vouchsafe to his fellow Irishmen that they, too, would one day reach this Promised Land. It took a while. In 1795 Joseph O'Cain was the

next to make it. By 1980 the Irish and their descendants in California had grown to 3,726,000, "the largest population of Irish ancestry . . . of any State in the Union" (p. 1).

Dowling's focus is on the nineteenth century. His format is biographical: the book is a series of adulatory sketches of several score persons who fulfilled "the panorama of Irish dreams" in California and created "an Irish success story unequalled anywhere else on our globe" (p. 12). Here are John Downey, the first Irish-born governor of California; James McClatchy, founder of the *Sacramento Bee*; John Daly, father of Daly City; United States Senator John Conness; Martin Murphy, the Santa Clara land baron; James Phelan, Sr., banker and entrepreneur; Kate Kennedy, San Francisco suffragist and educator; Tom Maguire, San Francisco's great impresario; Patrick Manogue, bishop of the Mother Lode; William Shoney O'Brien, silver king; James Concannon, pioneer vintner; and many others. One of the most appealing chapters is the final one, "Little Ireland," a survey of the many Irishmen who settled, farmed, and founded villages and businesses throughout Marin County.

For the most part, Dowling concentrates on persons of wealth and power. He has primarily identified California's Irish heroes by the same yardsticks of capitalism and politics that have bullied alternate models of American success for the past century and a half. The only priest here is a bishop, the only artist—Catherine Hayes—an opera star whose performances commanded fabulous box prices at auction. Of course the book comes off with a Celtic flair, for the California Irish were sociable; one of the best was Dan O'Connell, master of Bohemian Club highjinks. But the reader will search in vain for the Irish who defied California's dominant conservative ethos. Denis Kearney, the Irish-born champion of anti-Oriental racism (the Chinese, he said, "lived on rice and rats") is not present, nor is there a single Irish labor leader or radical agitator such as Tom Mooney. These Irish-Americans dreamed the wrong dreams and were not invited to the party. To be sure, Dowling has high praise for the Fenians, those nineteenth-century freedom-fighters and terrorists who "inspire[d] Irish nationalism for generations" (p. 352); but the Fenian chapter is disappointing: it deals with the abortive raid on Canada in 1866 more than with Fenian activities in California, which evidently were limited to some street celebrations.

Dowling's grasp of California history is episodic and anecdotal. In the bibliography there are more books on Irish history than on the history of California. The book is full of charm and nostalgia, but it reads as though the manuscript—save some scattered paragraphs—fell into a deep sleep about seventy years ago and was only recently awakened by the printer. The California historian most frequently cited in the text (there are no notes) is Hubert Howe Bancroft, whose major works on California were published a century ago. CHS



## California Historical Society BOOK SALE

### **BACKSTORY: INTERVIEWS WITH SCREEN- WRITERS OF HOLLYWOOD'S GOLDEN AGE**

By Pat McGilligan

A delightfully acute and articulate band of screenwriters tells their side of what happened, on and off the set, before the cameras rolled. Their reminiscences are both entertaining and instructive for anyone who cares about the art of film—past or present. Paper, \$10.95.

### **BITTER MELON: STORIES FROM THE LAST RURAL CHINESE TOWN IN AMERICA**

By Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow

Paper, \$17.95.

### **BOYHOOD DAYS**

By Ygnacio Villegas and edited by Dr. Albert Shumate

\$7.95.

### **A COMPANION TO CALIFORNIA (1978)**

By James D. Hart

The complete reference book on the most populous state in the Union. Its 3,000 cross-referenced entries cover California from Alcatraz to Zanut. This painstakingly thorough yet delightful guide includes entries on cities and counties, newspapers, missions, flora and fauna, architecture, climate, politics, ethnic groups, literature, and famous figures. Hardback, \$35.00.

### **DEATH VALLEY AND THE AMARGOSA: A LAND OF ILLUSION**

By Richard E. Lingenfelter

In the *California History* review, Richard Dillon says that this book "will seed many other studies, for it is full of new ideas, new information." Richard Lingenfelter has written an exhaustive story of the arid region straddling the California Nevada border, the Amargosa River country of the "greater Death Valley." Paper, \$13.95.

### **THE DIARIES AND WRITING OF ANNA MORRISON REED, 1849-1921**

Edited by John E. Keller

These writings provide fresh, first-hand insights into the condition of Northern California during the last half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. As a popular lecturer and writer, Reed's singular philosophy of life mingled Victorian ideas with latter-day feminist concepts. Hardback, \$8.00.

### **ESSAYS AND ASSAYS: CALIFORNIA HISTORY REAPPRAISED**

Edited by George H. Knoles

Eminently readable accounts by nine outstanding California historians, which together create a book of rare freshness and lively writing. Characterized by their unusual points of view, these essays combine information and speculation which challenge the myths by which Californians, no less than others, live. Hardback, \$5.95.

### **EYE ON THE SKY: LICK OBSERVATORY'S FIRST CENTURY**

By Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh

The world's first mountain-top observatory and America's first big-science research center, Lick Observatory exemplifies astronomy's dramatic development in the past century. *Eye on the Sky* presents the observatory from the point of view of the people who breathed life into its giant telescopes and helped to change our conception of the universe and our place in it. Hardback, \$23.00.

### **FELIPE DE NEVE: FIRST GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA**

By Edwin A. Beilharz

De Neve transformed California from an appendage of Baja California into the last important outpost of Spain's empire. He rewrote the laws, founded Los Angeles and San Jose, and built presidios and missions. This is an intimate and incisive portrait of the man who might be called the "Founder of California." Hardback, \$10.00.

### **IF THE WALLS COULD TALK—COLUSA'S ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE**

By Jane Foster Carter

Hardback, \$40.00

### **INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA: THE CHANGING IMAGE**

By James J. Rawls

This important new book examines white images of the California tribes from the earliest Spanish contacts to the present, and finds that the images tell us more about the image-makers than the Indians themselves. No other writer has traced this evolution of attitudes and treatment, an analysis based on exhaustive research into thousands of written and visual images of individual Indians. Paper, \$7.95.

## LOS ANGELES FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO

By W.W. Robinson

This classic history of the Plaza was revised in 1981 by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. The book covers the history of Los Angeles through the American period and the passing of El Pueblo at the turn of the century. The book includes a guide to the Pueblo State Historical Monument. Paper, \$5.95.

## THE MAKING OF GOLDEN GATE PARK 1906-1950

By Raymond Clary

Clary's book clearly documents the continual threat to urban parklands. From political forces who would "develop" parks with cultural facilities to rich private donors who bequeath statuary and even buildings to be placed on public land, the effect is the same: the diminution of open space within our city. Paper, \$12.95.

## PALOS VERDES PENINSULA: TIME AND THE TERRACED LAND

By Augusta Fink

In this book, the story of the terraced land, as captivating as its landscape, is told with memorable clarity. Among the intriguing cast of characters are Cabrillo and Vizcaíno, the Dominguezes, and the Sepulvedas, the Bixbys and Phineas Banning, and finally the Vanderlip family of financiers. Development of San Pedro Harbor, as well as that of the rest of the Peninsula, is described in detail. Paper, \$9.95.

## THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN

By Robert Chamberlain

Hardback, \$5.95.

## TO THE PROMISED LAND

By Ken Light

In this splendid photographic essay, the plight and pride of the Mexican migrant worker to survive and succeed is dramatically presented to the viewer-reader. Beginning with the introduction by Richard Rodriguez setting the mood for the migrant workers' stay, the cogent explanatory text by Mary Jo McConahay, and the excerpts from nearly fifty interviews by Samuel Orozco, we gain tremendous insight into the lives of these Mexican *indocumentados*. To give added impact to this story we have the visual documentation of photographs by Ken Light. Hardback, \$25.00.

## INDEX TO THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Vols 1-40, 1922-1961, \$6.40.

Vols 41-54, 1962-1975, \$9.00.

## BACK ISSUES OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Back issues of available *California History* magazines from 1944 to the present can be purchased at the following prices:

1944 through Spring 1990 - \$5.95 each.

Summer 1990 to present - \$7.95 each.

Exception: "Railroads in California and the Far West,"

Spring 1991 - \$9.95 each.

## POSTERS, PRINTS AND NOTECARDS

After Dark (boxing playbill)	\$7.00
San Francisco Wharf	\$15.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	\$8.00
History of California Women	\$8.00
Box of 10 notecards, pen and ink drawing of the Whittier Mansion, brick red on ivory	\$10.00

No tax is charged on magazines.

Please add postage and handling - \$2.90 for first item, \$.75 for each additional item. California sales tax is 7 percent.

Send orders to: CHS Books, 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109.

Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.



# CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

Allen, Richard Sanders. *The Northrop Story, 1929-1939*. New York: Orion Books, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-517-56677-X. Order from: Crown Pubs. Inc., Div. of Random House Inc.; 201 E. 50th St.; New York, NY 10011.

*Background to Discovery: Pacific Exploration from Dampier to Cook*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. \$35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-06208-6. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Busch, Briton Cooper, ed. *Fremont's Private Navy: The 1846 Journal of Captain William Dane Phelps*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1987. \$36.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-175-0. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Calhoun, Frederick S. *The Lawmen: United States Marshals and Their Deputies, 1789-1989*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87474-396-6. Order from: Smithsonian Institution Press; 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7100; Washington, D.C. 20560.

*California: A Guide to the Golden State*. Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers Project Staff. Reprint of 1939 ed. Detroit: Omnigraphics Inc., 1991. \$55.00 (cloth) ISBN: 1-55888-355-X. Order from: Omnigraphics Inc.; 2400 Penobscot Bldg.; Detroit, MI 48226.

Demars, Stanford E. *The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991. \$19.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87480-367-5. Order from: University of Utah Press; University Services Bldg.; Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

Finegan, W. Robert. *California Furniture: The Craft and the Artistry*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-347-2. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Flehr, Paul. *Inventors and Their Inventions:*

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

*A California Legacy Seen Through the Eyes of a Patent Attorney*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1990. \$22.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87015-261-0. Order from: Pacific Books; Post Office Box 558; Palo Alto, CA 94302-0558.

Ford, Raymond, Jr. *Santa Barbara Wildfires: Fire on the Hills*. Photography by Keith Cullom. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, Publishers, 1991. \$15.00 (paperback) ISBN: 0-87461-101-6. Order from: McNally & Loftin, Publishers; 5390 Overpass Road; Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

Frusetta, Peter C. *Beyond the Pinnacles: The History and Folklore of Southern San Benito County*. Tres Pinos: P. Frusetta, 1990. \$14.95 (paper, includes tax, plus \$3.00 postage and handling). Order from: Peter Frusetta; Post Office Box 246; Tres Pinos, CA 95075.

Gregory, James Noble. *American Exodus, the Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-19-504423-1. Order from: Oxford University Press; 2001 Evans Rd.; Cary, NC 27513.

Gullard, Pamela, and Nancy Lund. *His-*

*tory of Palo Alto: The Early Years*. San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1989. \$19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-942087-04-6. Order from: Scottwall Associates; 95 Scott St.; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Hamalian, Linda. *A Life of Kenneth Rexroth*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-393-02944-1. Order from: W.W. Norton & Company; 500 Fifth Ave.; New York, NY 10110.

Hamilton, Ian. *The Writers in Hollywood, 1915-1951*. New York: Harper & Row, 1990. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-06-016231-7. Order from: Harper & Row, Publishers; Keystone Industrial Pk.; Scranton, PA 18512.

Hansen, Gladys C., and Emmet Condon. *Denial of Disaster: The Untold Story & Unpublished Photographs of the San Francisco Earthquake & Fire of 1906*. San Francisco: Cameron and Company, 1989. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-918684-33-1. Order from: Cameron and Company; 543 Howard St.; San Francisco, CA 94105.

Haslam, Gerald W. *The Other California: The Great Central Valley in Life and Letters*. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1990. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-88496-321-7. Order from: Capra Press; Post Office Box 2068; Santa Barbara, CA 93120.

Hicks, Patricia J. *Stories of a Goldminer: Trinity County California 1848-1861*. Weaverville: I Collect Facts, 1989. \$5.00 (paper). Order from: I Collect Facts; Post Office Box 370; Weaverville, CA 96093-0370.

Hicks, Patricia J. *Weaverville, Trinity County, California*. Weaverville: I Collect Facts, 1990. \$5.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-96263-921-4. Order from: I Collect Facts; Post Office Box 370; Weaverville, CA 96093-0370.

Hobbs, Fredric. *The Spirit of the Monterey Coast*. Palo Alto: Tioga Pub. Co., 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-935382-73-9. Order from: Tioga Publishing Company; Post Office Box 50490; Palo Alto, CA 94303.

Hollinger, Evelyn. *La Verne, The Story of the People Who Made a Difference: A History of the City of La Verne, California*. La Verne: Historical Society of La Verne, 1989. \$45.50 (paper). Order from: Historical Society of La Verne; Post Office Box 7761; La Verne, CA 91750-7761.

Kelley, Robert. *Battling the Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, and the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. \$32.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-06487-9. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

King, William. *The San Gabriel Valley: Chronicle of an Abundant Land: An Illustrated History*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. \$27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-344-8. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Klein, Norman M. and Martin J. Schiesl, eds. *Los Angeles and the Memory of Many Hopes: 20th Century Los Angeles, Power, Promotion, and Social Conflict*. Claremont: Regina Books, 1990. \$21.95 (cloth). Order from: Regina Books; Post Office Box 280; Claremont, CA 91711.

LeManger, Charles R. *Ramona and Round About: A History of San Diego County's Little Known Back Country*. Ramona: Eagle Peak Publishing Company, 1989. \$18.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9611102-1-X, \$11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9611102-2-8. Order from: Eagle Peak Publishing Company; 15703 Vista Vicente Drive; Ramona, CA 92065.

*Los Angeles: A Guide to the City & Its Environs*. Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers Project Staff. Reprint of the 1941 ed. Detroit: Omnigraphics Inc., 1991. \$55.00 (cloth) ISBN: 1-55888-408-4. Order from: Omnigraphics Inc.; 2400 Penobscot Bldg.; Detroit, MI 48226.

Mord, Jeanne and Bette R. Millis. *Sentiments of Love: Rural Churches of California*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1990. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-931832-39-X. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office

Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Outland, Charles. *Sespe Gunsmoke: An Epic Tale of Rancher versus Squatters*. Ventura and Spokane: Ventura County Historical Society and The Arthur H. Clark Publishing Company, 1991. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-190-4, \$13.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87062-205-6. Order from: Ventura County Museum of History and Art; 100 East Main Street; Ventura, CA 93001.

Polk, Dora Beale. *The Island of California: A History of the Myth*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1991. \$39.50 (cloth, shipping and handling, \$2.00, waived if check accompanies order) ISBN: 0-87062-198-X. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Polos, Nicholas C. *San Dimas: Preserving the Western Spirit*. Pasadena: Castle Press, 1990. \$35.00 (cloth). Order from: San Dimas City Hall; 245 East Bonita Avenue; San Dimas, CA 91773.

Postel, Mitchell P. *The University Club of San Francisco: Centennial History 1890-1990*. San Francisco: University Club of San Francisco, 1990. \$30.00 (cloth, Calif. residents add \$2.10) ISBN: 0-962-75400-5. Order from: The Manager; University Club; 800 Powell Street; San Francisco, CA 94108.

Pratt, Addison. *The Journals of Addison Pratt, Being a Narrative of Yankee Whaling in the Eighteen Twenties: A Mormon Mission to the Society Islands, and of Early California and Utah in the Eighteen Forties and Fifties*. Edited by George Ellsworth. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87480-335-7. Order from: University of Utah Press; University Services Bldg.; Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

Ramirez, Salvador A. *From New York to San Francisco Via Cape Horn in 1849: The Gold Rush Voyage of the Ship Pacific—An Eyewitness Account*. Carlsbad: The Tentacled Press, 1991. \$19.95 (plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: The Tentacled Press; 2652

Vancouver Street; Carlsbad, CA 92008.

Sand, Faith A. *A Tower of Faith in the Heart of the City, 1888-1988: Centennial History of the First Congregational Church of Long Beach, California*. Pasadena: Hope Publishing House, 1989. \$25.00 (cloth) 0-932727-22-0. Order from: Hope Publishing House; Post Office Box 60008; Pasadena, CA 91116.

Schwartz, Ellen Halteman, comp. *Northern California Art Exhibition Catalogues (1878-1915): A Descriptive Checklist & Index*. La Jolla: Laurence McGilvery, 1990. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-910938-97-0. Order from: Laurence McGilvery; Post Office Box 852; La Jolla, CA 92038.

Strevey, Tracy E. *Fulfilling Retirement Dreams: The First 25 Years of Leisure World, Laguna Hills*. Laguna Hills: Leisure World Historical Society of Laguna, California, 1989. \$7.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9622921-4-1. Order from: Leisure World Historical Society; Post Office Box 2220; Laguna Hills, CA 92653.

Strong, Gary E., ed. *Local History and Genealogy Resources of the California State Library*. Revised edition with an introduction by Gary F. Kurutz. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1991. \$9.95 (paper, shipping charges: one book add \$2.00, each additional book add \$.50 per book. California residents add 6.5% sales tax) ISBN: 0-929722-25-6. Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

Weber, Msgr. Francis J., comp. and ed. *El Caminito Real: A Documentary History*. 3 vols.: *California's Asistencias*; *California's Estancias*; *California's Presidio Chapels*. Los Angeles, 1988. \$45.00, the set (cloth). Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.

Wick, Robert A. *California Highway Patrol . . . Yesterday & Today*. San Rafael: Phase Three Publishing, 1990. \$18.95 (paper). Order from: Phase Three Publishing; Post Office Box 210; San Rafael, CA 94915.



## New From Utah

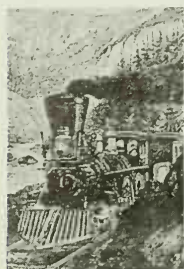


### **The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985** *Stanford E. Demars*

"Clearly, this book is ideal for any tourist who has treasured the beauty of Yosemite as well as for those who have yet to experience it for the first time."

—*The Bloomsbury Review*

(1991) Cloth \$19.95, ISBN 0-87480-367-5, 176 pages, 76 b & w photos, 4 maps, bibl., index.



### **Surveying the Canadian Pacific** Memoir of a Railroad Pioneer Copublished with the Tanner Trust Fund Volume 26, Publications in the American West

*R.M. Rylatt*

Foreword by William Kittredge

"In this case, as with so many of the great travel narratives, it is a civilized man in the wilderness, a so-called primitive situation, living out the code of his people."

—*From the Foreword by William Kittredge*

June 1991, Cloth \$24.95, ISBN 0-87480-361-6, 200 pages, 26 color illustrations, map, index.

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-444-8638, ext. 6771



### **The Open Spaces**

Incidents of Nights and Days under the Blue Sky

*John C. Van Dyke*

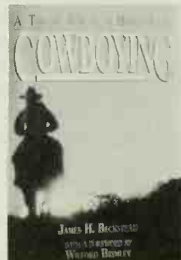
Foreword by Peter Wild

"His works are masterpieces of 'sensual seeing'..."

—*Richard Shelton*

Originally published in the early 1900s, this exquisite book is a classic in the appreciation of the Western frontier.

July 1991, Paper \$16.95, ISBN 0-87480-376-4, 288 pages.



### **Cowboy**

A Tough Job in a Hard Land

*James H. Beckstead*

Foreword by Wilford Brimley

Beckstead has pulled together a stunning collection of rare photographs from the heyday of the American cowboy, many published here for the first time. Through written research and personal interviews, he brings to life the fascinating and colorful cowboy culture.

July 1991, Cloth \$45.00 ISBN 0-87480-357-8, Paper \$19.95  
ISBN 0-87480-378-0, 300 pages, 8.5 x 11, 250 b & w photos.



University of Utah Press

VISA/MasterCard

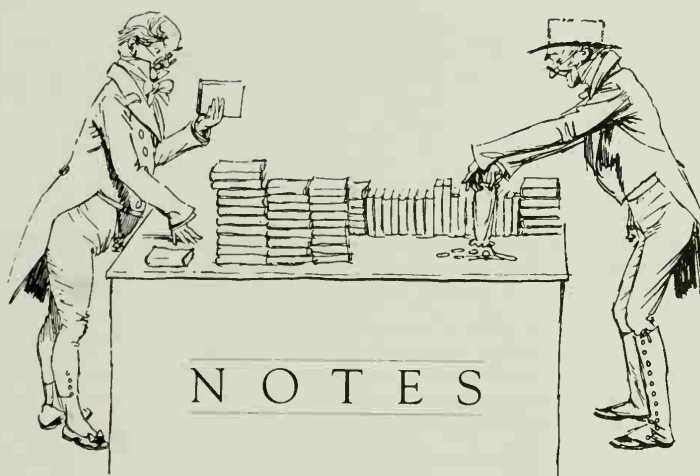
101 University Services Building Salt Lake City, Utah 84112

## California Historical Society Annual Meeting September 21, 1991

Don't Miss This Year's Annual Meeting in San Francisco. It promises to be the first of a series of stimulating and exciting CHS annual meetings for the 1990's.

This year's program will feature presentations on topics of interest in California history. CHS annual awards for contributions in the field of history will also be presented. To cap off the day, we are planning an entertainment program in living history.

Location and program details to be announced. Be sure to read more about the annual meeting in the fall 1991 issue of the *California Chronicle*.



Robertson, "Mt. Tamalpais," pp. 146-161.

1. Harold Gilliam, recounted in "A View of Man's Fate on Mt. Tam," *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle*, February 20, 1972, p. 30.
2. Ibid. The remaining quotations in this passage are also taken from this article.
3. See Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 6ff., for a good discussion of the supporting evidence and an account of other early climbs. Although Native Californians, Spaniards, and *californios* surely climbed to the summit many times, no records of their ascents are extant. The Miwok Indians who lived in Marin probably believed that the mountain was the dwelling place of very powerful spirits who would harm unwary or ritually unprepared human beings. It is doubtful, however, that this meant that the Miwok would not set foot on the summit, as claimed by white storytellers. See J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Marin County* (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen, and Co., 1880), 145-46.
4. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864* 3d ed., ed. Francis P. Farquhar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 256.
5. See Fairley, chapters 2 and 3, for a detailed account of these activities.
6. Lt. Tunis Augustus Macdonough Craven, *A Naval Campaign in the Californias, 1846-1849*, edited by John Haskell Kemble (Book Club of California, Ward Ritchie Press, 1973), as quoted in Fairley, 35.
7. Fairley, 56 and 61.
8. Bancroft's *Tourist's Guide* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1871), 86-87.
9. John S. Hittell, *Bancroft's Pacific Coast Guide Book* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1882), 119-20.
10. Constance Gordon-Cumming, *Granite*

*Crags* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1884), 42.

11. William Minturn, *Travels West* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1877), 347.
12. Sara Jane Clark Lippincott (pseud. Grace Greenwood), *New Life in New Lands* (New York: J.B. Ford & Co., 1873), 262.
13. Jessie Benton Frémont, *Souvenirs of My Time* (Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1887) and *A Year of American Travel* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878); Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey*, edited with notes and an introduction by Charles T. Duncan (New York: Knopf, 1964); Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Co., 1866); Charles Loring Brace, *The New West* (New York: Putnam & Son, 1869); Charles Carleton Coffin, *Our New Way Round the World* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1869); Fitz Hugh Ludlow, *The Heart of the Continent* (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1870); Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1867); Ludovic Marquis de Beauvoir, *Pekin, Jeddo, and San Francisco* (London: John Murray, 1872); J.H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West* (Philadelphia: National Publ. Co., 1873); John W. Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1874); G.B. Thayer, *A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson* (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1884); Arthur G. Guillemard, *Over Land and Sea* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1875); Thomas Woodbine Hinchliff, *Over the Sea and Far Away* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876); Helen Hunt Jackson, *Bits of Travel at Home* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1878); John Erastus Lester, *The Atlantic to the Pacific* (Boston: Shepard and Gill, 1873); Charles Nordhoff, *California: for Health, Pleasure, and Residence* (New York: Harber & Bro., 1872); and William Simpson, *Meeting the Sun: A Journey All Round the World* (London:

Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1874).

14. James Mason Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1868).
15. Edward Rowland Sill, *The Hermitage and other Poems* (San Francisco: H.H. Bancroft & Co., 1868), 41.
16. Clarence Umy, "As I came Down Mt. Tamalpais," in *Songs and Stories* (San Francisco: Powell Publishing Co., 1931), 321-22, selected and annotated by Edwin Markham.
17. See Ina Coolbrith, "California," in *Songs from the Golden Gate* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin & Co., 1907), 1-6; Samuel Dickson, *Tales of San Francisco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 169; and Carey McWilliams, *Ambrose Bierce* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1929), 120.
18. For a thorough discussion of the railroad and the hiking clubs, see Fairley, chapters 5, 6, and 10.
19. Harold French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan: Wild Places on Mount Tamalpais," *Overland Monthly* 44 (1904): 456 and 458, and Helen Bingham, *In Tamal Land* (San Francisco: Calkins Publishing House, 1906), 37-38.
20. State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, "Mt. Tamalpais State Park," n.d.
21. William T. Ortman, "A Washington's Birthday Tradition," *San Rafael Independent-Journal*, February 22, 1964.
22. For the most reliable information about Marin County Indians see Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8: California*, edited by Robert Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 414-25, and the additional bibliography listed there. Kelly also prepared a manuscript entitled, "Ethnographic Field Notes on the Coast Miwok Indians," 1932. She removed this manu-



- script from the Lowie Museum at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1970 with the intention of publishing it. To my knowledge she has not done so. A letter to her in 1986 has gone unanswered.
23. *Pacific Monthly* 3 (1891): 114-17. I believe that Richard McHale and I are the only researchers who have tried systematically to locate all printed versions of the legends. Unaware of Mahoney's article, he thought that Wilson's version of 1911 was the oldest. See Richard McHale, "Information on my search for 'The Legend of the Sleeping Maiden,'" Letter, July, 1959 (copy in Marin County Library) and *The Legend of the Sleeping Maiden of Mount Tamalpais* (carbon copy in Marin County Library).
  24. Platon M.G. Vallejo, *Memoirs of the Vallejos* (San Francisco: Albritton, 1914), 26-27.
  25. See John Bruce, "Tamalpais Folklore," *Call-Bulletin*, September 26, 1932; Robert O'Brien, "Riptides," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 20, 1946, p. 14; and Theodore Reindollar, "Old Indian Legend Confirms Scientific Origin of Tam," *Mill Valley Record*, April 29, 1947. See also Robert O'Brien, *This is San Francisco* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948), and Bill Strobel, "Parade," *Oakland Tribune*, February 15, 1959.
  26. Neill Compton Wilson, "The Legend of Tamalpais," in Edgar Kahn, *Tamalpais Enchanted Mountain* (San Francisco: Roxburghe Club, 1946), 59-62. In 1911, according to Kahn, "The Legend of Tamalpais" won the Yale University prize for the best unpublished verse.
  27. See McHale, *Legend*.
  28. George W. Caldwell, *Legends of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Phillips & Van Orden Co., 1919), 15-37. This version of the legend has been retold a number of times, with only minor variations. See, for example, John Bruce, "Tamalpais Folklore," *Call-Bulletin*, September 26, 1932; Bliss Brown, "Tamalpais," WPA drafts, Mt. Tamalpais folder #3, Marin County Library; Elena Fontana, "The Legend of Tamalpais," Mill Valley Public Library; and Amelia Gubbins, "Writer tells of old Mt. Tamalpais Honey-moon," *Independent-Journal*, August 6, 1949.
  29. Totheroh has left four accounts of his creation of *Tamalpa*: "His fantasy is now folklore," clipping from an unidentified newspaper in Mill Valley Public Library, History Room, Legends File; Interview by Ruth and Joe Wilson, September, 1970, typescript in Mill Valley Public Library, History Room, Legends File; Letter to Richard McHale, no date, quoted in McHale, *Legend of the Sleeping Maiden of*

- Mount Tamalpais*, typewritten, no date, carbon copy in Marin County Public Library, California Room; and "How I came to write *Tamalpa*," preface to a ms copy of *Tamalpa* in Mill Valley Public Library, History Room. Totheroh's name for the witch's daughter in the original version was *Tamelpa*, a spelling one occasionally sees today. In the Wilson interview he claims not only to have made up the names of the characters in *Tamalpa* but also the name of the tribe, Hoo-koo-e-koo. He is mistaken about the latter. C. Hart Merriam, one of the major early collectors of ethnographic information on native Californians, reported to a gathering of the Tamalpais Conservation Club in 1916, four years before Totheroh began research for his play, that "the tribe of indians [sic] formerly inhabiting the Tamalpais region called themselves Hoo'-koo-e'-ko." This information was then printed in the April 1916 issue of the club's journal, *California-out-of-Doors*.
30. See pages 82-83 of an anonymous, undated, xeroxed manuscript in the Indian File of the Mill Valley Public Library; "The Legend of Tamalpais," *Marvelous Marin*, February 1976; Jeff Dondero in *Independent-Journal*, October 8-14, 1977; and Bill Strobel, "Parade," *Oakland Tribune*, February 15, 1959.
  31. Mabelle D. Nelson, "Legend of Tamalpais' Sleeping Maiden," typescript, Mt. Tamalpais Folder #2, Marin County Public Library. Apparently someone has copied Nelson's version from an article in the *Mill Valley Record*, but I have been unable to find the original.
  32. Stanton A. Coblenz, "A Legend of Mt. Tamalpais, California," in *The Mountain of the Sleeping Maiden and Other Poems* (Mill Valley: The Wing Press, 1946), 95ff.
  33. John Bruce, "Tamalpais Folklore," *Call-Bulletin*, September 26, 1932. For somewhat different versions of this same plot, see Frances Donnelly, "Marin's Mountain and its Legends," *Independent-Journal*, July 3, 1971, and Jackie Peterson, "The High, Low and the Mighty of Mt. Tamalpais," *San Francisco Examiner*, "Pictorial Living," May 15, 1960.
  34. Robert O'Brien, "Riptides," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 20, 1946.
  35. See Richard McHale, *The Legends of the Sleeping Maiden of Mount Tamalpais*.
  36. Maria E. Sutherland, "Mt. Tamalpais," in George W. Gift, ed., *Something About California . . . Marin County* (San Rafael: San Rafael Herald, 1875), 14.
  37. Genevieve Schneider, Letter to Richard McHale, no date. Quoted in McHale, *Legend*, 85-86.

38. Margo, "East and West," June 28, 1935. Original place of publication unknown. In *History of Mill Valley Scrapbook*, vol. 2, page 227, Mill Valley Public Library.
39. One poet explicitly equates the Sleeping Maiden with a mother who comforts her children. See M.L. Church, "Tamalpais," in *Marin Scrapbook 5A*, Marin County Library.
40. Coblenz, "A Legend of Mt. Tamalpais, California."
41. In three different respects the Tamalpais legends are heretical: 1) Nature is envisioned as healer/savior; 2) Nature's agent is Indian and female; and 3) natural death is understood as a meaningful end to human life, obviating the need for a resurrection and life everlasting in a Christian heaven. Perhaps these heretical tendencies partly explain why Euro-Californians attributed their stories to Indians.

## Bullough, "Entrepreneurs," pp. 162-173.

Some of the material in this essay appeared previously in my article "Frederick Walter of the Pacific Brewery," *Trinity 1980-1981*; it is included here with the permission of the publisher, Trinity County Historical Society, Weaverville, California.

1. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920). For definitions of "urbanism," see Paul Meadows and Ephraim H. Mizruchi, eds., *Urbanism, Urbanization, and Change: Comparative Perspectives* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley, 2nd ed., 1976). See also Richard Hofstadter and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Turner and the Sociology of the Frontier* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), especially George Wilson Pierson, "The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Theory," 15-42.
2. See especially Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Grass Valley and Nevada City During the 1860s* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), and "The Decade after the Gold Rush: Social Structure in Grass Valley and Nevada City, 1850-1860," *Pacific Historical Review* 41 (November 1972): 484-504. See also Richard Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Roger W. Lotchin, *San Fran-*

- cisco, 1846-1856: *From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Kenneth W. Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); Stanford M. Lyman, "Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1850-1910," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (November 1974): 473-99; Rodman W. Paul, "After the Gold Rush: San Francisco and Portland," *Pacific Historical Review* 51 (February 1982): 1-22; Lawrence H. Larsen and Robert L. Brannan, "The Development of an Urban Civilization on the Frontier of the American West," *Societas* 1 (Winter 1971): 33-50; Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967); and Bradford E. Luckingham, "Associational Life of the Urban Frontier: San Francisco, 1848-1856" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1968).
3. From Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1938), a study of the nation's first urban frontier.
  4. Weaverville (California) *Weekly Trinity Journal*, 20 June 1857, p.2; J.J. Jackson, *Tales from "The Mountaineer"* (Weaverville, Calif.: Rotary Club, 2nd ed., 1964), 122.
  5. Frederick Walter, *The Reminiscences of Frederick Walter* (n.p., n.p., 1976). Walter wrote his memoir when he was 82 years old. In 1976, his descendants had the document printed in pamphlet form on the occasion of a family reunion. In all quotations, Walter's style and usages are retained and follow copies in the author's possession and in the archives of the Trinity County Historical Society in Weaverville.
  6. For descriptions of the early history of Trinity County and Weaverville, see especially Jackson, *Tales*, 45-51, 65-67, 85-88, 104, 121-24, 147-48, and *passim*; Alexander André, *A Frenchman at the Trinity County Mines in 1849*, intro. George Joyeaux (New York: Westerners' New York Posse, 1957); James W. Bartlett, *Trinity County, California: A Summary of Its History from May 1845 to September 1926* (Sacramento: News Publishing Co., 1926); Helen Evison Hotchkiss, "History of Early Trinity County, California" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1960); Isaac Cox, *The Annals of Trinity County* (San Francisco: Commercial Co., 1858); Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Scrapbooks," Vol. V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley); Trinity County Free Library, Weaverville, Calif., miscellaneous scrapbooks. Page references to Cox, *Annals*, cite the 1940 reprint edition.
  7. Walter, *Reminiscences*; Anthony Wood, *Europe, 1815-1945* (New York: David Mackay, 1964), 75-76, 86; Frederick B. Artz, *Reaction and Revolution, 1814-1832* (New York: Harper and Row, 1934), 276-78; Golo Mann, *The History of Germany since 1789*, trans. Marian Jackson (New York: Praeger, 1968), 65.
  8. Walter, *Reminiscences*.
  9. *Ibid.*
  10. *Ibid.*
  11. *Ibid.*
  12. *Ibid.*
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. *Ibid.*; Jackson, *Tales*, 45-48, 122, 135; San Francisco *Alta California*, 2 Aug. 1849, p.2; 1 Oct. 1849, p.3; 21 March 1850, p.1; 22 Aug. 1850, p.2; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. California: Stanislaus, Sutter, Tehama, and Trinity Counties* (Washington, D. C.: National Archive Microfilms, 1956), Reel 70.
- Correlating census data with current town boundaries presents problems. Weaverville was not incorporated in 1860 (it still is not), and census takers employed rather vague local designations—East and West Weaver, Spanish Corral, and the like—to identify districts being enumerated. As a consequence, it is not entirely apparent how many of those counted, in addition to the 777 specifically listed on the Weaverville roll, should be classified as residents of the town.
- In 1860, residents of Weaverville proper included 543 men and 234 women, a male-to-female ratio of 2.3:1. Six U.S.-born black people lived in the town, four men and two women. Forty-eight percent of the town's residents (376) were born in the United States. Of those born outside the United States, Chinese (153, 20% of the population) were most numerous. Ninety Irish-born residents (12% of the population) and 84 (11%) from German provinces and cities were the next largest groups. England (23 individuals composing 3% of the population) and Mexico (10 individuals and 2%) followed. Birthplaces of other foreign-born residents included Canada (8), France (7), Poland (5), Switzerland (4), Austria and Denmark (3), Holland (2), and Wales, Scotland, Russia, and Portugal (1 each).
15. Walter, *Reminiscences*; Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book E*, 61; *Deed Book I*, 104; *Trinity Journal*, 2 May 1857, p.4; 25 Oct. 1862, p.3.
  16. Walter, *Reminiscences*.
  17. *Ibid.*; Jackson, *Tales*, 67-68, 137; *Trinity Journal*, 20 Sept. 1856, p.2; 4 Oct. 1862, p.1; 22 Nov. 1862, p.2; 7 May 1864, p.3; 14 Oct. 1865, p.2; Trinity County Recorder, *Index to Mining Claims*, 94; Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book D*, 632-33; *Deed Book E*, 94; *Deed Book I*, 328.
  18. Cox, *Annals*, 162; *Population Schedules 1860*; *Trinity Journal*, 25 April 1857, p.2; 9 July 1859, p.2.
  19. Jackson, *Tales*, 67, 69, 137; *Trinity Journal*, 20 Sept. 1856, p.2; 13 Feb. 1858, p.3; 9 July 1859, p.2; 16 July 1859, p.2; 30 July 1859, p.2; 20 April 1861, p.2; 29 June 1861, p.25 Shasta (California) *Courier*, 17 Oct. 1863, n. p.; J. J. Jackson, *History of the Weaverville Volunteer Fire Department* (Weaverville: Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book P*, 581-82.
  20. Jackson, *Tales*, 137; *Trinity Journal*, 13 Aug. 1859, p.2; 3 March 1860, p.2; 26 March 1864, p.3; 7 May 1864, p.3; 20 Aug. 1864, p.3; 14 Oct. 1865, p.2; 5 May 1878, p.2; Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book O*, 107.
  21. Walter, *Reminiscences*; *Trinity Journal*, 12 Feb. 1859, p.3; 17 Dec. 1859, p.1; 10 May 1862, p.3; 18 June 1864, p.2; 27 April 1867, p.2; *Population Schedules 1860*; Trinity County Free Library, scrapbooks; Jackson, *Tales*, 31-34.
- Manuscript census schedules for 1860 are misleading, probably because the enumeration coincided with the death of Walter's first child. A daughter, "Victoria," aged eight months, appears on the record; this was actually a son, Vittorio Emanuele, whose name reflects his father's avid interest in current European affairs and who died on August 24, 1860. The census also lists another California-born child, three-year-old Flora, living in the Walter household. She may have resulted from a liaison that prompted a notice in the *Trinity Times* of 26 May 1855: "Whereas, my wife, Barbara Burtchel, has, without cause abandoned my bed and board and is now living with one Frederick Walters [sic], brewer, formerly of Munroeville [sic], Huron County, Ohio, notice is hereby given that after this date I will not be responsible for any debts of her contracting. [Signed] Francis Burtchel."
22. Jackson, *Tales*, 142; Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book I*, 328, 362-63, 495, 655-56; *Deed Book J*, 76; *Deed Book O*, 107; *Deed Book P*, 369-71; *Deed Book R*, 424, 581-82.
  23. *Trinity Journal*, 6 Feb. 1856, p.2; 27 March 1858, p.2; 6 Nov. 1858, p.1; 20 Nov. 1858, p.2; Jackson, *Tales*, 69, 123-24, 137, and *passim*; Jackson, *History of the Fire Depart-*



- ment, 3-4; Andrew J. Rotter, "'Matilda for God's Sake Write': Women and Families on the Argonaut Mind," *California History* 63 (Summer 1979): 129-41.
24. *Trinity Journal*, 8 March 1856, p.2; 5 July 1856, p.2; 10 April 1858, p.2; 12 March 1859, p.2; 30 April 1859, p.2; 3 Oct. 1861, p.2; 18 Oct. 1862, p.2; 9 May 1863, p.2; 9 March 1867, p.2; Jackson, *Tales*, 142-43; Cox, *Annals*, 136.
25. Lyman, "Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation," 480; Tony Fels, "Religious Assimilation in a Fraternal Organization: Jews and Freemasonry in Gilded-Age San Francisco," *American Jewish History* 74 (June 1985): 369-403; Luckingham, "Associational Life"; Jackson, *Tales*, 121; *Trinity Journal*, 20 Sept. 1856, p.2.
26. *Trinity Journal*, 9 Jan. 1858, p.2; 10 July 1858, p.2; 2 July 1859, p.2; 16 July 1859, p.2; 6 April 1861, p.2; 9 Jan. 1864, p.3; 26 March 1864, p.3; 6 Jan. 1866, p.2; 11 Jan. 1868, p.2.
27. *Ibid.*, 25 July 1857, p.2.
28. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1858, p.2; 23 July 1859, p.2; 6 Aug. 1859, p.2; Earl Pomeroy, "California, 1846-1860: Politics of a Representative Frontier State," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 32 (December 1953): 291-302.
29. *Trinity Journal*, 1 Sept. 1860, p.2; 8 Sept. 1860, p.1; 10 Nov. 1860, p.2; Walter, *Reminiscences*. The Union or Bell party of 1860 should not be confused with the coalition of Republicans and pro-war Democrats who assumed that title during the war.
30. Walter, *Reminiscences*.
31. *Ibid.*; *Trinity Journal*, 16 Feb. 1861, p.7; 23 Feb. 1861, p.3; 2 March 1861, p.1; 16 March 1861, p.3; 23 March 1861, pp. 2-3; Legislative Files, California State Library, Sacramento. On the Broderick-Gwin controversy, see Pomeroy, "California, 1846-1860," 300-302.
32. See Benjamin F. Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (June 1941): 154-170; Robert Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties in California during the Civil War" (Ph. D. thesis, University of California, Riverside, 1978); Judson A. Grenier, *California Legacy: The James Alexander Watson-Maria Dolores Dominguez de Watson Family, 1820-1980* (Los Angeles: Watson Land Co., 1987).
33. *Ibid.*; *Trinity Journal*, 5 Jan. 1861, p.2; 9 Aug. 1862, p.1; 16 Aug. 1862, p.2; 23 March 1863, p.1; 16 July 1864, p.2; 6 Aug. 1864, p.2; 2 Sept. 1865, p.2.
34. *Trinity Journal*, 2 March 1861, p.1.
35. *Ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1861, p.1; Walter, *Reminiscences*.
36. *Trinity Journal*, 8 June 1861, p.3; 16 Aug. 1862, p.2; 6 June 1863, p.3; 5 Sept. 1863, p.2; 16 July 1864, p.2; 6 Aug. 1864, p.3; Walter, *Reminiscences*.
37. *Trinity Journal*, 9 April 1863, p.3; 7 May 1864, pp. 2, 3; 16 July 1864, p.2; 6 Aug. 1864, p.3.  
A letter signed "German Democrat" appeared in the *Trinity Journal* in October 1864 and urged members of the party to vote for Union candidates. Similarities between its style and that of Walter's memoir strongly suggest that he wrote it; see *Trinity Journal*, 29 Oct. 1864, p.3.
38. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1864, p.3; 26 Nov. 1864, p.3; 5 Aug. 1865, p.3.
39. *Ibid.*, 2 Sept. 1865, p.2.
40. *Ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1865, p.2; 16 Sept. 1865, p.2.
41. *Ibid.*, 11 Nov. 1865, p.2; 6 Jan. 1866, p.2; 10 March 1866, p.2; 2 Feb. 1867, p.2; Walter, *Reminiscences*; Scrapbooks, Trinity County Free Library.
42. Walter, *Reminiscences*; Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book O*, 107; *Trinity Journal*, 14 Oct. 1865, p.2; 10 March 1866, p.2.
43. *Trinity Journal*, 6 Jan. 1866, p.2; 21 July 1866, p.2; 3 Aug. 1867, p.4.
44. *Ibid.*, 3 Aug. 1867, pp. 3, 4; 7 Sept. 1867, p.3; 21 Sept. 1867, p.3; Walter, *Reminiscences*.
45. Trinity County Recorder, *Deed Book D*, 218, 632-33; *Deed Book E*, 94; *Deed Book J*, 676; *Deed Book P*, 369-71; *Deed Book R*, 351, 424.
46. *Trinity Journal*, 6 Oct. 1866, p.2; 19 Jan. 1867, p.2.
47. *Ibid.*, 17 Dec. 1859, p.2; 10 May 1862, p.3; 18 June 1864, p.2; 27 April 1867, p.2; Scrapbooks, Trinity County Free Library; Walter, *Reminiscences*.
48. *Trinity Journal*, 26 Oct. 1867, p.3.
49. *Ibid.*, 28 March 1868, p.2; Jackson, *Tales*, 142.
50. *Trinity Journal*, 23 Jan. 1904, p.2.
51. *Population Schedules 1860*. If the Chinese are included, the foreign-born proportion was fifty-two percent; see above, note 13.

Franks, "Rube Levy," pp. 174-191.

1. Quoted in William A. Bullough, *The Blind Boss and His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 34; San Francisco City Directories, 1862-1878; 1880 manuscript Schedule of the Tenth Census, United States Bureau of the Census.
2. San Francisco City Directories, 1862-1886. For good social history of San Francisco's

laboring and lower middle-class people, see Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Peter Decker, *Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); Michael Kazin, *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era* (Champaign, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Neil Shumsky, "Tar Flat and Nob Hill: A Social History of Industrial San Francisco During the 1870s" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1972); Jules Tygiel, "Workingmen in San Francisco, 1880-1901" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977); Joel Franks, "Boot and Shoemakers in 19th-Century San Francisco: A Study in Class, Culture, Ethnicity, and Popular Protest in an Industrializing Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 1983).

3. 1880 Schedule of the Tenth Census, United States Bureau of the Census.
4. William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern, "San Francisco's Fighting Jew," *California Historical Quarterly* 53 (Winter 1974): 336; Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 93-127; Roberta Park, "German Association and Sporting Life in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area," *Journal of the West* XXVI (January 1987): 47-65.
5. Joel Franks, "Ballists, Magnates, and Boosters: Baseball and Cultural Pluralism in 19th-century California Communities," work in progress.
6. Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); David Gordon, et al., *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1977); Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980); Susan Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of the Crafts in Newark: 1800-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978).
7. Joel Stephen Franks, "Boot and Shoemakers"; San Francisco City Directory, 1860-61.
8. *Ibid.*, chapters two, five, and six.
9. *Ibid.*, chapter two.
10. *Ibid.*, chapters six and seven.

11. Ibid., chapter three. John S. Hittell, *Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1884), 509.
12. Franks, "Boot and Shoemakers," 245.
13. Ibid.; San Francisco City Directories, 1880-1905; Boot and Shoemakers White Labor League, Minutes Book, 1890-1892.
14. Franks, "Boot and Shoemakers," chapters eight and nine.
15. Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1980), 155.
16. San Francisco Chronicle, April 4, 1881, p. 3.
17. For the origins of organized baseball nationally, see Peter Levine, A.G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Riess, *Touching Base*; Ted Vincent, *Mudville's Revenge: The Rise and Fall of American Sport* (New York: Seabury Press, 1981), chapters four through seven; Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); David Q. Voigt, *American Baseball, vol. 1: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System*, 2nd ed. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1983).
18. Franks, "Magnates," chapter two.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., chapter three.
21. *California Spirit of the Times*, January 11, 1879, p. 193.
22. Franks, "Magnates," chapter three.
23. San Francisco Chronicle, July 4, 1881, p. 1; December 12, 1881, p. 1.
24. Herbert G. Lowery, "Early Teams," Ibid., August 11, 1907, p. 3.
25. Ibid., September 12, 1882, p. 3.
26. Ibid., July 2, 1882, p. 1; *Sporting News*, June 28, 1886, p. 1.
27. Ibid., July 24, 1882, p. 3.
28. Ibid., May 19, 1883, p. 4; *Sporting Life*, July 22, 1883, p. 7. For more on one of San Francisco's most famous nineteenth-century ballplayers, Charley Sweeney, see Joel Franks, "Sweeney of San Francisco: A Local Boy Makes Good, Then Not So Good," *Baseball History II* (Winter 1987/1988): 52-63.
29. San Francisco Chronicle, November 18, 1884, p. 1.
30. Ibid., May 9, 1885, p. 3.
31. *Sporting Life*, December 2, 1885, p. 2.
32. Ibid., October 28, 1885, p. 2; December 2, 1885, p. 3.
33. Joel Franks, "The California League of 1886-1893: The Last Refuge of Disorganized Baseball," *The Californians VI* (May/June 1988): 50-56.
34. San Francisco Chronicle, October 27, 1885, p. 5; September 2, 1889, p. 5; *Daily Alta* California, April 1, 1889, p. 8.
35. San Francisco Chronicle, July 20, 1885, p. 3; September 22, 1889, p. 16.
36. Ibid., September 21, 1886, p. 3; Joel Franks "Magnates," chapters two and four.
37. San Francisco Chronicle, August 18, 1887, p. 3; Joel Franks "Magnates," chapter four.
38. San Francisco Chronicle, June 20, 1892, p. 4; *Daily Alta California*, October 1, 1888, p. 1.
39. Ibid., April 6, 1891; June 3, 1893, p. 5.
40. Ibid., January 9, 1888, p. 8; *Alta*, October 1, 1888, p. 1.
41. Ibid., April 29, 1893, p. 5.
42. San Francisco Examiner, May 6, 1889, p. 5.
43. San Francisco Chronicle, March 26, 1893, p. 21.
44. Ibid., August 19, 1889, p. 5; June 2, 1890, p. 5; December 1, 1890, p. 3; December 15, 1890, p. 2.
45. Joel Franks, "California League."
46. Ibid.; *Sporting Life*, February 9, 1889, p. 1; Levine, *Spalding*; Vincent, *Mudville*; Seymour, *Baseball*, Vol. 1; Voigt, *American Baseball*.
47. Franks, "California League"; San Francisco Chronicle, October 10, 1892, p. 8.
48. Franks, "California League."
49. Ibid.; San Francisco Chronicle, August 12, 1893, p. 7; August 15, 1893, p. 7.
50. San Francisco Chronicle, October 3, 1893, p. 11.
51. Ibid., August 5, 1894, p. 18; September 10, 1894, p. 8.
52. San Jose Mercury, May 14, 1899, p. 5.
53. San Francisco Chronicle, April 2, 1900, p. 8; September 15, 1900, p. 8.
54. Joel Franks, "Of Heroes and Boors: Early Bay Area Baseball," *Baseball Research Journal XVI* (1987): 45-47.
55. San Francisco Chronicle, November 8, 1903, p. 28.
56. Ibid., February 9, 1907, p. 8.
57. Ibid.; San Francisco Examiner, February 9, 1907, p. 8; San Francisco City Directory, 1903, 1905.
58. Ibid.
59. The literature on the contradictory social and cultural processes contributing to the origins and growth of modern baseball is significant and growing. See the works cited in footnote 17 and also the chapters on baseball in Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), and Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sport* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). Also, for a good argument for the non-pastoral roots of nineteenth-century baseball see Steven Gelber, "Working at Playing: The Culture of the Workplace and the Rise of Baseball," *Journal of Sports History XVI* (June 1983): 8, 10-12.
60. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (Warner Books: New York City, 1979), 195-96.

Woirol, "Men on the Road," pp. 192-204.

1. W. Jett Lauck and Edgar Sydenstricker, *Conditions of Labor in American Industries: A Summarization of the Results of Recent Investigations* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1917), 150, 173; John A. Fitch, "Old and New Labor Problems in California," *Survey* 32 (September 19, 1914): 610. Carleton H. Parker, "The Casual Laborer," in *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, Carleton H. Parker (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 80. The details about seasonal employment are from Frederick C. Mills, untitled paper headed "E-6," Mills papers, 5. The papers of F.C. Mills used in this article are in the possession of his son William H. Mills and are used with his permission.
2. Histories of itinerancy include Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Roger Bruns, *Knights of the Road: A Hobo History* (New York: Menthuen, 1980); Kenneth L. Kusmer, "The Underclass in Historical Perspective: Tramps and Vagrants in Urban America, 1870-1930," in *On Being Homeless: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Rick Beard (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1987), 21-31; and Eric H. Monkkenon, ed., *Walking to Work: Tramps in America: 1790-1935* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). Accounts of life on the road include Josiah Flynt, *Tramping With Tramps: Studies and Sketches of Vagabond Life* (New York: The Century Co., 1901); Jack London, *The Road*, in *The Bodley Head Jack London*, v. III, ed. Arthur Calder-Marshall (London: Bodley Head, 1964); John J. McCook, "Leaves from the Diary of a Tramp," *Independent* 53 (November 21, 1901): 2760-67; and Walter Wyckoff, *The Workers: An Experiment in Reality 2 v.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897). A summary of surveys of tramps from the East and Midwest and a list of other firsthand accounts of hobo life can be found in John C. Schneider, "Tramping Workers, 1890-1920: A Subcultural View," in Monkkenon, *Walking to Work*, 212-34. The quotation is from Mills, "E-6," 5.
3. For the Wheatland riot, see Carleton H.



- Parker, "The Wheatland Riot and What Lay Back of It," *Survey* 31 (March 21, 1914): 768-70; Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 294-300; and Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley*, vol. II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1961), 106-12. For Kelley's Army see E. Guy Talbott, "The Armies of the Unemployed in California," *Survey* 32 (August 22, 1914): 523-24; and McGowan, *Sacramento Valley*, 112-16. The quotation is from Parker, "Casual Laborer," 62. The work of the Commission of Immigration and Housing is discussed in the *First Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1915).
- References to Mills's journal are indicated by headings he used and are not otherwise noted. Most spelling and punctuation errors have been corrected silently.
- Mills's comments on the orange industry are in his reports "The Orange Industry of Central California," 1914, and "A Supplementary Report Concerning Orange Picking Conditions," 1914, both in the Mills papers.
- Mills, "E-6," 7. Mills's remarks about the dynamics of itinerant life are important. Schneider, "Tramping Workers," 220, for example, implies that most men readily left tramping and that the tramping life was a healthy one.
- Mills, "E-6," 3.
- Frederick C. Mills, "The Hobo and the Migratory Casual on the Road," Mills papers, AA.
- Ibid. For early attitudes toward tramps see Michael B. Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History* (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 157-65; and Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 226-29.
- For later analyses of factors creating large-scale itinerancy see Katz, *Poverty and Policy*; Kusmer, "The Underclass"; and Rodgers, *Work Ethic*.
- Carleton H. Parker, "Statistical Tables from Life History Schedules Selected at Random Among Casual Laborers in California," in *Report on Unemployment*, California Commission of Immigration and Housing (Sacramento: State Printing Office, December 9, 1914), 47-53.
- Ibid.
- Carleton H. Parker, "Statistical Summary of Camp Returns of 801 Camps," in *Report on Unemployment*, 57-58.
- Parker, "California Casual," 73.
- Ibid.; Anderson, *The Hobo*, 137-49. John Schneider, in a recent study of the characteristics of tramping workers nationwide between 1890 and 1920, concluded that although contemporary observers were reticent to investigate the question, "homosexuality was clearly central to the relationship between hardened tramps and the runaway boys they often adopted to train in the ways of the road." Eric Monkkenon, in another recent study, concluded that among the many unanswered questions about the tramp population is the proportion that was gay. According to Monkkenon, the most that can be said is that "we are best off guessing that a smaller culture of gays and outcasts existed within the larger subculture of traveling workers." Schneider, "Tramping Workers," 213-15; Eric H. Monkkenon, "Introduction," in Monkkenon, *Walking to Work*, 14.
- Carleton H. Parker, "The IWW," in Parker, *Casual Laborer*, 123-24.
- Peter A. Speck, "Report on Psychological Aspect of the Problem of Floating Laborers: An Analysis of Life Stories," June 25, 1915, United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Department of Labor, Record Group 174, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1, 1, 7.
- Parker, "California Casual," 70-71, 73.
- Kusmer, "The Underclass," 22; Bruns, *Knights of the Road*, 68. For a summary of other surveys see Schneider, "Tramping Workers," 213-17.
- A comparison with British economic history suggests that an era of itinerant workers was a common feature in the evolution of industrial economies. See E.J. Hobsbawm, "The Tramping Artisan," in *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, ed. E.J. Hobsbawm (New York: Basic Books, 1964), 34-63.
- Communications, "California Mission Indians," pp. 206-215.
- NUNIS LETTER
- Castillo's article, *California History* LXVIII (Fall 1989): 117-213, 150-152 (notes). Hereinafter cited as Castillo.
- Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890), II: 388, note 44. Later in this volume, p. 625, note 11, Bancroft dismisses Asisara's account of another friar in this way: "[he] tells many stories of the friar's peculiarities which hardly merit reproduction here." (Emphasis in both quotations supplied.)
- (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 162-168. It should be noted that Bancroft did not write volumes 2-5 of his *History of California*; they were written by Henry L. Oak. Bancroft did author *California Pastoral*, which is at best a mishmash of a book. Ruth F. Axe, et al., eds., *A Visit to the Missions of Southern California . . . by Henry L. Oak* (Los Angeles, 1981), 2.
- Castillo, 117-118, citing Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 146.
- Ibid., pp. 146-147, and note 54. (Emphasis supplied.) Castillo has mixed up San Miguel with San Carlos in respect to the three Indians being arrested and flatly declares that the padres were poisoned by the neophytes.
- Castillo, 118.
- Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 149-150. (Emphasis supplied.)
- Ibid., 146-147 and note 54. (Emphasis supplied.)
- Ibid., 147, note 54.
- Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Antonio de Padua, the Mission in the Sierras* (Santa Barbara, 1930), 105.
- Ibid., 105-106.
- Ibid., 105; Henry Harris, *California's Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932), 24, 27-28.
- Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848* (San Marino, 1968), 200; Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., ed. and trans., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1965), II: 253-254. See also Lasuén to Fray José Gasol, March 30, 1802, *ibid.*, 286.
- Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., *Fermín Francisco de Lasuén (1736-1803): A Biography* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 321-323 and note 48 on 322-323.
- Dr. Morelos would not have known the symptoms of general peritonitis, for that medical diagnosis was not described until 1886 by Dr. Reginald H. Fitz at the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, who coined the word "appendicitis" and recommended immediate surgery if there was a threat of rupture which would lead to general peritonitis and, at that time, sure death. James Bordley, III, and A. McGehee Harvey, *Two Centuries of American Medicine, 1776-1976* (Philadelphia, 1976), 304-305.
- Castillo, 118.
- Castillo, "The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California," in *Columbia Consequences*, ed. by David R. Thomas (Washington, D.C., 1989), I: 383. (Emphasis supplied.) Note the language, "lethal dose," which it was not. Castillo also says that the cook was lashed "with a whip," and cites Bancroft, *History of California*,

- II:345. Nowhere on that page does Bancroft use the word whip.
18. The subject is treated in Bancroft, *History of California*, II:344-356, not II:149-150 as Castillo has it, which he gets right in the citation for his second incorrect description in "Native Response," 383.
  19. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:344-345. In *California Pastoral*, 187, Bancroft writes that Panto was "supposed to have been poisoned by his cook."
  20. Summary Transcript of Trial Proceedings, December 18, 1811, San Diego. California Archives, Provincial State Papers, Microfilm Reel CA-17:191-196, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Copy in Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation. Courtesy John C. MacGregor IV. Also, see Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Diego Mission* (Santa Barbara, 1920), 163-164, who recounts the Panto case and dismisses the reputed number of lashes administered as "too absurd to need disproof."
  21. Estevan Tapis to Domingo Carrillo, November 27, 1811, quoted in *ibid.*, 163-164. The Franciscans were adamant in their stand against capital punishment for Indians.
  22. Summary Transcript of Trial Proceedings. The supposed punishments inflicted on Nazario took place over a two-day period, according to the record, and Pico even mistakenly increases the number of lashes from 149 to 200. One must give pause here. No man could sustain that many lashes and not be bedridden if the punishment was comparable to flogging then in vogue in the British and U.S. navies. The cook would be incapacitated for days, if not weeks.
  23. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 181. Also see Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, 165, wherein he summarizes a letter written by José A. Estudillo attesting to the same point made by Geiger; Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., "An Inquiry into the Role of the Discipline in California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly* LXXI (Spring 1989): 1-68. Guest points out that the word *azotes* has several meanings when used in different contexts. For the California missions, *azotes* meant a "spanking," not a lashing or whipping. *Ibid.*, 33-34.
  24. Summary Transcript of Trial Proceedings. In Baja California bitter broom was used as a remedy for tetanus, while three closely related species were used in home remedies for colds in Mexico. Communication from John C. MacGregor IV who is working on a forthcoming book on California Indians and their medicinal use of native plants.
  25. Part of the confusion arises from the burial record at Mission San Diego wherein the entry, Number 2143, July 2, 1812, made by Father Geronimo Boscana, concludes with this: "He died, according to opinions, from poisoning at the hands of the cook." Within the entry is another interesting comment. When it came time to give the last rites to the dying priest, "He could not receive the holy Viaticum." This indicates he was unable to hold anything on his stomach, thus was suffering from nausea. This might well lead to the opinion that his condition resulted from the previous attempt at food tampering in mid-November 1811, seven months before. Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, 163-164, for burial entry.
  26. Castillo, 120, 151, note 26.
  27. *Ibid.*, 122.
  28. (Washington, D.C., 1978).
  29. Castillo, 152, note 57.
  30. Archibald, *Economic Aspects*, 63.
  31. Archibald, *Economic Aspects*, 63. Chapter Four of the Rule of St. Francis reads: "I firmly command all the brothers that they in no way receive coins or money, either personally or through an intermediary." *The Rule and General Constitutions of the Order of Friars Minor: Our Plan for Franciscan Living* (Published by the Franciscan OFM Conference of North America, 1888), 5. To understand how the rule was applied among 18th and 19th century Spanish Franciscans, see Manuel Sanchez, *Regla de N.S.P.S. Francisco y breve declaracion de sus preceptos para los Novicios de la Religión de N. Padre San Francisco*. . . (México, 1725), 18, 20-25.
  32. Castillo, 120, supplies the incorrect date of [October 12] in brackets. Asisara says this was "Saturday evening." The following morning he says was Sunday and people from the pueblo of Branciforte were coming to Mass (122). This is not so. October 11 was a Sunday; October 12 was a Monday in the year 1812. Consult any perpetual calendar found at the end of most *Pacific Bell Yellow Pages*.
  33. Castillo, 120-122.
  34. Quoted in Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 205.
  35. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:387-388 and notes 44-45.
  36. Castillo, 123-124.
  37. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:387. Fr. Viader sang Quintana's Requiem Mass.
  38. Castillo, 123-124.
  39. Entry, Death Register, October 13, 1812, Mission Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.
  40. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:387, note 42.
  41. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 204; Commandant Rodriguez to Governor Arrillaga, October 12, 1812, Provincial State Papers, XIX:323, Bancroft Library, as cited in Bancroft, *History of California*, II:388, note 42; quoted in Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 592-593 (original in Provincial Records, XI:221-222, Bancroft Library).
  42. Quoted in *ibid.*, 593 (original in Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, XLIV:21, Bancroft Library). (Emphasis supplied.)
  43. Castillo, 125.
  44. See Robert J. Moes, M.D., "Manuel Quijano and the Waning of Spanish California," *California History* LXVII (June 1988):79-93.
  45. Castillo, 120-121.
  46. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Missions and Missionaries in California* (4 vols., Santa Barbara, 1908-1915), III:14-16. This is the formal letter (report) of Solá to Viceroy Felix M. Calleja, June 21, 1816. Father Vicente Francisco de Sarria wrote to Solá, April 3, 1816: "It seems to me that you describe well the distinctive characteristics of Fr. Quintana in what you say about him." *Ibid.*, 16. Castillo labels Solá's praise of Quintana a "controversial defense." It is only controversial to him. Castillo, 152, note 55. In his letter Solá provides a succinct description of the Franciscan approach and use of punishment of neophytes. Also, see Guest, "The Role of the Discipline," 33-36.
  47. For example, read the long-drawn-out trial of Father Tomás de la Peña of Mission Santa Clara, accused of having murdered four Indians at his mission. The case took ten years with the priest finally being exonerated when his three Indian accusers confessed their perjury. Guest, *Lasuén*, 157-170, details the case.
  48. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:388-389. Bancroft accepts Solá's exoneration of Quintana and his defense of the Franciscans against charges of cruelty.
  49. Bancroft, *History of California*, II:470-472, note 42, who notes Solá as a liberal.
  50. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 14-15.
  51. Castillo, 125.
  52. An excellent biographical treatment is found in Alvin H. Johnson, "Pablo Vicente de Solá, Transitional Governor in Alta California" (M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1961).
  53. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 238-239, wherein Señán's character and personal qualities are nicely summarized.
  54. Edward S. Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*. . . (San Francisco, 1892), 45-46.
  55. Castillo, 119. (Emphasis supplied.)
  56. *Ibid.*, 121. To underscore how history



becomes mucked up with distorted stories based on hearsay which is accepted as gospel, in 1842 Sir George Simpson recorded a fanciful bit of gossip about Quintana which has his death caused by an affair with a married Indian woman whose irate husband took his revenge. Mayhap this is the story wherein is rooted Asisara's fanciful death scenario that is highlighted by the castration of the padre. *Narrative of a Voyage to California Ports in 1841-42* (San Francisco, 1930), 105-106.

57. Castillo, "Native Responses," 383.

58. *Ibid.*, 383, wherein Castillo cites his source as Bancroft, *History of California*, II:388.

59. Castillo, 118-119.

## CASTILLO LETTER

1. Jack D. Forbes, "The Native American Experience in California History," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 1(1971), and Edward F. Staniford, "The California Indians: A Critique of Their Treatment by Historians," *EthnoHistory* 18 (1971): 119-25.

2. Edward D. Castillo (ed. and trans.), "The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The Narration of Lorenzo Asisara," *California History* 68 (Fall 1989): 150. Note 12, instead of reading "Ibid.," should have read "Ibid., 344-45."

3. Richard Dorson, "The Debate Over the Trustworthiness of Oral Traditional History," in *Folklore: Selected Essays* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), Ronald J. Grele (ed.), *Envelopes of Sound* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1974), William C. Sturtevant, "Anthropology, History and Ethnohistory," in James Clifton (ed.), *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1968).

4. Andrew Wiget, "Truth and the Hopi: An Historiographic Study of Documented Oral Tradition Concerning the Coming of the Spanish," *EthnoHistory* 23 (1982): 181-99.

5. Calvin Martin (ed.), *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 28.

6. Robert Berkhofer, "Cultural Pluralism versus Ethnocentrism in the New Indian History," in Martin, *ibid.*, 36.

7. Lesley B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950), see chapter 10; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1964); William Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); Nancy Farris, *Mayan Society Under Colonial Rule* (Princeton: University Press, 1984);

Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); and Karen Spaulding, *Huarochiri* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1984), 188-90.

8. California State Archaeologist Larry Felton has discovered three silver Spanish coins at the site of Mission Santa Cruz. Two of the coins are dated 1762 and 1777 respectively. The third coin is too worn to reveal a date; personal communication April 3, 1991.

9. Account Book of *The Mercury*, November 26, 1806-August 20, 1807, William H. Davis Sr. Captain. Found in De La Guerra Accounts and Business Papers, Item 1047b, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

10. See Nunis letter in this issue.

11. Francis Guest, O.F.M., "An Inquiry Into the Role of Discipline in California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly* 71 (1989): 1-68. Mission discipline has been an embarrassing and controversial issue for apologists. Here Guest has constructed a new meaning for *azote*. He claims it means a spanking. Again we are faced with an attempt to trivialize the suffering, humiliation, and abuse of a subjected people. Guest presents a weak case for his changing of the meaning of *azote* based, as usual, upon the solemn testimony of those who had the most to gain from keeping the neophytes subjected.

12. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California II* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1886), 625. Here Nunis attempts to fault Lorenzo's unflattering description of Padre Ramon Olbés by again carefully quoting only part of Henry Oak's footnote 22, not 11 as Nunis erroneously cites. In a rather long biographical sketch of Olbés, Oak (not Bancroft—Nunis throughout his comments confuses the two) cites the eccentric moods, amounting at times to insanity, peevish ravings, pet grievances, and seditious sermons of the troubled padre. The Asisara manuscript is cited regarding Olbés's generosity with food, and his cruelty when in dark moods. Oak does not dismiss the Asisara account as Nunis has charged, but simply does not find it necessary additionally to cite Lorenzo's other "stories of the friar's peculiarities which hardly merit reproduction here," most likely because of the previously mentioned, embarrassingly long list of negative character traits already attributed to Olbés by other sources.

13. Lorenzo Asisara, "Muerte del Padre Andrés Quintana," in "Memorias Sobre La Historia de California, par José María Amador,"

manuscript, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

14. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1888), 592-600.

15. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California 1769-1848* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1968), 205, and Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California Vol. III* (San Francisco: James Barry Co., 1912), 12-13. Engelhardt quotes the Solá letter to the viceroy, June 2, 1816.

16. Castillo, *ibid.*, 122.

17. See Arizona State University historian Albert Hurtado, in *Western Historical Quarterly* (Nov. 1988): 458; also University of Redlands historian James Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *American Historical Review* 93 (Dec. 1988): 1253-69, and San Diego State University historian William Weeks, in *Journal of San Diego History* (Summer 1989), 221-22. These California historians have marveled at the denigrating and misinformed stereotypes of California Indians presented by Nunis and others in the "Serra Report."

18. Thaddeus Shubsda (ed.), "The Serra Report," a packet of documents released to the press, November, 24, 1986. Nunis and several others answered a series of questions prepared by Valerie Steiner, a media and public relations specialist hired by Bishop Shubsda. Also see Doyce Nunis (ed.), *Josiah Belden, 1841 California Pioneer: His Memoir and Early Letters* (Georgetown: 1962), 61, 83. In this work, without evidence, Nunis blames Monterey Indians of theft from the merchant Belden, despite the fact Belden himself believed it was his landlord, the dissolute and drunken padre Real, who had robbed him. Also see his recent *Guide to The History of California* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989). Here Nunis manages to edit California Indians out of the state's history. Where the reader can find entire chapters on other minorities and women, only a handful of scattered references are offered about Indians.

19. David J. Weber, "Blood of Martyrs, Blood of Indians: Toward a more Balanced View of Spanish missions in Seventeenth-Century North America," *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 429-48.

20. David J. Weber, *Myth and History of The Hispanic Southwest*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 41.

21. *Ibid.*

# WE'VE BECOME AN HISTORIC LANDMARK



After 100 years of supporting the preservation of California historic landmarks, we've become one. 1991 marks our 100 year anniversary of providing America with the highest quality canned fruits and vegetables. And to help celebrate, we're proud to have become a Historic Business Partner with the California Historical Society.

**100 YEARS OF QUALITY**



# Join the California Historical Society today!

California's past is an open book, richly illustrated with the lives of those who helped create it. Since 1871, the California Historical Society has dedicated itself to collecting, preserving, and presenting the account of our remarkable, multicultural heritage. Through our historical library full of original manuscripts, first editions, and rare books, our archives of over one-half million historic photographs, our lectures, tours, and symposia, and our quarterly publications, the Society makes the legacy of our past available to all Californians.

When you become a member of the California Historical Society, you join with many others who have made the study of our history a vital and rewarding part of their lives. And, more importantly, your membership supports the many programs and functions that have been developed by the Society to illuminate our past, toward a brighter future for all Californians.

## MEMBER BENEFITS

- ◆ **PUBLICATIONS:** Receive *California History*, a quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922. Featuring articles by leading scholars and writers, *California History* examines the continuing dialogue between the past and the present. The journal includes essays, historic photographs, book reviews, and a checklist of recently published materials relating to California history. Also receive *California Chronicle*, a quarterly newsletter highlighting CHS activities and personalities. The newsletter keeps members up-to-date on programs, events, and exhibits offered by CHS and other historical groups throughout the state.
- ◆ **PROGRAMS AND EXHIBITS:** Attend lectures and symposia by respected historians and other professionals on issues of both historic and contemporary importance. Receive special invitations to openings of historic exhibitions throughout California. Visit historic sites for both tours and events.
- ◆ **LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES:** Visit and use the extensive collections of photographs, books, and manuscripts at the North Baker Library in San Francisco and the photographic collections at the University of Southern California.
- ◆ **DISCOUNTS AND FREE ADMISSIONS:** Receive discounts averaging 10%-20% on selected historical publications. Enjoy free admission to the North Baker Library in San Francisco and historic El Molino Viejo in San Marino, including invitations to the annual Holiday Open House in both locations.
- ◆ **TO JOIN OR MAKE A GIFT** simply fill out the attached envelope and mail it with your payment today!



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the State Historical Society. With regional offices in San Francisco and San Marino, the Society collects, preserves, and interprets information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the public.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

## OFFICERS

David B. Hudnut, San Francisco  
*President*  
 Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D., Los Angeles  
*Vice President*  
 David J. Clark, Esq., Larkspur  
*Treasurer*  
 Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley, San Francisco  
*Secretary*  
 George Basye, Esq., Sacramento  
*Regional Vice President*  
 George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles  
*Regional Vice President*

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D., Stanford  
 Henry Berrey, Midpines  
 Constance Crowley Bowles, San Francisco  
 Arthur Coleman, M.D., San Francisco  
 Robert Corrigan, Ph.D., San Francisco  
 Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D., El Cerrito  
 Robert Devlin, San Francisco  
 Linda S. Dickason, Los Angeles  
 Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., Berkeley  
 Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco  
 Honorable Isabella H. Grant, San Francisco  
 Seymour Greben, Novato  
 Harlan Hague, Ph.D., Stockton  
 Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento  
 Eric P. Hvolboll, Esq., Santa Barbara  
 Andrew Jameson, Ph.D., San Francisco  
 William C. Johnston, Pasadena  
 Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D., San Francisco  
 Gary Kurutz, Sacramento  
 R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D., Berkeley  
 Ian Mackinlay, FAIA, Orinda  
 Milton Marks III, San Francisco  
 Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Berkeley  
 Kathleen McLaughlin, Martinez  
 Arthur Mejia, Ph.D., San Francisco  
 Shirley Moore, Ph.D., Sacramento  
 Maggie Pexton Murray, Los Angeles  
 Andrew T. Nadell, M.D., San Francisco  
 Norman Neuerburg, Ph.D., Los Angeles  
 Annegret Ogden, Berkeley  
 Allen M. Okamoto, San Francisco

Hanna Regev, San Francisco  
 Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles  
 Marshall S. Sanders, San Francisco  
 Marna Schnabel, Los Angeles  
 Ralph Scurfield, Sacramento  
 Elizabeth Bertillion Smart, Sacramento  
 Barbara Solomon, San Francisco  
 Kevin Starr, Ph.D., Los Angeles  
 Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco  
 James C. Williams, Ph.D., Gilroy

## EMERITI

North Baker, San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*  
 Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*  
 J.S. Holliday, Carmel  
*Executive Director Emeritus*  
 Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*

## EX OFFICIO

Karen Stafford Rantzman, Berkeley  
 Mrs. John Williams, San Francisco

## STAFF

Michael McCone, *Executive Director*  
 Corinne Abbott, *Events Staff*  
 Theresa Bennett, *Accountant*  
 Judy Deaton, *Administrative Assistant*  
 Margaret Eley, *El Molino Viejo Director*  
 Kay Feallock, *Assistant to the Executive Director*  
 Donna Fiscus, *Development Officer*  
 Michael Harvey, *Chief Librarian*  
 George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*  
 Paul Kennedy, *El Molino Viejo Caretaker*  
 Cheryl Kolinen, *Director of Development*  
 Robert MacKimmie, *Curatorial Director of Photography*  
 Abigay Perez, *Custodian*  
 Sandra Reinhardt, *Director of Finance (Contractor)*  
 Anne Marie Thurmond, *Database Manager*

## PROGRAM/SERVICES COMMITTEE

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D.  
 Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley  
 Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D.  
 Joseph Engbeck, Jr., *Co-chair*  
 Kay Feallock (staff)  
 Charles A. Fracchia  
 Harlan Hague, Ph.D.  
 Samuel B. Kermoian, E.D.  
 Cheryl Kolinen (staff)  
 Barbara Lekisch  
 R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D.  
 Glenna Matthews, Ph.D. *Co-chair*  
 Kathleen McLaughlin  
 Shirley Moore, Ph.D.  
 Richard Orsi, Ph.D. (non-Trustee)  
 Edith Piness (non-Trustee)  
 Barbara Solomon  
 James C. Williams, Ph.D.

## CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly ©1991 by CHS

\$25.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle*.

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS  
 AND NORTH BAKER LIBRARY  
 2099 Pacific Avenue  
 San Francisco, California 94109  
 (415) 567-1848  
 FAX (415) 567-2394

EL MOLINO VIEJO  
 1120 Old Mill Road  
 San Marino, California 91108  
 (818) 449-5450

Articles for publication, and editorial correspondence should be sent to Richard J. Orsi, Editor, *California History*, Department of History, California State University, Hayward, Hayward, CA 94542. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109.

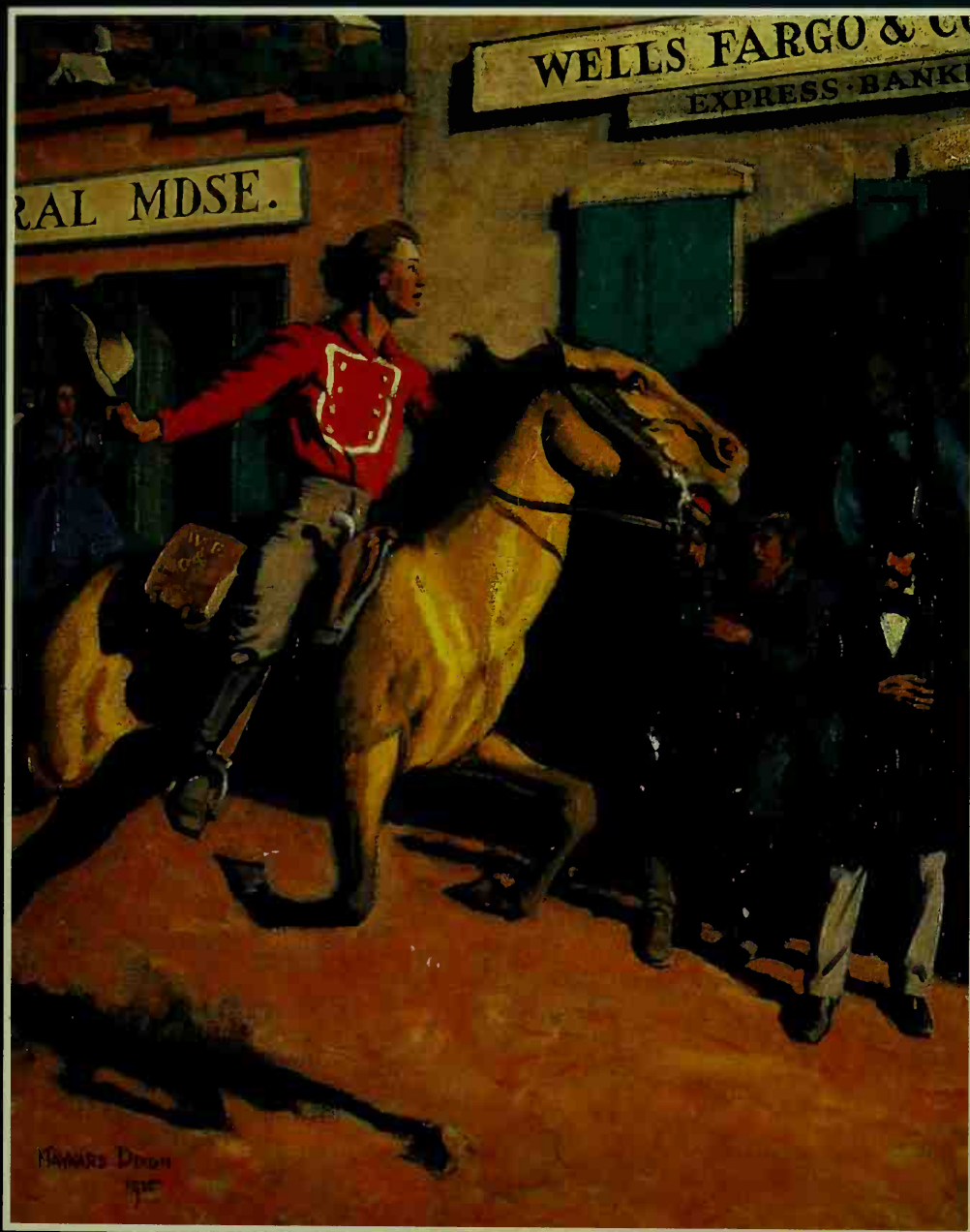
LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897  
 Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.  
 Publication number 084180

ON THE BACK COVER: "Cattle Drive," ca. 1877, oil on canvas, by James Walker (1818-1889). After he served the U.S. in the Mexican War, Walker moved to California in the 1870s and began to capture on canvas the vanishing traditions of Mexican life, especially the *vaqueros* working on California ranchos. CHS Collection, San Francisco; photographed by Cecile Keefe.



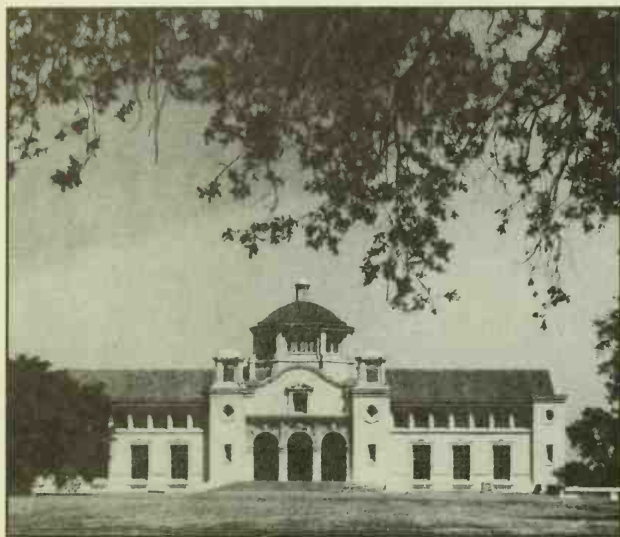


# CALIFORNIA HISTORY





# Milestones in California History— Stanford University and California Institute of Technology, 1891-1991



Throop Hall, California Institute of Technology, opened in 1910 to serve a student body of thirty-one. After irreparable damage in the 1971 earthquake, the building was demolished. Courtesy California Institute of Technology.



Stanford Memorial Church, before the 1906 earthquake destroyed its steeple. Courtesy Stanford University.

The contributions of higher education to the cultural growth and welfare of California are well documented. Independent colleges and universities play an important role in this enterprise, as do our public institutions. Two of the best known and most productive private centers of higher education, Stanford University and the California Institute of Technology, celebrate the centennials of their founding this year.

Leland Stanford had little use for the traditional "classical" education common in nineteenth-century colleges. "Of all the young men who come to me with letters of introduction from friends in the East," the railroad king regretted, "the most helpless are college young men." Thus, after their son's tragic death, Stanford and his wife Jane decided to found a university based on the principle of a "practical education," the preparation of young men for personal success in their chosen professions. Leland Stanford, Junior, University opened to its first students in 1891.

In the same year, Amos G. Throop founded a school of arts and crafts in Pasadena called Throop University. Twenty years later, the university changed its focus from vocational training to the development of exceptional research and instruction in engineering and the fundamental sciences of math, physics, and chemistry. It also changed its name to the California Institute of Technology.

The faculties and alumni of both universities have earned national and international recognition. At Cal Tech, the list of honors includes four current resident Nobel laureates and twenty-one Nobel prize recipients overall. Albert Einstein was in residence there for two years. Nine Nobel laureates are currently on the faculty at Stanford, as are five Pulitzer Prize winners.

Familiar names abound among the associated facilities of each university. At Cal Tech, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory is home to many of the nation's outstanding space scientists, and Palomar Observatory houses the 200-inch Hale Telescope. Stanford's Hoover Institution is a research facility dedicated to international and domestic studies and national security affairs, and the Linear Accelerator is devoted to experimental and theoretical research in particle physics.

These two remarkable universities have played roles in California life far greater than their relative size. The impact of their faculty and their graduates in science, the arts, and many other fields of human endeavor goes far beyond the boundaries of California. By their accomplishments they exemplify the magnificence that a university can represent.

RICHARD GRAW  
Editorial Assistant, California History

# CTHE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# CALIFORNIA

# HISTORY

VOLUME LXX No. 3

Fall 1991

**MICHAEL McCONE**  
*Executive Director*

**RICHARD J. ORSI**  
*Editor*

**MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI**  
*Associate Editor*

**JAMES J. RAWLS**  
*Reviews Editor*

**CHARLES N. JOHNSON**  
*Checklist Editor*

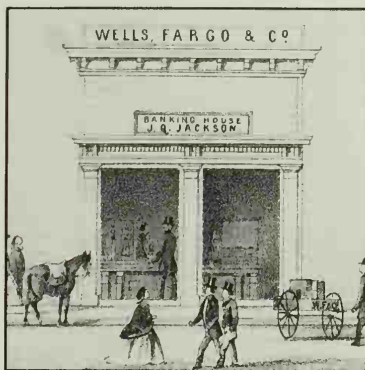
**THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY**  
*Design/Production*

*Editorial Consultants*

GORDON M. BAKKEN  
 JACQUELINE BARNHART  
 LONNIE G. BUNCH III  
 LARRY E. BURGESS  
 ROBERT W. CHERNY  
 RICHARD W. ETULAIN  
 JAMES N. GREGORY  
 JUDSON A. GRENIER  
 RICHARD GRISWOLD  
 DEL CASTILLO  
 ROBERT V. HINE  
 LANE R. HIRABAYASHI  
 DAVID HORNBECK  
 LAWRENCE J. JELINEK  
 PAUL J. KARLSTROM  
 HARRY KELSEY  
 HIM MARK LAI  
 RUDOLPH M. LAPP  
 LAWRENCE B. LEE  
 R. JEFFREY LUSTIG  
 SANDY LYDON  
 CLEMENT MEIGHAN  
 SALLY M. MILLER  
 IRENE MORAN  
 GEORGE H. PHILLIPS  
 LEONARD PITT  
 MICHAEL SMITH

*Editorial Assistants*

Margit Aarons, Corinne Abbott,  
 Michael Campbell, Pamela Challinor,  
 Kay Fealock, Richard Graw,  
 George Johnson, Peter Orsi,  
 Siegfried Schmetgen



258



278



290

242 The Origins of Western Water Law:  
 Case Studies from Two California  
 Mining Districts  
*by Donald J. Pisani*

258 Integrity Amid Tumult:  
 Wells, Fargo & Co.'s  
 Gold Rush Banking  
*by Robert J. Chandler*

278 Governor Reagan and California  
 Welfare Reform: The Grand  
 Compromise of 1971  
*by Garin Burbank*

290 Pioneering Aerial Forest Fire Control:  
 The Army Air Patrol in  
 California, 1919-1921  
*by Robert W. Cermak*

306 North Baker: CHS Benefactor  
*by Michael McCone*

309 Reviews

320 California Checklist

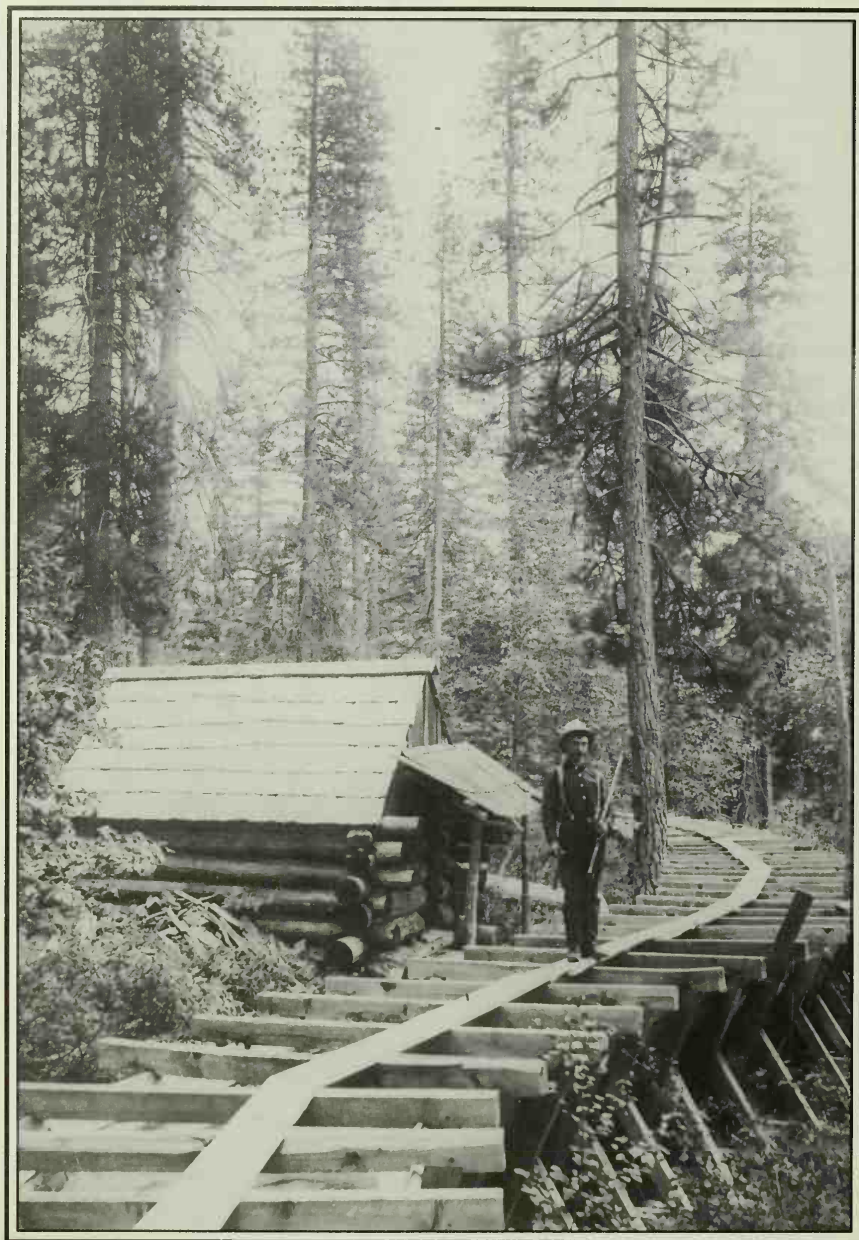
324 Notes

333 Donors

*California History*  
 is published with the  
 cooperation and support of  
 California State University, Hayward

*California History* is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897





Conflicts over water rights and water use broke out in frontier California as soon as mining operations evolved beyond the early simple forms of placer mining. The large-scale water developers who provided the precious resource to rising industrial mines were often the targets of local political opposition, lawsuits, and physical threats and violence, sometimes lasting for many years. In this turn-of-the-century photograph of Weaverville's La Grange ditch, which carried water twenty-nine miles overland, a ditch-tender had armed himself against any eventuality. *Courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.*

---

# The Origins of Western Water Law:

## CASE STUDIES FROM TWO CALIFORNIA MINING DISTRICTS

*by Donald J. Pisani*

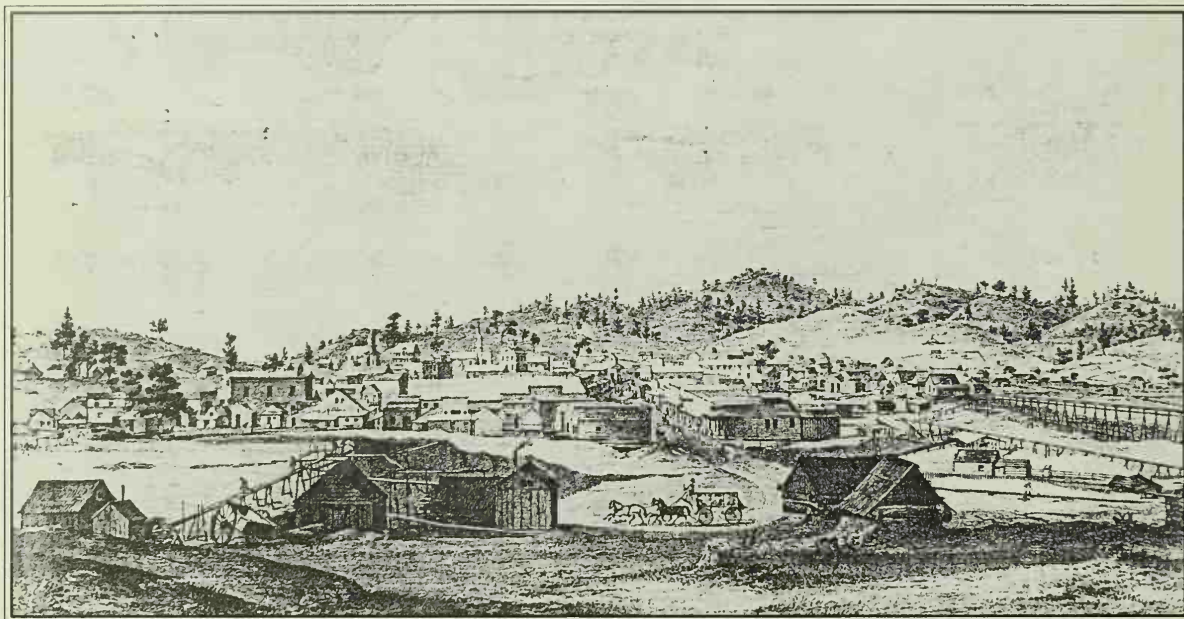
Historians have long recognized that water law was in flux in California during the 1850s. They have attributed this to inherent ambiguities in the common law, to the legislature's simultaneous endorsement of traditional "riparian rights" and the novel customs of the mining camps, to the ignorance and eclecticism of judges new to the arid West, to rapid turnover on the California supreme court bench, and to that court's fear—given the risk that the rules of property they enumerated might later be rejected by Congress—of legislating for the public domain. Attention has focused too narrowly on the state legislature, the state supreme court, and Congress. Economic conditions within the mining camps, as well as the values, ideals, and views of law held by the miners, have been neglected. This essay looks at the origins of western water law through the experience of two California mining districts, one near Weaverville in far northern California, the other at Columbia, east of Stockton in the central part of the state. It suggests that the doctrine of "prior appropriation"—which was destined to become the dominant principle of water allocation throughout the arid and semi-arid West—emerged gradually, amidst conflict, as a response to the rise of the private corporation and to new techniques of mining. Prior appropriation was not, as some historians have suggested, universally favored by the first generation of placer miners.<sup>1</sup>

The mining district of Columbia, east of Stockton, was discovered in 1849, and by April 1850, six thousand to eight thousand miners clustered in and around the town. An early historian of Tuolumne County remarked that "[i]t was seen [by miners]

that there was not a foot of ground upon the immense flat, from Santiago Flat to Tim's Springs, and from Shaw's Flat to the hill overhanging the Stanislaus, but was rich enough to pay for working, if water could be obtained for that purpose. . . ." The first Argonauts laboriously transported paydirt to springs, or carried barrels of water to their claims. During the heavy rains that fell during Christmas 1851, a stream formed in Columbia's main street. Fifty "toms" were quickly erected to utilize nature's gift; miners used the water over and over again as large parts of the new town were excavated in the frantic search for gold.<sup>2</sup>

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the first California mining companies were joint-stock ventures owned and administered by the miners themselves. They were not the creatures of outside capital. Like many ante-bellum Americans, miners deeply feared and resented monopoly when it did not serve the common good, and they regarded business corporations as inherently elitist, undemocratic, and monopolistic. In 1850, claim holders near Columbia began to pool money and labor to divert water from the Tuolumne River, exposing rich placer deposits in the streambed; by April the *Stockton Times* counted twenty-four dams in one eighteen-mile stretch.<sup>3</sup> However, the gold in and adjoining streams was quickly exhausted, and attention then turned to ancient placer deposits far removed from living streams. Several small water companies appeared in the fall of 1850 and spring of 1851, but they relied on ephemeral sources and served only twenty or thirty miners for a few days before their supply was exhausted.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, in June 1851, two Columbia bankers, James and





A lithograph of Columbia, California, dated 1855. The extensive water works essential for such a major mining center, and which provoked such controversy in the district, are evident in the left and right foreground. Courtesy Columbia State Historic Park. Photograph by William A. Bullough.

Darius Mills—the latter destined to become one of California's leading financiers—formed the Tuolumne County Water Company. They raised \$250,000 in and around the town and in July began building a new water system. In May 1852, the company delivered water from the south fork of the Stanislaus to Columbia, and by August their ditch reached the surrounding diggings. "Hundreds of claims will be supplied with water through the enterprise of this company that could never be sufficiently [supplied] in any other way," the *Columbia Gazette* crowed.<sup>5</sup> Miners in more remote diggings continued to provide themselves with water, but most of the three thousand miners who worked claims within two miles of town were entirely dependent on the new company.<sup>6</sup>

Once the company completed its first water system, the increased value of its stock permitted the directors to borrow another \$250,000 to complete a reservoir to feed the ditches during the six to eight

weeks each summer when the flow of the Stanislaus gave out.<sup>7</sup> A turning point had been reached. This capital was raised *outside* Columbia; control over water was passing from miners to capitalists and the business of providing water had been split off from the act of mining.

The dry winter of 1852-53 produced the first criticism of the company. At a protest meeting held in January 1853, miners complained that the Tuolumne County Water Company (TCWCo.) charged much higher rates at Columbia than it did at Shaw's Flat, where it faced competition from a joint-stock operation, the Sullivan's Creek Company. They also accused the company of cutting off water to those who publicly complained about poor service or extortionate rates.<sup>8</sup> The TCWCo. had been founded by local miners, not capitalists, critics charged, and most of them assumed that the revenue from water sales had already more than compensated the outside investors who had lately

become dominant in the enterprise. (In August, as if to underscore the miners' charges, the *Alta California* reported that the company was debt-free and returned a four percent dividend *per month* on its stock.) The miners considered the rates doubly onerous because profits from placer mining had declined sharply during the latter months of 1852 and the early months of 1853.<sup>9</sup>

In the summer of 1853, the miners asked the company to reduce rates by at least fifty percent. They pointed out that the price of water often exceeded the value of the gold it produced. They now hoped that competition from a rival private company, the Tuolumne Hydraulic Company,<sup>10</sup> would drive down rates, but the new company ran out of money, partly as a result of litigation over water rights pressed by the TCWCo., and most of its aqueduct system was absorbed by the older company.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, in the fall of 1854, disgruntled Argonauts launched their own project, the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water

Company (C&SRWCo.), and began constructing a twenty-mile canal and flume system from the Stanislaus to Columbia and Sonora.

Originally, the C&SRWCo. planned to divert the south fork of the Stanislaus River. Although the TCWCo. claimed an older right to that stream, the miners assumed that providing water for use took precedence over providing water for sale. Nevertheless, the threat of litigation, and the fact that the flow of the south fork had proven very erratic, persuaded the new company to extend its ditch and flume network an additional twenty-two miles to the river's main channel. By doing so, friends of the new system also hoped to avoid the cost of building an extensive reservoir system. Subsequently, several thousand angry miners organized to boycott the TCWCo.

A certificate of stock in the Tuolumne County Water Company, dated 1856. The types of uses to which placer miners put water are illustrated on the certificate. Courtesy Columbia State Historic Park. Photograph by William A. Bullough.





company in March 1855, vowing never to pay more than four dollars a day for water—which rate the company claimed would return only two percent a month on the actual cost of its water system. Since Columbia bankers had invested heavily in the new company, the miners also urged their fellows to deposit any surplus money “in the iron safe of some friendly merchant, so that it will be impossible for it to be used against us by the controlling cormorants of this monster monopoly with which we are now at war.” Miners who did not honor the strike, the leaders warned, would have their names published in the newspaper. The boycott did not result in violence, but it did generate tremendous support for the rival Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Company, especially because the miners had used their free time to help build this new water system, taking stock in exchange for labor.<sup>12</sup>

The *Columbia Gazette* had reported in October 1854 that “[a]ll classes of [the] community feel the importance of the undertaking, and are seizing hold of it with an alacrity and zeal highly commendable.” It tried to pacify directors of the Tuolumne County Water Company by insisting that a ready market awaited all the water both companies could provide. Two years later the *Weekly Columbian* described the new project as “one of the most magnificent achievements of enterprise which the records of California industry can produce!”<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the Tuolumne County Water Company’s directors made every effort to crush its new rival, first by attempting to gain control of its stock, second, by challenging its water rights in court, and, finally, by trying to buy out wealthy miners who had loaned the C&SRWCo. money in exchange for mortgages on its works.<sup>14</sup> In retaliation, miners frequently sabotaged the Tuolumne Water Company’s hydraulic works.

By the end of 1855, the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Company provided more water to miners than did its older rival, and competition helped lower the price to two dollars a day in 1856. By the end of that year, thirty-five miles of the C&SRWCo. aqueduct had been completed at a cost of \$150,000.<sup>15</sup> Miners working on the ditch supplied their own provisions for months on end, and

local merchants loaned the company money to see the job through to completion. In the minds of virtually all the miners, greed and the absence of competition—not the necessarily high cost of hydraulic projects—kept water prices high. “No community can prosper where so essential an auxiliary to their prosperity as is water . . . is in the hands of any one co.,” the *Weekly Columbian* observed. It charged that the Tuolumne Water Company was “an enemy that would take from you the proceeds of the sweat of your brow, the bread you eat, the clothes you wear, and your last shilling. . . .” The *Columbian* denied that depressed economic conditions were due to the boom-and-bust nature of mining. Hard times were a legacy of monopoly, it insisted, not the result of a decline in the supply of accessible gold.<sup>16</sup>

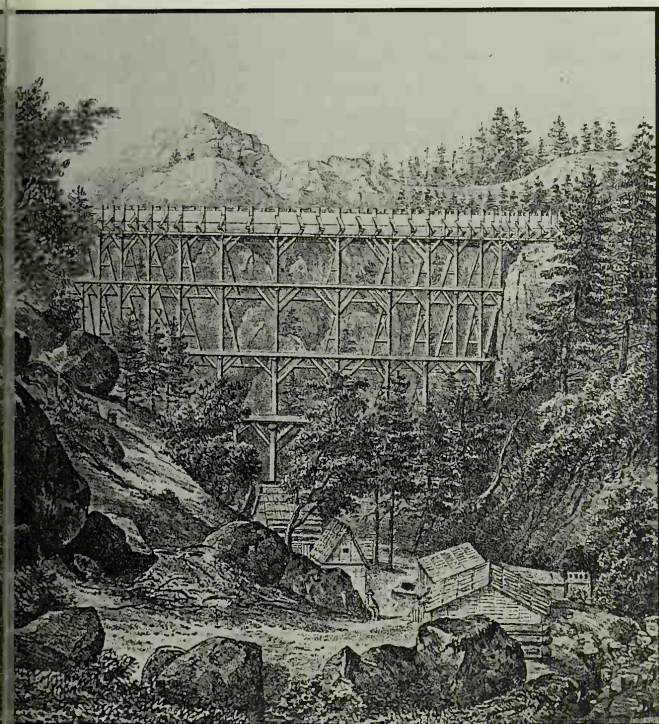
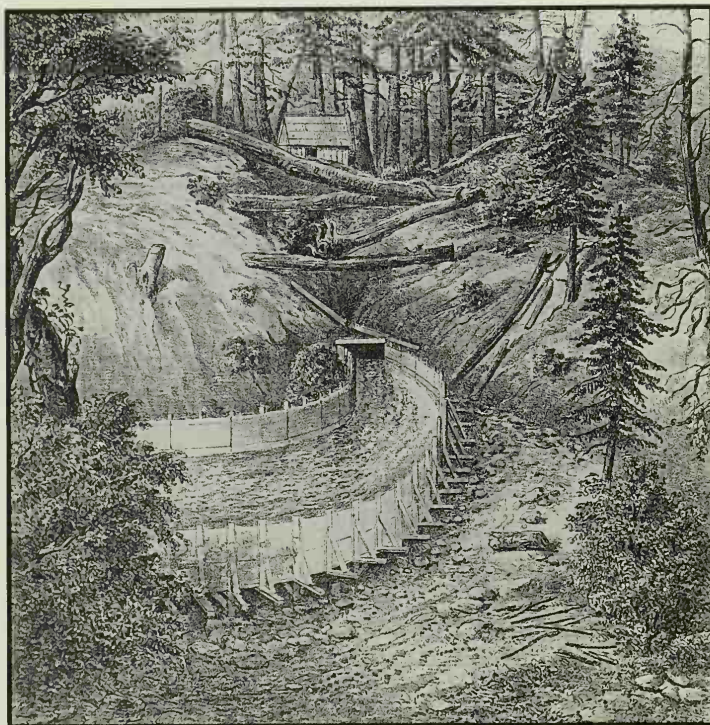
The ditch was finally completed in November 1858. In all, the C&SRWCo. works included sixty miles of flume and canal, as well as a 3,100-foot tunnel. When the first water from this quasi-public utility reached Columbia, residents celebrated with a huge public dinner, fireworks, bonfires on hills surrounding the town, and a ball at the local theater. Not since the gold strike of 1855 had more people filled the streets of Columbia. The miners had invested their spirit, along with their money and labor, in the project, and on November 29 they paraded into town triumphantly bearing the tools used to build the great ditch, “all held as proudly aloft as if they had been precious war trophies, won from opposing legions on fiercely contested fields,” one participant later recounted. Many also carried battered beanpots, symbols of the sacrifices made in what they considered a battle for survival. The whole procession conveyed an impression of solemnity and dignity. A correspondent to San Francisco’s *Alta California* confidently proclaimed that the festivities had been “in honor of the commencement of a new era in the prosperity of our country.” With the death of the “monster monopoly,” as the TCWCo. was frequently called, the glory days of the early 1850s would return.<sup>17</sup>

The miners had won a great battle against long odds, exhibiting courage, self-sufficiency, independence, and resourcefulness—all qualities deeply



---

Two panels from a large lithograph (ca. 1860) by F. Holtzman, entitled "Views of the New Ditch" of the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Company, major challenger in the late 1850s to the unpopular Tuolumne County Water Company monopoly. The two panels—"The High Flume" (200 feet high) and "Entrance to the Tunnel, 3162 feet Long"—testify to the large scale attained quickly by water developments in the early California mines. *Courtesy Columbia State Historic Park. Photographs by William A. Bullough.*



respected by Americans. The physical obstacles alone were formidable; blasting the tunnel and erecting flumes that ran forty or fifty feet above the ground had been filled with danger and uncertainty. But the solemnity and moral fervor of the celebration also spoke volumes about the deep resentment most miners felt in the face of what they considered the tyranny of corporations beyond local control. They had won despite the financiers and high-priced legal talent arrayed on the side of the Tuolumne County Water Company. Their aqueduct was a symbol of what free men in a free society could do. In that sense, completing the C&SRWCo. ditch was a deeply patriotic act.

Of course, the miners were too late; nothing, not even free water, could have rescued the Southern Mines from decline. The Central Mines—those in Nevada, Plumas, and Sierra counties, north of Grass Valley and Nevada City—hung on much longer. They drew abundant water from high mountains. The water supply in the Sonora region, by contrast, had always been very erratic, and the most elaborate flumes and canals did no good when streams ran dry. The Central and Northern Mines also had the advantage of deep tertiary gravels



---

---

Nov. 14, 1860  
Gentlemen of the Tuolumne County Water Company

Take Notice

There is a plan maturing for the assassination of all the prominent members of your company if ditch matters are not settled within a certain time. As sure as day succeeds night this is the plan.

Act wisely and avoid such a calamity.

A friend to humanity

Threats and some instances of actual violence were common in the water wars that erupted in gold-rush California. Illustrative is this 1860 letter (from the archives of Columbia State Historic Park), threatening the leaders of the unpopular Tuolumne County Water Company, which monopolized water in the Columbia mining district.

missing in the Sonora region, along with a larger supply of better quality lumber. "By the middle of the 1850s the population decline of the southern mines reflected the basic change in California gold mining," one historian of California mining has written, "the shift from rich shallow diggings to deep tertiary gravels and quartz veins. Added to this, the return home of large numbers of foreign miners, due to numerous causes of which the Foreign Miner's tax was one of the most important, and it is easy to understand the population decline of the southern mines." The year 1858 witnessed the great migration to the Fraser River in British Columbia and the advent of hydraulic mining in Tuolumne County. In 1859, another group of miners abandoned the Southern Mines—this time for Nevada's Comstock Lode.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, as the total cost of its water system reached \$500,000, the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Company's debts accumulated. During the last stages of construction, the company had been forced to borrow \$150,000 from several large investors, led by Edwin Davis. Now it could not pay the interest, let alone the principal. Davis agreed

not to foreclose on his mortgage if the company turned over half its income from water sales until the debt had been erased. The trustees refused. Davis's demand favored large investors who had provided financial support only when the project was certain to be completed. Their contribution, the trustees argued, was much less than that of the miners, merchants, and other small stockholders who had supported the company from the beginning, often at great sacrifice, by taking stock in exchange for labor and supplies. All the investors, the trustees decided, should profit or suffer alike. As a result, Davis sold his mortgage to the only bidder, the Tuolumne County Water Company. That gave the TCWCo. the leverage it needed to buy out its competitor for a small fraction of what the new system had cost.

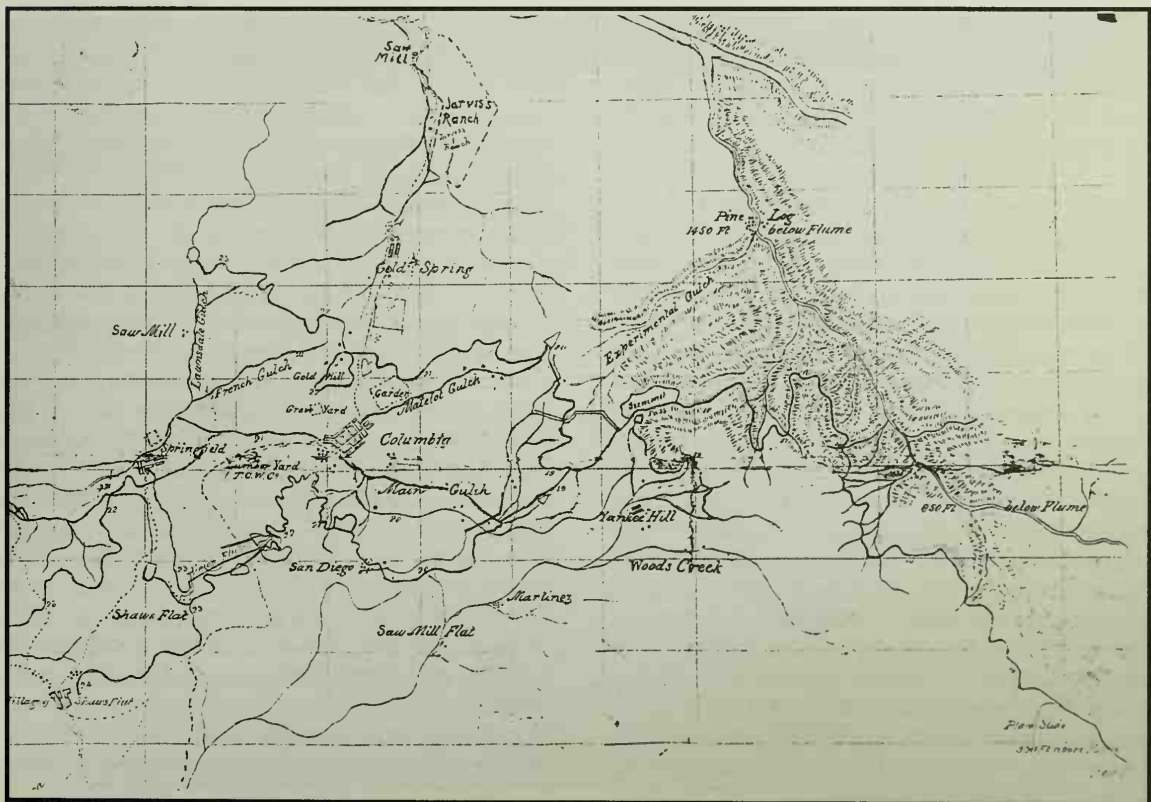
The C&SRWCo. had not been badly managed, but it was launched at a time when miners were capable of paying two or three times as much for water as they could in 1859 or 1860. The company had failed to secure a reliable water supply during the summer months of dry years, and it had been forced to pay investors like Davis three to eight

percent a month in interest. Not surprisingly, the disappointed miners who remained in the Columbia diggings turned to litigation and violence in a desperate measure to save the Columbia and Stanislaus from buyout. Friends of the C&SRWCo. —and they constituted the bulk of miners—bitterly complained that under cover of law, the old company had used deceit and fraud to outwit its rival. In July 1860, the *Columbia Times*, now a staunch supporter of the Tuolumne County Water Company, fretted that “a band of lawless men” had promised that if a last-minute suit to preserve the C&SRWCo. failed, they would hold the ditch in defiance of the law, “or, if not able to hold it by force, that they will then destroy all the ditches in the county.” The *Times* warned that capitalists

would never invest new money in the region under such conditions, and that destroying the ditches was counterproductive because it simply added to the price of water. Nevertheless, vandalism continued,<sup>19</sup> and the paper chided citizens time and again for not helping local law enforcement officials apprehend those responsible.

In reprisal, the private water company threatened to cut off water to all miners, but the miners charged that the company itself had committed the acts of destruction to reduce the value of the C&SRWCo. works and make them unattractive to outside investors. “That the law attaches no penalty to robberies of this class,” a group of thirty protesters wrote to the directors of the Tuolumne County Water Company in August 1860, “does not in the

On this 1853 manuscript map of the fledgling Tuolumne County Water Company, solid dark lines depict the company's widespread ditch system that served miners in the Columbia district. Courtesy Columbia State Historic Park. Photograph by William A. Bullough.





least palliate the crime which you have committed. There are crimes of such an inhuman nature as not to be thought of or conceived by the makers of laws. . . . [Y]our only incentive was the avaricious greediness of your sordid minds."<sup>20</sup>

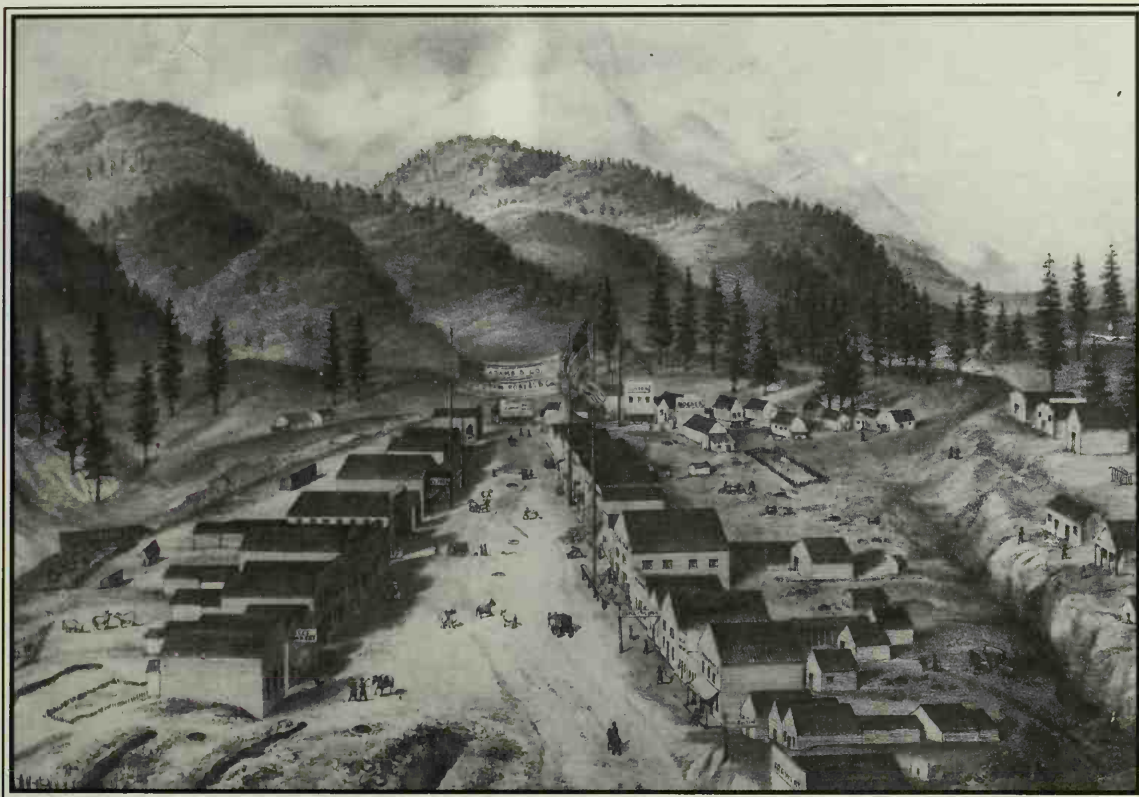
Little more than a year later, in 1861, a correspondent of the *Sacramento Daily Union* reported that "a good feeling is now being cultivated between miners and the Water Company." That was because the most disgruntled miners left the county in that year, after title to the public water company passed to its rival; only a handful of gold seekers remained to work the diggings surrounding Columbia. The private Tuolumne Water Company had pieced together six hundred miles of ditches and flumes, including one flume eleven miles long and one ditch sixty miles long, but its hard-won monopoly constituted a pyrrhic victory.<sup>21</sup> It had been forced to slash its rates as the supply of gold dwindled, but it could not escape the high fixed costs of maintaining ditches and flumes that were often damaged by ice, snow, rock-slides, and simply routine use.

Large-scale mining came early to the Columbia diggings, but not to Weaverville. Nevertheless, miners in the Northern Mines looked at water in the same way—as an aid to the act of mining rather than as a separate species of property. Three months after James Marshall's famous find at Coloma in January 1848, gold was also discovered seven miles south of Weaverville, in what would later be Trinity County. The Trinity mines were among the most inaccessible in the state; it took ten days to reach the diggings from the headwaters of the Sacramento River through steep, nearly impassable mountains. Nevertheless, by 1851 the entire county had been explored, and in the following year miners were located along every major bar. In 1853, the county contained no more than one thousand white residents—most strung along a seventy-five-mile stretch of the Trinity River and a few small tributaries. As in California's other mining districts, Trinity County Argonauts quickly discovered that cooperation paid. In 1850, sixty

men formed a company to divert the Trinity into an old channel, exposing three-quarters of a mile of stream bed. One observer, who arrived on the scene in 1850, later recounted that these miners averaged an ounce of gold per pan, "and never less than a dollar to the shovelful." Not surprisingly, when heavy spring rains washed out the diversion dam, thirty miners hastily formed a joint-stock company and pledged one thousand dollars apiece to rebuild it.<sup>22</sup>

In the following year, the largest influx of miners to hit the county arrived. The population boom forced most newcomers to work deposits farther from water. This immediately touched off conflicts between "ditchers" and "anti-ditchers." The debate concerned more than mining techniques. The ditchers, who worked in larger groups, wanted to exploit placer deposits in "dry diggings" by bringing water to the isolated areas. They insisted on the right to mine as much ground as their ditches could supply with water. The "antis" worked alone or in groups of two or three, as miners had since 1848, and they wanted to restrict the size of claims to provide opportunity to the largest number of miners, regardless of how much effort or capital some operators brought to their work. In the tradition of pioneer California miners, they maintained that everyone should have equal access to the wealth of the public domain; only the discoverer of a mineral deposit deserved any special privileges.<sup>23</sup>

Some conflicts were impossible to resolve. The story of William Ware's ditch is a case in point. Ware had been a dentist in Wilmington, Delaware, before he left for California in 1849. He first went to Tuolumne County, then migrated to the Trinity mines in June 1850. That fall he cut the region's first water "race," or ditch, and in the following spring dug the West Weaver Canal to carry water into McKenzie's Gulch, a few miles from Weaverville. In all, Ware built three major ditches out of the East and West Weaver rivers (two of the Trinity River's largest tributaries). They were among the largest and most costly in the county, covering eleven miles at a reported cost of twelve thousand dollars.<sup>24</sup> Most early ditches and flumes were



The budding mining town of Weaverville, California, as shown in an 1852 lithograph. *Courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.*

cooperative ventures by which groups of miners delivered water to themselves at cost. A few, like Ware's, provided water for sale. They posed no danger during the wet years of 1851 and 1852, but that changed following the dry winter of 1852-53. In the spring of 1853, Ware turned almost the entire stream into his ditch, depriving miners who worked the banks of the West Weaver below the diversion of their livelihood.<sup>25</sup>

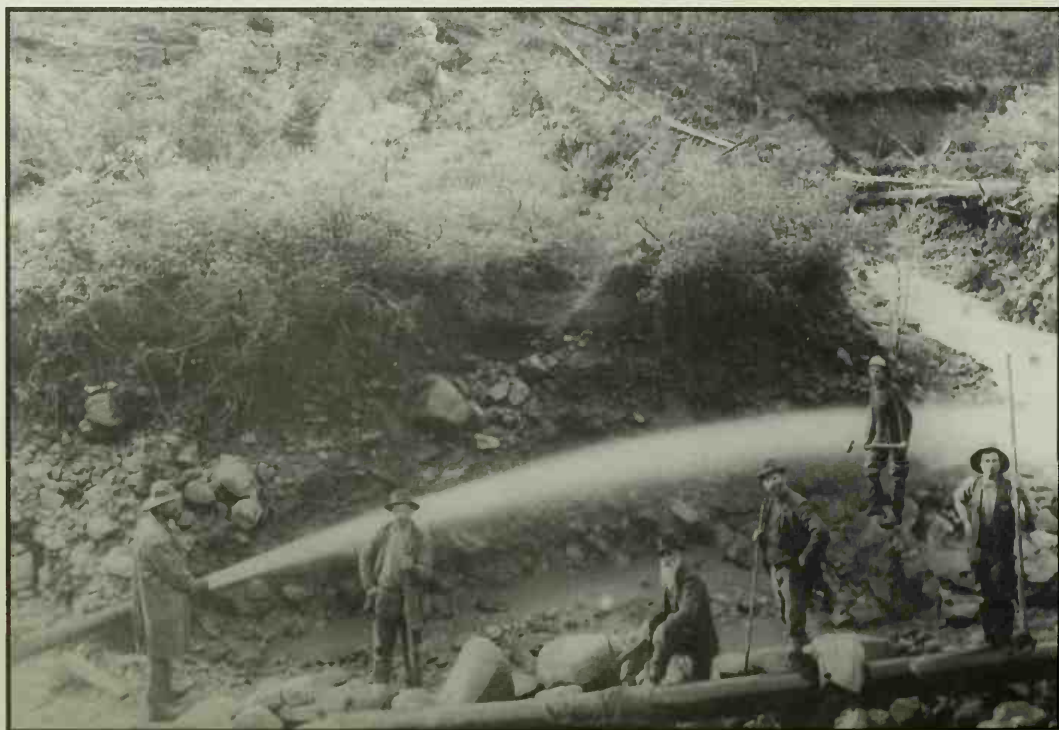
The conflict that erupted during the drought of 1853 was as much between upstream and downstream ditchers as between ditchers and anti-ditchers. Ware and another canal owner, James Howe, maintained, in the words of Trinity County's first historian, that "the priority of possession conferred a perfect and perpetual right."<sup>26</sup> However, not all miners agreed that the principle of

"first in time, first in right" should dictate who held the strongest claims to water, and even those who accepted that dictum disagreed as to how it should be interpreted. Mining camp law had always ranked claims according to age, but mineral rights also depended on continuous occupation and use. Ware's main ditch had been finished in the spring of 1851, but most of the miners who bought water from him did not arrive in Trinity County until 1852 or 1853. The dentist-turned-miner-turned-entrepreneur argued that he provided a necessary service, that the mineral region would never be fully developed until the rights of capital were recognized, and that the date a ditch was completed, and its capacity, should take precedence over when individual miners began to buy the water. Thus, according to Ware, *all* miners who





Like their counterparts elsewhere in the West, Weaverville area miners depended on water to wash placer gold from the dirt and gravel that contained it. This was true for earlier small-scale operators, exemplified by the miner separating gold in a rocker (left), as well as the larger hydraulic hosing companies (below) that eventually replaced individual miners. An all-important, yet scarce, commodity, water proved to be a source of much conflict. Out of mining-era turbulence came basic water principles—such as the appropriation doctrine—that are still important in modern California. *Courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.*



---

purchased water from him deserved a priority of 1851.

Ware's customers accepted this logic; their claims would have been worthless without his enterprise. Most channel miners downstream from his diversion, however, claimed that they had arrived in the county before their upstream rivals. In any case, they reasoned, those who mined in or along the bed of a living stream should have a stronger right to water than those who labored on claims far removed from the channel. Water used within a river basin remained in the channel, subject to re-use by miners downstream. Moreover, little was lost to evaporation or seepage (compared to the amount that disappeared from lengthy ditches and flumes).

Following several futile attempts to arbitrate the dispute, 120 of the downstream miners—armed with rifles, pistols, axes, and shovels—descended on Ware's diversion dam, burned it, and chopped down the diversion flumes so that the water of the West Weaver could reach their claims. In Cox's words, the army of miners "left not a vestige," and—mocking the new custom of posting notice of a diversion to establish chronological priority—they posted their intention to tear down any new dam.

Ware filed complaint against nine miners, who were arrested and jailed. The conflict then took on comic-opera qualities as over one hundred additional miners, many of whom had helped to destroy the dam and race, marched into Weaverville and informed the sheriff that they were as guilty as those in jail. He should either free the nine or lock them all up. The sheriff dutifully stuffed the new arrivals into his hewn log jail, which was no more than eighteen-by-twenty-foot square.

The conflict deepened as several hundred more miners rushed into town to demand that the prisoners be released from the cramped, poorly-ventilated jail, or confined in more hospitable surroundings. If the sheriff refused to act, the miners promised to tear down the jail. Subsequently, he moved the prisoners to the county courthouse, but within a couple days let them all go because the county could not afford to feed them. The dispute

continued, as several of those who had been jailed launched a conspiracy to assassinate Ware. As one county historian concluded, "it galled them terribly to think that they should be committed to prison for contending for what they thought to be their rights as Americans, hence their banding together to do that rash act. . . ."27

The conspirators abandoned their plan when they discovered that William Ware was a fellow Mason, but the conflict over water rights continued. On June 7, 1853, a meeting of pro-Ware miners from Sidney and McKenzie gulches adopted a resolution deploring the "wanton destruction of property" and pledging that "[i]t becomes us as Americans and good citizens to protect one another in our rights and privileges." By a seven-to-one vote, they repudiated "any and every such spirit of agrarianism [anarchy] as has so lately manifested itself in the burning of the reservoir and cutting of Dr. Ware's Race." They promised to help rebuild Ware's aqueduct and to sort out the rights of the various ditch companies "according to the priority of their right." Nevertheless, the miners insisted that four tom-heads of water be permitted at all times to flow in the creek for use of those downstream.<sup>28</sup>

A few weeks after this meeting, the *Shasta Courier* published an angry letter from "West Weaver," an anonymous spokesman for the riparian claimants. He pointed out that until the summer of 1852 there had been sufficient water in the West Weaver to serve everyone. When periodic shortages occurred, reason and simple justice dictated that the miners closest to the stream received preference. The arbitrators appointed at the meeting of Sidney and McKenzie gulch miners had no authority to divide up the water, the correspondent insisted, nor had they acted fairly. Evaporation would reduce the four tom-heads of water to almost nothing by the time it reached the downstream claims. "West Weaver" claimed that an offer by the channel miners to share the stream equally with those who relied on the Ware and Howe races had been rebuffed. "Now . . . the miners of West Weaver are as quiet and well disposed as any to be found in California," he noted, but "they were told that, that which of right belonged to them they should



not have, and were further told that their diggings were worthless, and that as the diggings of Sidney were rich, that Sidney of course should have the water. Not only insulting our poverty, but robbing us because we were poor." The West Weaver rights, he insisted, would be "strictly maintained and the insults fully repaid."<sup>29</sup>

Another round of meetings followed in December 1853. Ware's supporters met, in the words of an obviously-biased record of the meeting, "to investigate the existing difficulties between Dr. Ware and a mob of miners on West Weaver, who, without any apparent cause and in violation of all laws of the country and of honor, have destroyed his property . . . and as we are creditably informed are now holding water by force of arms that is justly the property of Ware and others."<sup>30</sup> The meetings were held in response to Ware's appeal to the California legislature to confirm his water claims. The downstream miners pleaded that the lawmakers distinguish between the right to sell water and the right to use it:

"Very great difficulties have arisen between miners and ditch companies, with regard to the water of many mining streams, and gulches in many of the mining districts of this state, and particularly in this county, which difficulties have arisen solely from the manifestly unjust and monstrous assumption of an absolute fee simple title to running water by certain ditch companies—such ditch companies intending and endeavoring thereby to deprive all miners of their natural, legal, and inalienable rights to make use of such water as would naturally flow through the gulch or valley of the stream in which they worked, and which is necessary to work their claims. . . . also, such difficulties have been the cause of much annoying, expensive and vexatious litigation, the said ditch companies having, by the influence of their money, caused criminal prosecutions to be commenced against all and any miners who dare boldly to assert the natural and legal rights guaranteed to him or them as miners and American citizens, and attempting by all possible means to so overawe, intimidate and crush the mining spirit generally, that they . . . might with impunity and an utter disregard of all natural and legal rights [riparian rights] effectually carry out their scheme. . . ."

The channel miners insisted that allowing entrepreneurs to claim water apart from the land violated the *de facto* federal policy that the mines should be open to all and that the public domain was exclusively under the supervision of Congress. In any case, custom dictated that water could only be used in common; no one could claim an exclusive right.<sup>31</sup>

When the West Weaver conflict reached the newly established Ninth Judicial District Court for Trinity County in 1854, the judge simply upheld the prior appropriation doctrine, which served the interests of the largest number of miners, those who relied on William Ware's water system. "The question and rights involved in this case are of great importance to the mining population of this as well as the other mining counties of this State," Judge J. W. McCorkle proclaimed, "and upon their equitable and fair adjustment depends not only the quiet and peace of the community, but to a great extent the prosperity and success of the miners and the full development of the vast mineral resources of the country." Even as McCorkle wrote those words, the legal needs of Trinity County miners had begun to change. By the middle 1850s, huge water wheels, some as large as forty feet in circumference with as many as eighty eighteen-gallon buckets attached to the rim, fed Trinity River water into flumes that served nearby river bars, and once hydraulic and drift mining began in 1859 and 1860, small scale operations disappeared almost entirely. At the end of 1859, the *Alta California* reported that the rocker and tom had all but vanished in the mines adjoining Weaverville, and had "given place to immense flumes and powerful hydraulics. . . . The flume of Jones & Howe in McKenzie's Gulch is not surpassed by any like work in the State, and it is not hazardous to predict that three years hence the owners will be the wealthiest men in Northern California."<sup>32</sup>

The time had passed when almost anyone could earn five to twenty dollars a day using simple tools. In California, the water shortage of late 1852 through 1854 recurred frequently during the next few decades, but by the 1860s mining in Trinity County had passed into the hands of larger congregations of miners as well as private companies. It is significant that McCorkle justified his decision

---

in favor of Ware on grounds not just that prior appropriation was needed to attract capital, but also because, in his words, "[t]he beds of most of the creeks and streams in the mineral regions have been worked out, while extensive gold fields lie unoccupied and untouched yet, for want of water, but which by the construction of canals . . . will yield good wages to the miners for years to come, and furnish thousands with constant employment, who otherwise would be compelled to lay idle, except during the rainy season. . . ." <sup>33</sup>

Clearly, McCorkle had responded to immediate economic interests rather than the dictates of doctrinal purity or consistency. Nevertheless, when Isaac Cox published his *Annals of Trinity County* in 1858, the author reported that the emergence of prior appropriation in California had been hard for many residents of his county to swallow. "While it is admitted by all that Dr. Ware's enterprises are of the highest order of importance to sustain our mining interests," Cox reported, "it is painful to record the fact that the fellow-citizen whose life we have before us, and his labors, seems to be the target of a power bent on destroying what beneficial uses thus have been wrought." <sup>34</sup>

The Trinity County story was not unusual; it was repeated in countless mining districts during the middle 1850s. Almost everywhere the quest for individual wealth clashed with the demands of investors in corporate ventures. California differed from other mining states both in the size of its placer deposits and the extent of its hydraulic mining operations; the mining laws of most other states focused on shaft mining, which posed entirely different legal problems. Nevertheless, most western states had surface mining as well, and many early individual miners assumed the dominance of riparian water rights. Miners in Alder Gulch, Montana, for example, declared in 1864 that water "shall belong exclusively to the miners of that creek or gulch" and guaranteed each claim "one sluice-head of water of not less than twenty inches" and as much more as necessary once everyone had received this amount. They declared "the right to the possession of the land

and water thereupon inseparable and indivisible," forbade all exclusive rights or privileges to water, and branded any flume or ditch that deprived downstream miners of water "a public nuisance." <sup>35</sup> On Pritchard and Eagle creeks in Shoshone County, Idaho, as well as in the Coeur d'Alene District, miners first on the scene held superior rights to water, but only if they returned what they used to the natural channel of the stream for reuse by those below. <sup>36</sup> Throughout the West, most miners initially argued that the law should provide equal access to water. Eventually, the courts reluctantly confirmed the prior appropriation rights of private water companies, but only after small-scale operations had dramatically declined. In the 1850s, courts spent more time trying to balance existing rights than encouraging new capital investment. Nevertheless, since western miners accepted the principle that the law could and should adapt to new economic opportunities, they had little ammunition, once large-scale hydraulic mining became dominant, to counter the assertion by private water companies of prior appropriated water rights.

Miners throughout California exhibited the same anti-monopoly spirit that prevailed at the time among farmers and workingmen in the eastern United States and would later animate midwestern farmers in their attacks against banks and railroads. Argonauts saw the tentacles of monopoly everywhere. Two very different conceptions of law were at stake in California during the 1850s: one that the law should work to provide the greatest opportunity for the largest number of individual economic actors, the other that the law should encourage the most rapid development of natural resources possible and generate the greatest possible overall community wealth (at least in the short run). In such a climate, it is not hard to understand why many miners harbored deep fears of prior appropriation, at least as the principle was employed by private water companies.

Although prior appropriation eventually triumphed in the mining camps, it never completely displaced the riparian doctrine. The mining camps produced a medley of laws; they did not uniformly embrace prior appropriation. As a result, California



---

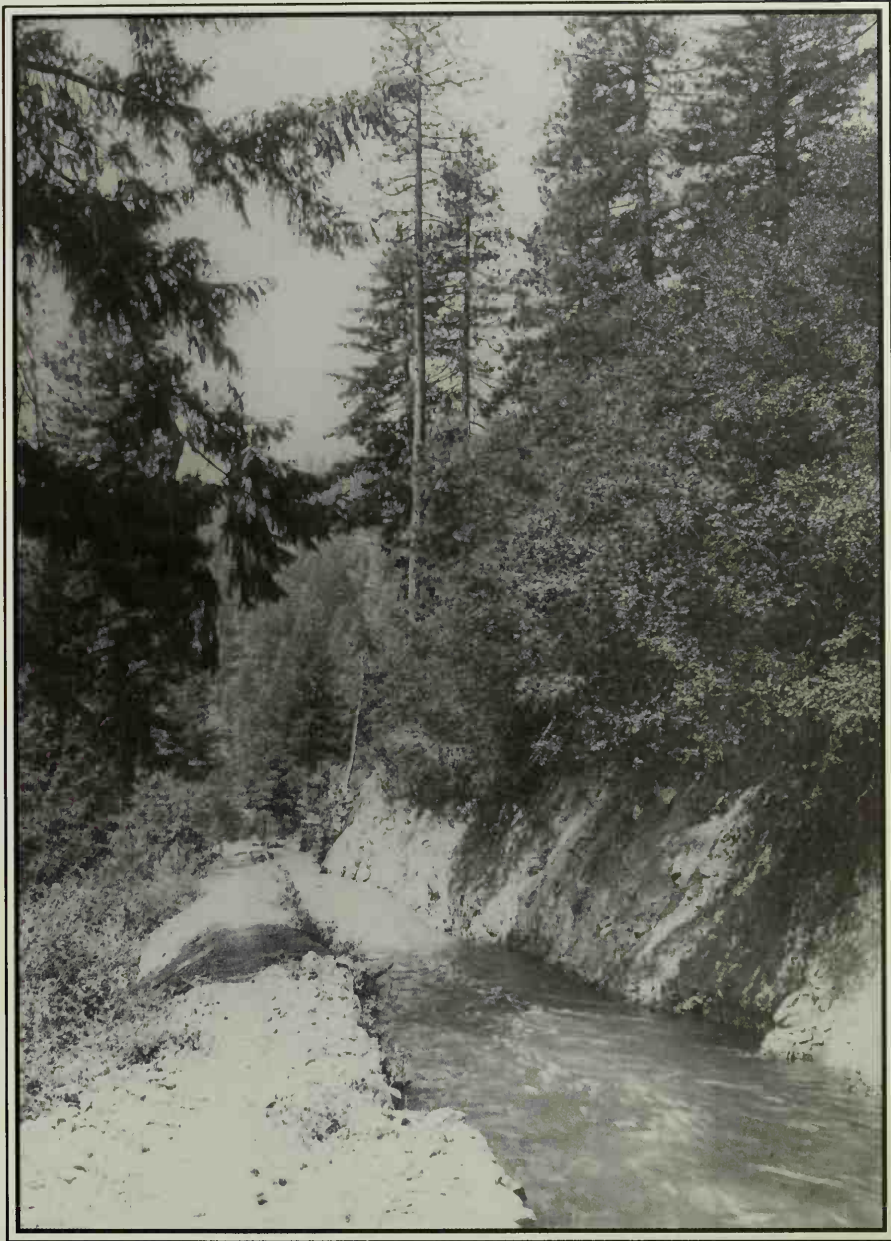
court decisions came to reflect local needs much more than broad legal principles or dicta. Mining districts were often isolated and relatively autonomous, district courts were few and far between, and since district judges were elected rather than appointed, public opinion had a powerful influence on judicial decisions. Consequently, the background, personality, and training of judges was less important in shaping the outcome of water rights decisions than was the specific location of a court and the nature of mining operations within its jurisdiction. Supreme court decisions were often ignored by the miners not just because they believed in popular sovereignty rather than "revealed law," or because they doubted that any practical comprehensive water laws could be adopted, but because they questioned whether the legislature or the state's highest court had any right to allocate the resources of the public domain.

The law was very much the creature of the changing technology and organization of an inherently unstable industry. Until the late 1850s, few Californians could have guessed that hydraulic and shaft mining would almost completely displace simpler forms of mining; and the extent of "Tertiary deposits"—those ancient gold-bearing gravels hundreds of feet thick in Nevada and Placer counties—was unknown until the 1860s. Moreover, as techniques to extract gold improved, many miners returned to sites first worked in 1849 or the early 1850s and revived mining in or adjoining river channels, albeit on a limited scale. Many large mining and water companies had appeared by the middle of the 1850s, but their dominance was not seen as inevitable, particularly in counties where gold deposits did not warrant large-scale investments. In short, prior appropriation did not seem predestined to displace traditional riparian rights.

Nevertheless, this new system of water law was remarkably consistent with the American ideal of limited government. Prior appropriation was one of the greatest nineteenth-century legal subsidies in that it allowed public property (water on public land) to be taken for free. The federal government might have mined government lands itself; it might have chartered private companies to do so, retaining a share of the proceeds; it might have charged individual miners for the privilege by issuing licenses; or it might have formed "mixed enterprises" to do the job—as many eastern states had done early in the nineteenth century by investing public funds in banks and transportation projects. It did none of these things; they were never considered realistic options. Prior appropriation fitted well with the American expectation that government should provide and subsidize economic incentives without attempting to regulate industries or fit them into an overall economic plan. Indeed, one of prior appropriation's great attractions was that it imposed no expense on the state and required no bureaucracy or commission to implement. As such, it encouraged the tendency of Americans to see the value of a resource in terms of the labor costs needed to develop or exploit it, not in the resource itself. Yet we should not forget that while prior appropriation outlived most of its critics, it did not triumph without conflict. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 323.*

*A specialist in the study of law and natural resources, Donald J. Pisani is Merrick Professor of Western American History at the University of Oklahoma. His newest book, To Reclaim a Divided West: Water, Law, and Public Policy, 1848-1902 (Billington Frontier Series: University of New Mexico Press) will be published in 1992.*



Remnants of the extensive water facilities necessary to the evolution of industrial mining in gold-rush California functioned into the twentieth century. In some cases, they still form segments of modern-day water systems. This 1910 photograph by C. E. Goodyear captures the swiftly-flowing La Grange Ditch, which transported water twenty-nine miles to reach mines in Trinity County. *Courtesy Trinity County Historical Society.*





In July 1852, Wells, Fargo & Co. opened its first banking and express office in San Francisco. Today, Wells Fargo Bank's corporate headquarters are still on Montgomery Street, virtually at the site of this early photograph. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

# INTEGRITY AMID TUMULT: Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Gold Rush Banking

*by Robert J. Chandler*

---

“I expect while I am writing you,” remarked one cousin to another in 1851, “you are prospecting the claim near Nevada [City] where we shall make our eternal fortune.” That dream of “eternal fortune” drew thousands of gold hunters from around the world to distant California. Swarming through the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, the vast majority wished to make their “pile” and return home. Merchants also came to supply gold miners with the multitude of items needed to feed, clothe, and equip them. After all, wrote a budding entrepreneur in anticipation, California was “a country where I could have the privilege of doing business if I had the desire.” How would these fortune-seekers safeguard and transmit their new-found riches? All needed the financial services that banks could provide.<sup>1</sup>

However, politicians determined the structure of banking in the Golden State, and Californians received banking houses rather than chartered banks. Bitter memories of earlier financial panics and worthless eastern bank notes influenced delegates to the state constitutional convention in 1849. They mandated that the legislature “shall prohibit by law any person . . . from exercising the privileges of banking, or creating paper to circulate as money.” The first state legislature complied, and not until 1864 did the state permit incorporated commercial banks. The first national bank in California opened even later, in 1871. Filling the void, individuals established private banking houses that the state did not regulate. Rather than being the “Bank of . . .,” Gold Rush financial institutions were known by such names as Tallant & Wilde, Burgoyne & Co., or Lucas, Turner & Co. Only the business acumen and personal reputation of the partners sustained them. “There is no place in the world where money is made so easy as here,” a Gold Rush San Franciscan wrote. However, in the speculative California economy, losing money in business was equally as rapid. Dependent on the state’s boom-and-bust economy and fickle public

confidence, banking houses led particularly precarious existences.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas G. Wells of Walpole, New Hampshire—who was no relation to Henry Wells of Wells, Fargo & Co.—was one of the first to see opportunity in California banking. On December 30, 1848, twenty-five days after President James K. Polk announced the gold discovery to Congress, Wells wrote his brother that he intended to “form a banking establishment in California, for the purpose of drawing bills of exchange [and] changing coin for bullion.” His “Specie & Exchange Office,” as he designated it on his business cards, opened in August 1849, and Wells & Co. became the leading bank among the six operating in San Francisco that year.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Wells knew that Californians, as they moved continually from one gold strike to another, demanded two basic banking services: selling their gold dust and sending wealth home. For bankers in Gold Rush California, buying gold dust had primacy. Raw placer gold, though valuable, was of undetermined worth. It ranged from sixty-three to ninety-three percent pure, and was not legal tender for debts, nor would the federal government accept it for customs duties. (The phrase “How much can you raise in a pinch?” commemorates the ascendancy of those with huge thumbs and forefingers and the varying amounts gained from selling goods priced at “a pinch of dust.”) Merchants took gold dust only at a discount. In 1848, \$16 a troy ounce, regardless of purity, became the accepted rate. By 1851, the price had risen to \$17. In comparison, from 1837 to 1933, the United States Mint priced pure gold at \$20.67 and struck coins based on that price. Miners needed to sell dust—which because of its varying degree of purity was worth only what it would bring on the open market—for United States gold coins that contained precisely their face value in gold.<sup>4</sup> San Francisco bankers used capital funds to buy gold dust through “up country” correspondents, though one firm, Adams & Co., a banking and express



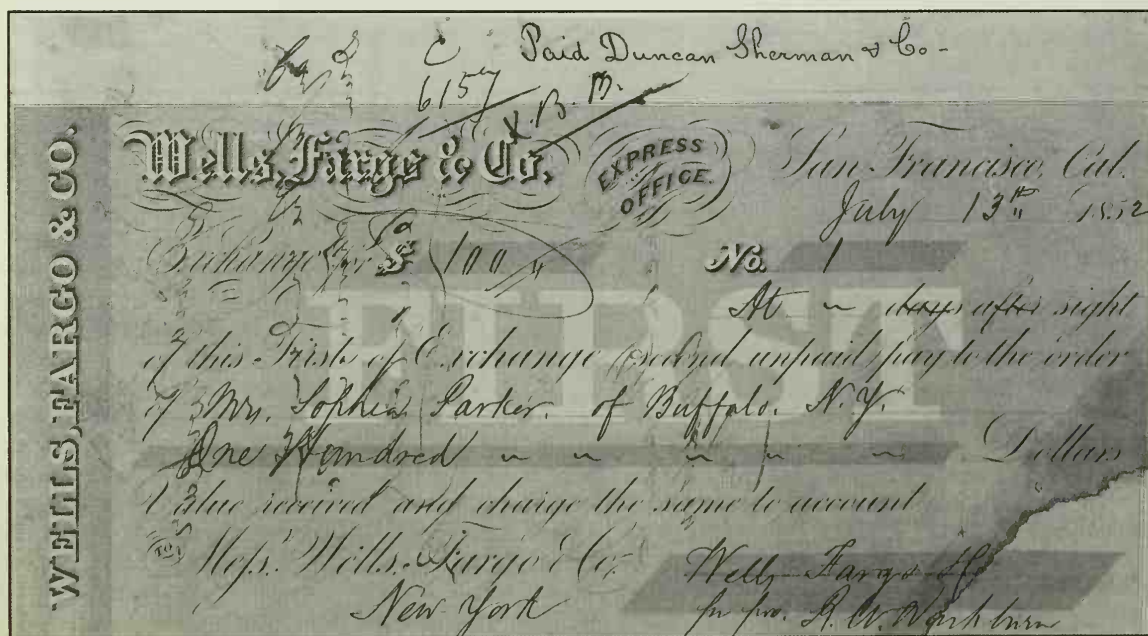
business in California since 1849, did gradually establish branch offices.

The Sacramento correspondent of a San Francisco banker described the dust business. In July 1851, Henry Schliemann, who would later discover the ancient city of Troy, opened what he called "a banking-house for the purchase of Gold dust and the sale of 'exchange' on the United States and Europe." He wrote in his journal: "Gold dust comes in plentifully and I buy on an average 5 Puds [180 pounds, converting a Russian weight] per day. My purchases go for the most part to the house of Rothschild at London, whose branch-establishment at San Francisco [B. Davidson & Co.] supplies me by every night's steamer with the necessary Coin."<sup>5</sup>

Merchants and miners also needed a way safely to send their wealth home or to pay eastern suppliers. Their bankers had the solution. The miner or merchant bought a "bill of exchange" signed with the bank's name and similar in function to modern cashiers' checks. Filled out in duplicate or triplicate, each copy went east by a different mail. The eastern branch, European office, or correspondent bank of the California financial institution paid the first copy that arrived and the others became void. Banking houses sold bills of exchange for gold

coin, used that money to buy gold dust, sold more exchange, bought more dust, and formed a profitable cycle. They shipped the exchange notes and gold bullion of equal value on the semi-monthly mail steamers out of California. Profit came from a narrow margin made on a three percent charge for exchange and the small difference gained between the cost of gold in California and its sale at the Philadelphia Mint, minus office, shipping, and insurance expenses. Only a large volume of business brought prosperity, although one opinionated banker maintained that banking houses actually lost money in this process!<sup>6</sup>

Early California bankers also offered more traditional banking services. They accepted customers' money and gold dust as general and special deposits. General deposit was the same as an ordinary deposit today; the bank used the funds in its business, but paid the amount back on demand. Special deposit was akin to placing valuables in a safe deposit box; the customer received back the same coins or gold dust placed in the bank. Because few gold seekers had a strong desire to stay in California, and new gold discoveries drew them continually to remote areas, business arrangements tended to exist only from one semi-monthly steamer sailing



A Wells Fargo \$100 bill of exchange. To guarantee safe arrival, the San Francisco banking office shipped duplicate or triplicate notes to its eastern or European offices by different mails and paid the first copy that arrived. This note, dated July 13, 1852, and paid in New York, was the first of such documents to be issued. Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.

to another. A special deposit with [Alexander H.] Todd & Co., a Stockton express and banking firm, provides an example. On January 25, 1851, Orville Sedgewick opened an account with \$1,050. He made two additional deposits and three withdrawals, the latter around Steamer Day. On March 12, 1851, Sedgewick closed the account after only six and one-half weeks.<sup>7</sup>

Dependent upon supply by the sea, merchants in San Francisco and the gold country needed bank loans to take receipt of goods on arrival. Only when the merchandise sold did the importer pay off the debt. Banks were reluctant to extend even this credit. "The Bankers here do not profess to do a discounting business, or make loans in any way," observed a banker in January 1853. In 1866, long after the Gold Rush, an Arizona judge wrote from San Francisco that "there is no such thing as a line of discount here, by which merchants or manufacturers can depend on a moderate credit, and be thus enabled to legitimately extend their business." For two decades, California banks did little lending business. Between 1854 and 1872, the state licensed banking houses and taxed them on gold dust bought and exchange sold, rather than on the amount of deposits or loans, indicating the lesser importance of these products.<sup>8</sup>

In 1863, Benjamin Stark, recently a United States senator from Oregon, who owned half of downtown Portland, found the limits of San Francisco lending. "Donahoe, Ralston & Co. would let me have the money, but only on 30 to 60 days," wrote Stark's agent in May, while "Parrott & Co. will not loan upon outside [such as Oregon] collaterals." Investment loans were even riskier, with mining and real estate ventures the worst. In the early 1850s, banks charged three percent per month for good loans in calm times, but California Gold Rush business was rarely tranquil. Interest rates remained sky-high, and the lending business was notoriously speculative. The constant strain wore down bankers, and most firms were short-lived.<sup>9</sup>

This tumultuous financial world nevertheless attracted the attention of the American Express Company, though that name was not destined to appear in California. American Express formed on March 18, 1850, through the union of three regional New York express companies headed by Henry Wells, John Butterfield, and William George Fargo. At the end of May 1851, William B. Rochester arrived in the Golden State on a fact-finding mission for the company. "Gold never was known so plenty in San Francisco as this season," declared a Californian later in the year, and he was

correct. Production almost doubled from \$41 million in 1850 to \$76 million in 1851, measured at the mint price of \$20.67 per ounce, and would peak in 1852 at \$81 million. In February 1852, American Express considered the proposal to enter California. President Wells and Secretary Fargo wished to join the Gold Rush, but Butterfield, fearing the venture would strengthen his arch-rival Fargo, blocked it.

Henry Wells and William G. Fargo thus went West on their own. In New York City, they gathered like-minded entrepreneurs and formed Wells, Fargo & Co. on March 18, 1852. This joint stock association had a capital of \$300,000 to transact an "Express and Exchange business" on the Pacific Coast, according to its Articles of Association. A later circular further delineated the company's business as: "The Forwarding of all kinds of Freights, and the Purchase and Sale of Gold Dust, Coin, Bullion, and Bills of Exchange—and the receiving of Deposits." Two New Yorkers, telegrapher and expressman Samuel P. Carter of Albany and banker Reuben W. Washburn, previously with the Bank of Syracuse, opened Wells Fargo's first California office on July 13, 1852. The twenty-by-sixty-five-foot store building was at 424 Montgomery Street, east side, between California and Sacramento streets, virtually on the current site of Wells Fargo & Company's corporate headquarters at 420 Montgomery Street.<sup>10</sup>

At first, the new bank was a small operation. When Wells, Fargo & Co. arrived on the scene in 1852, Page, Bacon & Co. and Adams & Co. were the top ranking California bankers. They commanded capital, deposits, and resources from \$1 to \$2 million, and shipped \$400,000 to \$800,000 worth of bullion on each steamer. Benjamin Davidson, agent of the Rothschilds and a banker of the second rank, had up to \$1 million at his disposal, and sent back \$150,000 to \$300,000 in gold per steamer. "Our shipments of Dust are equal to those of Banking Houses of the third class," wrote Wells Fargo's Washburn in January 1853, when his firm sent only \$60,000 eastward.<sup>11</sup>

Wells Fargo needed capital on hand of at least \$150,000 to maintain this rank, but had only \$52,000. Charles A. Todd's Express, centered in Stockton, used half of the bank's capital to purchase gold dust in the Southern Mines for Wells Fargo, while Wells Fargo's own offices reporting to Sacramento used the rest. Wells Fargo's rapidly-developing reputation for integrity, however, gave it an advantage. "Adams & Co. do not stand well here among the Bankers," reported expressman Carter on June 30, 1852, in his first letter to New York. "They attempt to be very smart in many of



**WELLS, FARGO & CO.**  
**BANKERS**  
 AND  
**EXCHANGE DEALERS.**

**W. F. & CO.,**  
 In connection with their EXPRESS BUSINESS, will also transact a general  
**BANKING, EXCHANGE AND COLLECTION BUSINESS.**  
 GENERAL AND SPECIAL DEPOSITS RECEIVED.  
**COLLECTIONS AND REMITTANCES**  
 Made in all parts of California, Oregon, the Atlantic States and Europe, with prompt-  
 ness and dispatch.  
**GOLD DUST, GOLD AND SILVER COIN, AND BULLION,**  
 BOUGHT AND SOLD.  
 Money advanced on GOLD DUST deposited for transmission or coinage.  
**WIRE EXCHANGE**  
 ON NEW YORK AND BOSTON, FOR SALE AT CURRENT RATES.  
**DRAFTS**  
 ALSO DRAWN PAYABLE AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES, VIZ:

ALBANY, NEW YORK,	HAMILTON, OHIO.
TROY, "	SPRINGFIELD, "
UTICA, "	CINCINNATI, "
SYRACUSE, "	LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY,
OSWEGO, "	DETROIT, MICHIGAN,
AUBURN, "	JACKSON, "
GENEVA, "	ANN ARBOR, "
ROCHESTER, "	KALAMAZOO, "
LOCKPORT, "	NILES, "
BUFFALO, "	ADRIAN, "
BINGHAMTON, "	MONROE, "
OWEGO, "	CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
ELMIRA, "	GALENA, "
CORNING, "	LASALLE, "
ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA,	PEORIA, "
PITTSBURG, "	ALTON, "
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,	ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI,
NEW HAVEN, "	MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN,
CLEVELAND, OHIO,	SHEBOYGAN, "
SANDUSKY, "	RACINE, "
TOLEDO, "	KENOSHIA, "
MANSFIELD, "	MONTREAL, CANADA EAST,
NEWARK, "	QUEBEC, "
ZANESVILLE, "	HAMILTON, " WEST,
COLUMBUS, "	TORONTO, " "
DAYTON, "	

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.**  
**NO. 114 MONTGOMERY STREET,**  
**SAN FRANCISCO.**

This Wells, Fargo & Co. advertisement, from an 1852 city directory, announces its varied banking and express services. Shortly thereafter, Montgomery Street was renumbered and Wells Fargo's new address became 424 Montgomery. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

their operations." Carter was correct in his assessment. As early as December 1850, a later lawsuit disclosed, I.C. Woods, the managing partner of Adams & Co., had worked with Alfred A. Cohen to sell Page, Bacon & Co. "sanded" gold dust at \$2 an ounce more than its value.<sup>12</sup>

Beginning on December 2, 1852, Carter arranged to use \$100,000 of Page, Bacon & Co.'s capital to buy dust for them, and at the same time "build up a valuable business" for Wells Fargo. Access to the other bank's funds counteracted Carter's exceeding disappointment with the small capital he had. It made Wells Fargo, in the opinion of Henry Wells, "a one horse bank compared with those around us." In January 1854, the directors increased the capital available in California to \$150,000. Meantime, Wells Fargo paid \$17.35 an ounce for top quality dust, including a one-half percent commission to its agents, and sold it to Page, Bacon & Co. for \$17.40, who also made a profit because market value ranged between \$17.45 and \$17.50. In addition, Samuel Carter reported with "gratification" that he took Page, Bacon's "carrying trade away from Adams & Co." Just the 0.1 percent express charge for carrying Page, Bacon's treasure from Sacramento to San Francisco grossed Wells Fargo \$1,000 a month.<sup>13</sup>

During its first months in the golden land, Wells Fargo worked harder than its major competitors. Before Steamer Day, Page, Bacon & Co. and Adams & Co. had sold all the exchange needed to balance their bullion shipment by their regular closing hours of 4 and 5 p.m. The aggressive Wells Fargo, though, remained open until midnight—and later, if necessary—to gain important additional business. "Not a man sleeps the night before the steamer leaves," wrote Henry Wells on February 14, 1853, during an inspection trip to San Francisco, "& two thirds of all our Drafts are drawn after lamps are lit on the last night." The fast pace of California business amazed Wells. "I am called Sanguine at home," he informed Wells Fargo's president, but in San Francisco, "I am an old Fogey here and considered entirely too slow for this market." Yet, Wells could also report that day, "We are now after 7 months operation making money here—our Express business Mr. Carter estimates our profits at 3000\$ per month—from our Banking Dept. purchase & sale of Gold Dust Mr. Washburn estimates 5000\$ per month." At 11 p.m. on the following night, a tired Wells concluded, "This is a great Country & a greater People."<sup>14</sup>

Carter and Washburn adapted quickly to Pacific Coast business conditions. An indication of their developing knowledge appears in the letters they

wrote in 1853 to William H. Barnhart & Co., manager of Wells Fargo's Portland, Oregon, banking and express office. The California Express Department told Barnhart: "Keep your Express and Banking a/c [accounts] as much apart as though doing business with different houses," and each department wrote separate instructions. They also provided Barnhart with an analysis of banking procedures that stands today as a good source of information on Gold Rush era banking practices.<sup>15</sup>

Wise use of Wells Fargo's limited capital was Washburn's constant concern in his letters to Oregon. Continually, he reminded Barnhart to "keep it *actively* and *profitably* employed, either in the purchase of dust or Exchange." Recognizing the fluctuating demands for funds and the short-term nature of business, Washburn observed that the "justifiable wants from one Steamer to another" was all the money that the Oregon office should keep on hand. "If you accumulate too large a fund," he advised, "the interest on the money will absorb the profits on the dust—to say nothing of the risk of fire and robbery."<sup>16</sup>

Wells Fargo's venture into the primary Oregon gold-dust-buying market brought detailed inquiries from the California branch of the company. "The dust-buying at Portland is yet rather an experiment with us," wrote Washburn on May 23, 1853. Although Barnhart advertised that he was "always prepared to pay the highest price in CASH, for any amount of clean Gold Dust," the highest price, the San Francisco banker reminded him, was not necessarily economical. On receipt of 276 ounces of dust that Barnhart had purchased for \$17.25 a troy ounce, Washburn asked him to "not send us any more at that price." At \$17.25 per ounce, plus one percent freight and insurance, he explained, the Oregon gold cost Wells Fargo \$17.42 an ounce, and did not "pay interest on the money invested." The San Franciscan still was not satisfied when Barnhart reduced his cost by fifteen cents. "Can you not buy Clean Gold Dust at \$17?" Washburn asked in mid-June. "This, we think is all it is worth for assay." He did admit, "We cannot expect you to buy at \$17.00 however, if Adams & Co. or others pay more," and left the price to the "discretion" of the Oregonian. Washburn hoped that "by mutual consent," all buyers would let the price drop to \$17, for, as he noted two weeks later, Barnhart was "paying more than it is worth *for coinage*" at San Francisco's private mints. Through the summer and fall of 1853, the Portland price fluctuated between \$17.125 and \$17.<sup>17</sup>

Wells Fargo agents also estimated the cleanliness of gold dust when calculating the purchase price.

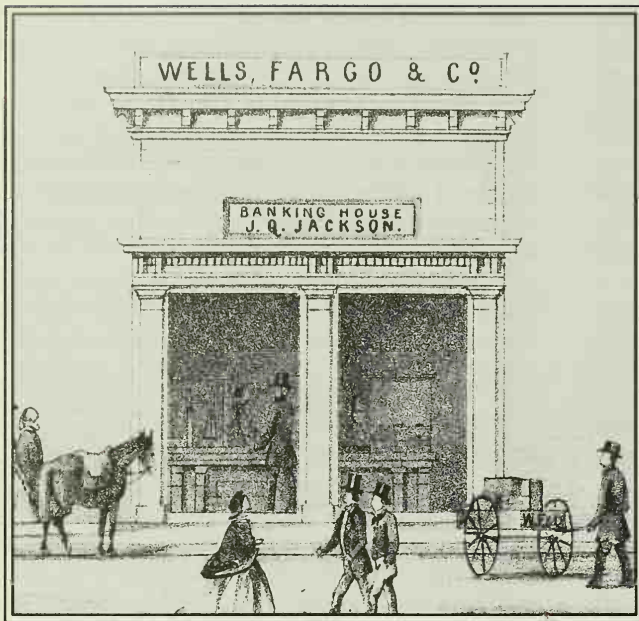
Sand, gravel, and mercury added to weight and decreased value. One batch of dust, complained Washburn to the Oregon branch in September 1853, "fell short in Cleaning," resulting in "a loss of 54 cents per ounce." Quicksilvered gold raised Washburn's ire. Part of the gold recovery process involved mixing powdered ore with mercury and heating the mass to drive off the liquid silver metal as a gas. The process often did not efficiently separate the two. "Do *not* send us any more Quicksilver Gold at *any price*," Washburn ordered Barnhart in June 1853, after one sample shipped from Oregon assayed at only \$14.36 compared to clean gold dust, which sold at \$17.125.<sup>18</sup>

With a multitude of foreign and domestic gold coins in circulation, a Wells Fargo banker had to be careful. Even with American coins, what passed for a dollar was not always worth a dollar. On May 9, 1853, Washburn asked Barnhart "[Spanish] Doubloons will answer to remit at \$16 or less. What are they worth with you?" Two months later he remarked that "the Mormon coins were counted at 90 cents on the dollar. They are worth only 80 cents here." On June 21, 1853, he chided Barnhart, "The Deficiency in the Coin was in a [French] 20 franc piece counted as \$5 (\$1 short) and in a [privately minted San Francisco] 'Baldwin' Coin worth only \$18, counted as \$20 (difference \$2.00)." He explained, "The only California coins which are worth par are those issued by the [United States] Assay Office and Wass, Molitor & Co. All others are depreciated."<sup>19</sup>

Exchange, the other half of the banking business, had its own intricacies. Setting a selling price for exchange was as difficult as fixing a buying price for gold dust. In early May 1853, Washburn advised Barnhart that he could sell bills of exchange at the San Francisco rate of three percent, or "at ½ percent premium, at your discretion," to obtain the coin needed to buy gold dust. He added, "I think you will have to charge 1 percent on drafts after you get coin enough to purchase what dust you can buy." At these rates, a \$100 bill of exchange would cost an Oregonian \$104. Always mindful that a business must be profitable, Washburn commented, "we cannot afford to draw at *par* and ship coin to cover the drafts." Two weeks later, the San Franciscan thought a three-fourths percent premium for needed coin was advisable, and "1 percent is as low as we can afford" for drafts sold afterwards.<sup>20</sup>

A general company circular noted the primacy of New York City in the financial life of the United States, as well as the local circulation of most state bank notes. "A draft on New York is good at any





Buying gold dust from miners and forwarding their packages and letters "back to the States" were two of many services provided by the Auburn, California, Wells, Fargo & Co. Banking House and Express Office of J. Q. Jackson. Its proximity to the Northern Mines assured a brisk business late into the evening hours. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

place on which we draw," advised Wells Fargo, which drew exchanges on sixty-five of the largest towns in New York, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Canada, and other communities reached by the American Express Company, "and at by far the most of them it would Command a *Premium* varying from  $\frac{1}{2}$  Per Cent to 2 Per Cent."<sup>21</sup>

Shipping money was expensive and risky, and Washburn preferred that Barnhart open a San Francisco account for his surplus funds. "The checks on San Francisco are better for remittances than Coin, as they save us freight and insurance," he explained. To prevent loss by shipwreck, Wells Fargo advised Barnhart, "The drafts should be drawn in duplicate. Send us the 'firsts' immediately, and the 'seconds' by following Express," that is, the next steamer south. However, Washburn thought, "should you be short of coin, you may sell any dust you have on hand to replenish your funds. [I] take it for granted you can always sell it at cost, or a little more."<sup>22</sup>

On November 23, 1853, Washburn summed up his business philosophy, yet deferred to the judgment of his branch manager. "You ought generally, (as I see you do) to get 1 percent more for Exchange at Portland than the San Francisco rate. We must however, leave the rates very much to your discretion." Washburn looked beyond the immediate "bottom line" to take competition into account. "We want to get *paying* prices when we can, but do not wish to have Adams & Co. *underbid*

us, and take away business that we should naturally get."

Ultimately, Wells Fargo established agencies and purchased regional express and banking firms to directly compete with Adams & Co., the only other San Francisco banking and express firm with offices throughout the Pacific Coast.<sup>23</sup> The pace in a Wells, Fargo & Co. California gold country office was hectic. The company would conduct an "Express, Exchange, and Banking Business on the most liberal terms," declared an advertisement in the *Auburn Placer Herald* that ran through the early 1850s. The Auburn office, one of the earliest branches, was a case in point. In October 1852, Auburn agent John Q. Jackson described the operations of his "large Express Office and Banking House." His task was not an easy one. "What I have to do is quite confining—staying in my office all day till 10 at night buying dust, forwarding & receiving packages of every kind, from and to everywhere—filling out drafts for the Eastern Mails in all sorts of sums, from \$50 to \$1000, and drawing checks on the Offices below [principally Sacramento and San Francisco]." He explained that "when men wish to take money to the cities," a check was "a great convenience," and "it saves us the trouble of shipping coin up from below for purchasing dust."<sup>24</sup>

Jackson recorded that miners appreciated Wells Fargo's Letter Express. "I have just come from the Postoffice," he continued, "from which I have got 100 letters to be forwarded," adding, "on these I

make \$25, as my charge on each is 25 cents." After business hours, the Wells Fargo agent "bundled" the letters received from Sacramento "for the river messenger who leaves at daylight" for neighboring gold camps, balanced his books, wrote a dozen business letters, and "cleaned, weighed, sealed and packed" the gold dust to be sent ultimately to San Francisco. Tired from his long hours of work, Jackson concluded, "This done with half dozen other things & I go to sleep"—ready to begin the next day. The valuable services he offered, however, gave him advantages in the community. "The office is my passport to any society in which I may choose to move," Jackson noted with satisfaction, "and withal is one of good profit."<sup>25</sup>

As a Wells Fargo banker, Jackson accepted general and special deposits and made loans. Mostly he purchased gold dust, thereby providing miners with coin needed to carry on commerce, and replenished his own money supply through the



At twenty-three, John Quincy Jackson was well-established as a young Wells Fargo agent in Auburn, California. He wrote to his family that although his days in the express office were hectic and exhausting, his financial compensation and solid position in the community made the work worthwhile. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

sale of inter-office checks. Gold dust flowed swiftly through Jackson's office, as Auburn was at the crossroads of four main staging roads. In September 1854, for instance, Jackson sent down \$190,000, or 750 pounds of gold drawn from Iowa Hill, Michigan Bluff, Rattlesnake Bar, Yankee Jim's, and, of course, Auburn. He shipped 150 pounds at a time, explaining that was "about as much as one likes to shoulder to and from the stages." Did his weighty duties make him fear robbers? Not at all. As a "friend, counsellor, and safeguard," he had a 128-pound bull mastiff!<sup>26</sup>

San Francisco was the center of Wells Fargo's west-coast banking. "Gold is the basis of all business operations," Washburn told Wells Fargo's eastern directors in January 1853, "and payments must be very prompt." New York banks settled accounts between themselves weekly, but "here it is done *daily* between 3 & 4 o'clock," he added. Any hint that a bank might not have enough gold coin on hand—regardless of other assets such as gold dust, assayed bars, or good paper—could spark a run and end its existence.<sup>27</sup>

A great test of the company's strength came in February 1855. In the three years since its founding, Wells Fargo had become solidly established, as shown by such a basic expense as office rent. In June 1852, Samuel Carter mourned paying the "awful price" of "\$600 per month in advance." In January 1854, Wells Fargo moved a hundred feet south on Montgomery Street into the Express Building on the northeast corner of California, where its office cost \$2,200, almost four times as much as it had in 1852. Across Montgomery, on the northwest corner, Adams & Co. paid \$3,000 monthly for a Parrott Building office. The shipment of treasure on the steamer that left February 1, 1855, also confirmed Wells Fargo's enhanced ranking. Page, Bacon & Co. and Adams & Co., neighbors in the Parrott Building, still led California bankers with \$415,000 and \$260,000 in bullion shipped, but now Wells, Fargo & Co. was third with \$155,000.<sup>28</sup>

Financial turmoil erupted on Saturday morning, February 17, 1855, when the *Oregon* steamed in with news that the St. Louis firm of Page & Bacon, the parent of the Bay City banking house, had suspended operations. Page, Bacon & Co. prepared for a run. To awe the expected multitude, the company's men stacked \$450,000 in coin boxes before the vault and filled coin trays to brimming. By 9:30 A.M. excited people jammed the office, demanding their money. The noise was "a perfect babel all day," wrote a member of the firm, with "women shrieking and crying, men swearing,



laughing and yelling, and everything outside in perfect confusion." Through the back entrance of the Parrott Building came friendly merchants lending their support, as they deposited gleaming gold coin on the counter. As quickly as one of two paying tellers handed over shining coins, a burly policeman grabbed the customer by his coat collar, stood him on the small check-writing desk by the door, and sent him out "literally over the head & shoulders of the mob." When the doors finally closed, continued the bank employee, "the porter picked up 2 or 3 hats, half a dozen belts and a pair of pants," but these treasures did not balance a loss of over \$500,000.<sup>29</sup>

The excitement died, but the run continued, bringing the firm's loss to \$1 million by Wednesday night, February 21. Page, Bacon & Co. closed Thursday morning, with less than \$100,000 in its vault. "We must suspend," it announced. "We cannot raise coin on our bills. Coin is not in the country." While the fire companies paraded through the streets on February 22, celebrating George Washington's birthday, attention shifted to other banks. On Friday, February 23, 1855, the morning *Alta California* headlined, "The Crisis Past," but it could not have been more mistaken. San Franciscans awoke that day to discover that Adams & Co. had also gone into receivership. The "one feeling," the *Alta's* reporter noted, was "intense and deep regret that THE GREAT HOUSE of California had failed." Yet, whereas Page, Bacon & Co. had paid out as long as able, Adams & Co. closed Thursday night with coins still in its vaults.<sup>30</sup>

All Friday, angry San Franciscans packed Montgomery Street densely between California and Jackson, pushing toward the doors of other banking houses. "How much have you lost?" became the common greeting. The run of "Black Friday" also put Wells Fargo in a difficult bind, with \$250,000 of its capital dispersed to its interior offices for gold purchases. The crisis overwhelmed Colonel William J. Pardee, Wells Fargo's resident director in California since July 1853. Even earlier, the fast pace and rapid boom-and-bust cycles of San Francisco business had unsettled him. By October 1854, Pardee had "almost totally neglected" his duties, wrote Washburn, and through unwise and unauthorized loans placed Wells Fargo in a position to lose several hundred thousand dollars.

On that Black Friday morning in February 1855, Wells Fargo's banking house suspended only temporarily in order to convert assets to coin, but as the *Herald* remarked on Saturday, the mob "never throughout the day for a moment doubted" Wells Fargo's ability to meet all demands. Wells,

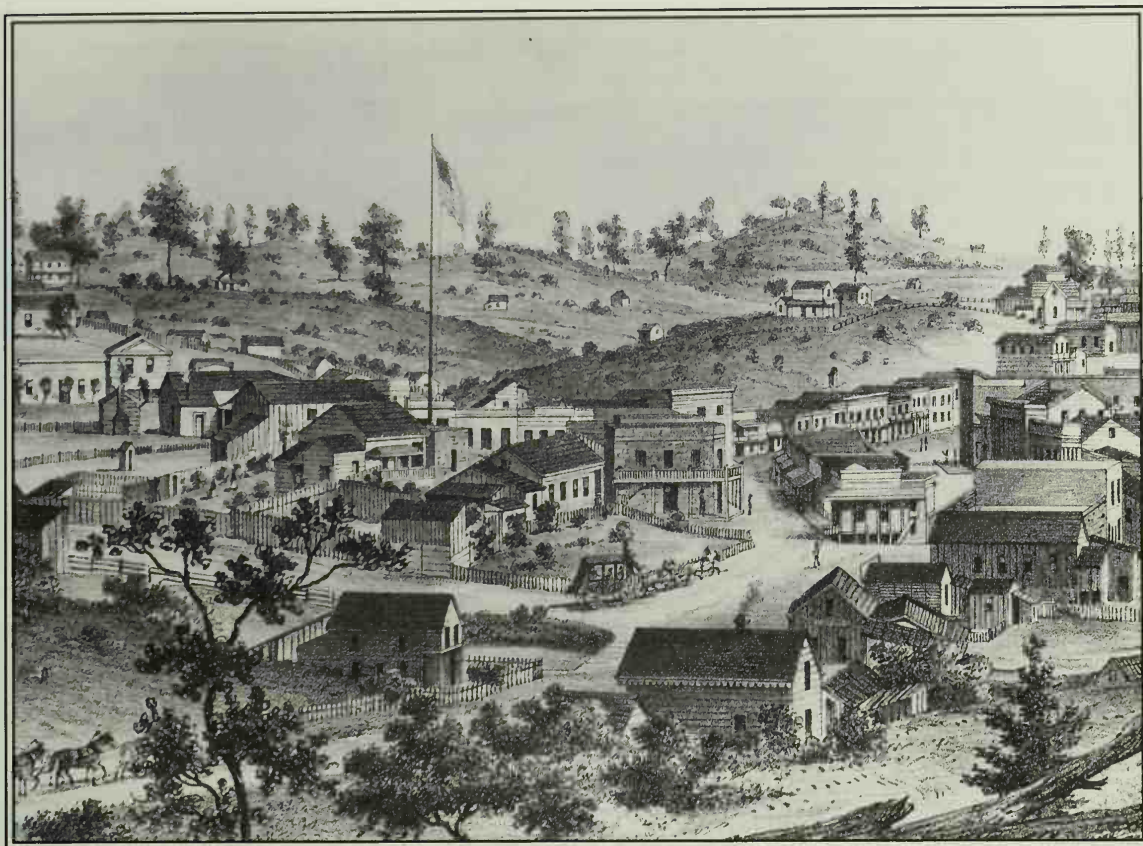
Fargo & Co. had available only \$85,000 in coin and \$75,000 in bars, but rapidly began to reduce its assets of \$740,000 to accumulate sufficient coin to pay \$175,000 in deposits and to cash \$95,000 worth of outstanding checks sold to gold country customers. Elsewhere in San Francisco, a few small banking houses also succumbed, but the other banks, which had deposits roughly equal to Wells Fargo's but lacked gold country branches, survived. Wells Fargo reopened on Tuesday, February 27, with \$190,000 in coin on hand, and only owing depositors \$120,000. Through the week of financial panic, San Francisco's banking firms paid out an astounding \$3 million.<sup>31</sup>

The telegraph spread the news of "Black Friday" throughout California. Miners who had deposited savings with Adams and Wells Fargo besieged the offices. On February 25, one banker recorded, "Adams & Co. are dishonest, craven, cowardly; all through the land they caved in."<sup>32</sup>

The integrity of Wells Fargo's gold country agents, in contrast, assured the survival of the company. Wells Fargo's larger offices were the hardest pressed, but did well under the circumstances. The Sacramento and Nevada City offices closed only after paying out all coins and bullion, the former just \$3,000 short. The Marysville agency closed briefly to enable agent Charles H. Hedges to gather coin. A messenger dashed off to the California hamlet of St. Louis, seventy-five miles away in mountainous Sierra County. He returned in ten hours, bringing in coin on two heavily-laden pack animals. Hedges re-opened on Saturday, retained a reserve, and on Sunday sent \$20,000 to San Francisco. A dispatch from Stockton dated 11 P.M. Friday told the fate of that office: Wells Fargo "stood firm with doors wide open ready for depositors, and met every demand."<sup>33</sup>

Important Wells Fargo offices in Grass Valley, Placerville, Sonora, Mokelumne Hill, Jackson, and elsewhere in the mines remained open. At Auburn, John Q. Jackson paid all depositors on sight, settled accounts, and that evening expressed \$15,000 to San Francisco. "This is certainly the proudest time in my life," he rejoiced two days before his twenty-third birthday. "Wells, Fargo & Co. have paid out pretty steadily," the telegraph reported from around California. All offices had resumed full operations by Tuesday, February 27, 1855, and the banking and express firm, announced a San Francisco paper, was "now in full blast throughout the State."<sup>34</sup>

Whatever Resident Director Pardee's shortcomings as a manager, he was honest. Through a series of court suits and newspaper statements extending



This 1857 view of Auburn, California, shows the section referred to today as "old town" or "lower town." The first Wells Fargo office in Auburn stood at the conjunction of four main streets, near the flagpole. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

for over a year, on the other hand, the public realized that competitors Page, Bacon & Co. and Adams & Co. lacked this trait. Henry Haight, who had charge of Page, Bacon & Co.'s San Francisco business, was "disaffected" and lacked loyalty to his employer, observed William Tecumseh Sherman, manager of Lucas, Turner & Co. During and after the crisis, Sherman noted the "venom and hatred" among the partners. Twenty years later, he recalled that Haight was "too fond of lager-beer" to act effectively when the San Francisco financial community most needed his leadership. Particularly, Sherman condemned in blistering language Haight's action on Thursday, February 22, when Page, Bacon & Co. closed. Haight's circular predicting that all the banks would fail, Sherman charged on February 25, was "the most egotistical and incendiary production that was ever thrown upon an excited people." The result, according to the future Civil War general, was that "quiet people were drawing

their money." On May 4, 1855, the *Alta* reflected on the tumult and denounced the "great error" of Page, Bacon & Co. for "closing their doors before it was absolutely necessary." The paper concluded that the "course" of this bank had been "disgraceful."<sup>35</sup>

Concurrently, bitter anger against Adams & Co. became part of California tradition. A contemporary song, popular enough in 1858 to be included in a song book, condemned "California Bank Robbers." Its targets were not gunmen, but the "rich banker thieves" of Adams & Co., who planned to "swindle all o' God's creation." Court testimony in February 1856 revealed that the actions of managing partner Isaiah C. Woods and receiver Alfred A. Cohen justified this excoriation.<sup>36</sup> At the time of the company's failure on February 22, 1855, James King of William, the general bookkeeper of Adams & Co.'s banking department, testified that "the liabilities were always assumed to be \$2,000,000," equally divided between San Francisco and the



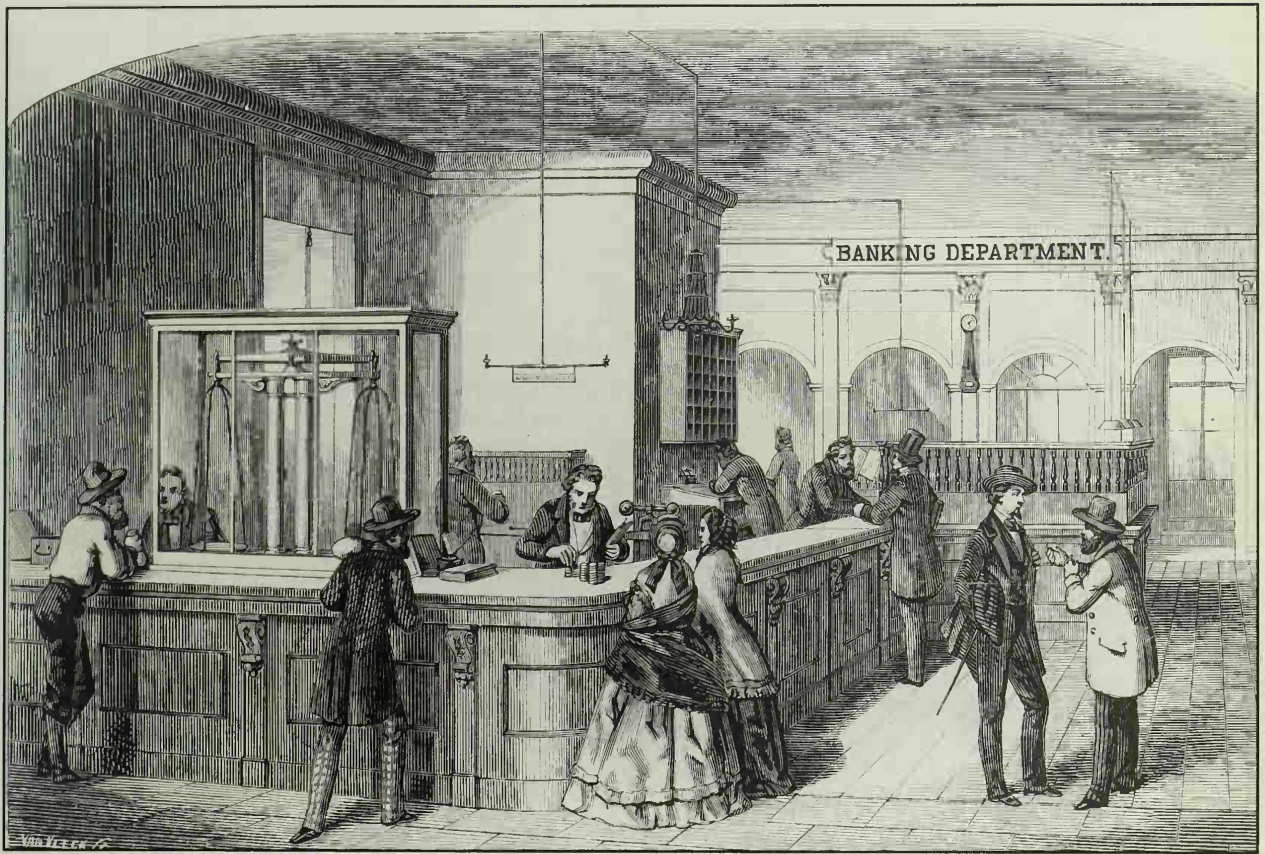
gold country agencies. As early as August 1854, King informed Woods that he felt the firm was "insolvent." Woods, however, took no corrective actions, and, moreover, his friend Cohen was able to use Adams & Co.'s assets for his personal speculations. "Cohen had full liberty to draw as he pleased," reported King. Not only was he "generally overdrawn," up to \$34,000 in January 1855, but he paid no interest on the borrowed money. On February 26, 1855, after the suspension, Woods offered to pay only twenty-five percent of all liabilities within thirty days. Yet, creditors did not receive even this promised \$500,000. Customers lost all \$2 million deposited with Adams & Co., except for funds paid out at a few gold country offices during the panic. Given Adams & Co.'s shady handling of customers' deposits, "sooner or later," reflected the *Alta* on May 4, 1855, Adams & Co. "must have gone under."<sup>37</sup>

Woods's actions, and those of his staff on February 22, 1855, revealed worse character flaws among the operators of Adams & Co. For instance, Henry H. Van Valkenburg, the chief dust buyer for Adams, was roused out of bed at 3 A.M. on the 22nd to count the dust in the Adams vaults, yet later at the trial he claimed not to recall the amount. An opposing attorney pointedly remarked, "If he had taken an account that morning, at a crisis when the salvation of the house depended upon it, it would be impressed upon his mind until the day of his death." For his part, Woods conspired with others to keep as much as possible of the bank's funds from going back to depositors. On the evening of Thursday, February 22, Woods resolved to close Adams & Co. At 11 P.M., he sent \$200,000 in gold dust to assayer John G. Kellogg, removing it from company assets. Fearing a mob in the morning, at 3 A.M., February 23, Woods and Cohen, whom Woods had appointed as receiver, also removed \$350,000 in coin to Alsop & Co. for safekeeping. Additionally, in late February and early March, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express delivered \$70,000 in gold dust and bars from Adams & Co.'s offices in the Northern Mines to receiver Cohen. Never in the next several weeks, however, did the employees of Adams & Co. weigh or count the treasure, while Cohen came and went with funds as he wished. Eventually, \$150,000 was turned over to the bank of Palmer, Cook & Co., which used the money for its own speculations. In 1856, James King of William, now the crusading editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, concluded, "Cohen has not acted honestly," while he detested the other banking house: "We have not *one particle* of confidence in that firm of Palmer, Cook & Co."<sup>38</sup>

"Every thing is in confusion and no confidence placed in any body or any company," John Q. Jackson reported from Auburn about the banking business in April 1855. However, agent Jackson and Wells Fargo, the firm he represented, formed a symbiotic relationship as a result of the panic, each gaining strength through the deeds of the other. "The manner in which I acted as agent has given me a good name in the community," he celebrated, adding, "W. F. & Co. have written me several letters approving my acts and expressing in warm terms their approbation at my management generally." He observed, "Their standing effects me in every way," and responded with praise for his employer: "They have always treated me in the most gentlemanly manner and done me many business favors."<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to its major competitors, Wells Fargo emerged in a strengthened position after the 1855 panic. Jackson had predicted, in the midst of the financial uncertainty on February 24, 1855, that the course Wells Fargo chose during the panic would "establish the credit of the firm to a greater degree than it had ever enjoyed heretofore." Because the company paid its depositors' claims, yet survived, Wells Fargo's good reputation grew, and symbolically in December 1855, it moved into the very same ground floor offices of the Parrott Building previously occupied by its larger rivals, Page, Bacon & Co. and Adams & Co. Wells Fargo soon became the largest shipper of bullion, as its exchange business also expanded. Before the panic, it had sold an average of twenty bills of exchange a day; afterwards, it averaged one hundred.<sup>40</sup>

The financial crisis of 1855 brought other changes. Unlike Page, Bacon and Adams, Wells Fargo had directors who acted quickly to preserve and strengthen the firm. Even before the panic, in response to Washburn's letters, the directors expressed "much anxiety" over the "large amount of money" that Pardee had loaned "contrary to the intent of the Co.'s articles." The board thus resolved in mid-February to send treasurer Thomas M. Janes and expressman Charles S. Higgins to California with full power to act for them. With the panic now adding more pressure to solidify the company's management, Janes replaced Pardee on May 30, 1855, and on December 1, 1855, Louis McLane, Jr., took charge of the company's California operations. As "general agent of this company for California," in the words of the minutes of the board, McLane would have "supervisory power over the whole and every part of the Company's business and it shall be his duty to see that said business is carried on in strict accordance with the Articles of



Having survived the panic of February 1855 with its reputation solidly intact, Wells, Fargo & Co. moved into new offices in the Parrott Building at Montgomery and California streets, San Francisco, where the bank operated until 1876. The interior of the bank is illustrated by this lithograph. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

Association and the instructions of this board and its officers."<sup>41</sup>

The son of a member of Andrew Jackson's cabinet and president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, McLane had been in California since the American conquest. He invested in many emerging businesses, including the California Steam Navigation Company and the California State Telegraph Company. Charles McLane, his brother, assisted with stagecoach and railroad investments during the 1860s, while another brother, Allen, was president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company during that decade. As a former naval officer, Louis McLane supervised Wells Fargo through strict discipline. Not only was he a "perfectionist," concluded a modern biographer, but McLane was "always a man of positive decisions" and "eager for responsibility, even in the most trying situations." Wells Fargo needed his managerial style. Under McLane as California manager, Higgins

stayed to run the express department, while Gerrit W. Bell conducted the banking department.<sup>42</sup>

McLane quickly displayed his skill and strengthened Wells Fargo's reputation for integrity. In December 1855, the state treasurer, Dr. Henry Bates, contracted with Wells, Fargo & Co. to pay in New York the interest due in 1856 on the California state debt. Bates, however, then siphoned off \$73,000 in state funds earmarked for the interest payment to Palmer, Cook & Co., whose political connections were powerful, but whose banking practices were questionable. On April 15, 1856, McLane demanded a written contract from the treasurer, due to the unauthorized arrangement with the other banking house. Palmer, Cook & Co. gambled in the tangled real estate assets of Adams & Co., failed to pay the interest on the state bonds on time, and closed its doors on July 29, 1856. Wells Fargo, to shore up the credit of the state, paid the money due.





The interior of the restored Wells Fargo Express office at Columbia State Historic Park. Henry Sevening, whose nameplate sits on the worktable, was one of only three agents who ran the express office and bank during its nearly sixty-year operating history in Columbia. Photo by William A. Bullough.

Bates's "unmitigated fraud," in the opinion of a legislative committee, did not end here. The state treasurer nullified the contract with Wells Fargo, and turned over the interest payment funds for 1857 to his former cashier and boyhood friend, Edwin A. Rowe. McLane had "strong suspicions" and kept watch. In December 1856, Rowe conveniently became president of the Pacific Express Company, in which the state's funds were promptly invested. Former Adams & Co. express agents had formed Pacific Express in April 1855, and Joseph C. Palmer, of Palmer, Cook & Co., was one of five trustees. Rowe was unworthy of the trust of these expressmen. Rowe and Bates, concluded the legislature, had squandered the \$124,000 authorized for the bond interest in "speculation" and "riotous living." Treasurer Bates was forced to resign, and in early April 1857, the Pacific Express also folded. President Rowe's "lack of principle," said the *Sacramento Bee*, had killed the company. In contrast, the lawmakers concluded that Wells Fargo had "promptly met" its obligations to the state, while a Sacramentan complimented the company on its "unswerving honesty."<sup>43</sup>

As a result of the panic of '55, the relationship between Wells Fargo and its upcountry agents also changed. Despite the fact that it had survived, the company took steps to reduce its potential risk by limiting the agents' authority to collect deposits and purchase large amounts of gold dust in its name. "We have prohibited nearly all our Agents from receiving Deposits," noted the San Francisco office on August 14, 1855. Apart from the chaos of the panic, another reason for restricting the agents was the increasing number of offices. The company's first list, published on August 17, 1855, named thirty-six California branch express agencies; the one that appeared two months later on October 15 had twenty more. Supervision of fifty-six banking offices exceeded Wells Fargo's capacity to accept reasonable risk without stricter controls.<sup>44</sup>

The company also stopped lending money to its upcountry agents to purchase gold dust, but many used their own resources to continue this business. Thus, while these agents still handled Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express business, they were becoming bankers under their own names. In mid-June 1855, John Q. Jackson wrote that he became treasurer of the Bear River & Auburn Water & Mining Co. without pay, "with the understanding that I use the funds on hand for purchasing dust." The water company received three thousand dollars weekly from miners, and Jackson gained a similar

amount from the county treasurer's deposits. In May 1856, he acquired \$60,000 worth of gold, and rejoiced at his new freedom. Since March 1, he had made a profit of over three thousand dollars, ten times as much as he would have made buying gold for Wells Fargo.<sup>45</sup>

To provide for financial transactions going outside their communities, these express agents and private bankers became correspondent bankers for Wells, Fargo & Co. They had Wells Fargo's banking department sell their gold dust in the Bay City and deposit the proceeds in their San Francisco Wells Fargo bank accounts. In turn, they drew against these accounts to sell local merchants and miners Wells Fargo checks payable in San Francisco. John Q. Jackson, for example, advertised "Checks on San Francisco at Par." While few in the Bay City knew the financial stability of Jackson's Auburn banking house, San Francisco businessmen knew Wells Fargo. Thus, Wells Fargo checks sold in the gold region found ready acceptance.<sup>46</sup>

The developing complexity of gold dust buying and the increasing number of assayers led Wells Fargo to reduce its capital outlay in the volatile market while at the same time to increase the autonomy of its local agents in this business. In the mid-1850s, the fixed price per ounce of gold dust broke down. Miners in areas where the assay value was above the fixed price wished credit for the extra value, while those in poor regions disliked a reduction in price. Sometimes they attempted to pass low quality gold for more than it was worth. Charles T. Blake, a dust buyer from Folsom, observed that "each particular lead contains gold with a physiognomy which tells an expert at once from whence it comes." He knew a hundred different kinds of gold at Michigan Bluff, ranging from 630 to 930 fine. Gold could vary ten percent in value in claims "not one hundred feet apart."<sup>47</sup>

Expertise was the key. Blake found it "manifestly impossible" for buyers in the "great centers" of San Francisco and Sacramento to have this minute knowledge. Thus, gold buying became decentralized. To prosper, Blake stated, local buyers had to know "gold and its value the moment they see it." Gradually, beginning about 1857, upcountry bankers and gold buyers added assaying to their skills. With this knowledge, explained William Daegener, a dust buyer and agent for Wells Fargo in Columbia, "I shall be sure to pay the highest price & have a profit left."<sup>48</sup>

Integrity was a primary component of gold dust buying. "I do not believe in the Gold Dust Trade in such a thing as a Customer," Daegener explained, that is, someone who kept returning regardless





of price or service. "Miners sell their Dust where they think they get the most for it." Blake, working in the Folsom office of Charles T. H. Palmer, private banker, assayer, gold dust buyer, and Wells, Fargo & Co. agent, noted in 1861, "Our profits here average net—very evenly 1½ percent." Daegener continued to buy gold for Wells Fargo into the 1860s, due to the richness of the Southern Mines. For several years he battled another dust buyer, whom Daegener felt to be an "old hypocrite," to "whom no trick is mean enough to get others customers."<sup>49</sup>

However, Wells, Fargo & Co. had simple rules for Daegener's conduct. "Pay no more for dust than it is worth, nor make no arrangements with anyone to pay less than it is worth," wrote express superintendent J. M. Vansyckle on December 10, 1857. "This is the only true motto to do any kind of business on," he advised, adding that "it is the course we pursue here" in San Francisco. However, Wells Fargo still let Daegener decide gold prices. "You are on the ground," wrote banking superintendent Bell in March 1858, "& must do the best you can."<sup>50</sup>

After the panic of 1855, Wells Fargo established new branch banking offices in important towns: Shasta, 1856, Yreka, 1857, Victoria, British Columbia, 1858, Los Angeles, 1859, Carson City and

The Wells Fargo Express agency in Columbia, California, photographed in the 1870s (above), and recently (at right). The building dates from the late 1850s. Wells Fargo agents operated at this site in Columbia from 1853 until 1913. Wells Fargo Bank gave the building to the state park system in the 1950s. Restored to its 1850s appearance, it is now part of Columbia State Park's extensive Gold Rush interpretive program. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank and William A. Bullough.*

Virginia City, Nevada, 1860, and Salt Lake City, 1866. Some lasted only a few years (Shasta, Yreka, Los Angeles); others lasted over thirty (Carson, Virginia, and Salt Lake cities). In 1867, thirty-five California cities and towns had banks. Wells Fargo, through its four banks in San Francisco, Marysville, Sacramento, and Stockton, and thirteen correspondent bankers, served seventeen of them. Local Wells Fargo express agents and private bankers resided in the mining towns of Coloma, Columbia, Coulterville, Diamond Springs, Dutch Flat, Folsom, Forest City, Forest Hill, Iowa Hill, Meadow Lake, Michigan Bluff, Sweetland, and Todd's Valley.<sup>51</sup>

In 1887, a San Francisco paper paid tribute to Wells Fargo's enterprise in pioneering banking services. It observed that in the "unsettled conditions" of the frontier, a banker took great risk in making loans. "Substantial security is not possible, for there is nothing permanent about the place



except the land, and the value of that depends altogether on the success of the settlement." Wells Fargo stepped in, noted the editor, to become a "great help in giving banking facilities in many sections of the State, where even a private banker saw no hope of success."<sup>52</sup>

The inhabitants of new mining camps were grateful. New local company agent Charles T. Blake described the excitement on April 27, 1863 in Placerville, Idaho, when he rode into town:

One of the crowd that followed us in said to our guide, "Can you tell us anything about Wells Fargo & Co.? We understood they were going to establish an agency here." "Yes," says the guide, "they are,

and that man in spectacles is the agent." The next instant I heard a shout taken up and repeated through the whole town, "Wells Fargo have come." In less than three minutes I was surrounded by an excited crowd of two or three hundred men, who hardly allowed me time to get my saddle off from my mule before they almost dragged me into a large unfinished building on the Plaza. The carpenters were at work, but were stopped at once, the shavings were cleaned out, a couple of boards put on tressels were fixed up for a counter, one man ran for a whiskey keg to make me a stool and another brought in a pair of scales and a yeast powder box to put gold dust in and installed himself to weigh for me.<sup>53</sup>



For Wells Fargo and other California bankers, the 1860s were no less tumultuous than the 1850s. As the decade began, Wells Fargo had a new banking head. On April 1, 1859, Gerrit Bell's contract expired, and, illustrating the close tie between banking and gold buying, he became an assayer next door to Wells Fargo in Parrott's Iron Building. Samuel Knight, superintendent of the express department, added management of the banking department to his duties. In 1861, the eastern states plunged into the vortex of the Civil War, and the political and economic turmoil of that conflict engulfed California. Wells Fargo's sale of exchanges dropped from one hundred to perhaps half that daily. Beginning in November 1862, Californians repudiated the depreciated government paper money, elected to remain on gold, and added calculations on the market value of gold compared to greenbacks to the difficulties of transferring money. Furthermore, the increasing number of express offices in California and Oregon, along with Wells Fargo's entry into Nevada, Washington, and Idaho, occupied Knight's attention. In 1863, he had more than 150 agencies to oversee.<sup>54</sup>

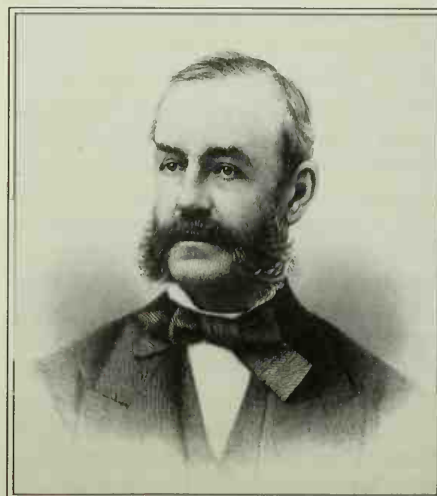
At the same time, permanent settlers replaced transient miners in the Far West. These men and women required large amounts of capital to raise wheat and wine grapes, build factories and railroads, and develop hydraulic and hardrock mines. The state's constitutional prohibition on the chartering of banks was antiquated, and resourceful Californians circumvented it to provide much needed commercial banks with larger capital bases. The earliest of this new wave of financial institutions was the Pacific Bank, headed by Peter H.

Burnett, California's first governor. In 1863, it organized under an 1862 law passed for savings banks, and in 1864 persuaded the legislature to pass an act allowing savings banks with a capital of \$300,000 to accept ordinary deposits and deal in commercial paper.<sup>55</sup>

A few months later, on July 5, 1864, the visionary William Chapman Ralston opened the Bank of California. Though organized only under the general incorporation law, he "chartered" the institution as a commercial bank. Wells Fargo's managers recognized the new direction of banking. Louis McLane and Samuel Knight were among the twenty-three incorporators of the Bank of California, and McLane became a director. In 1875, Professor Ezra S. Carr of the University of California viewed the bank's development from the perspective of the small farmer: "The Bank of California is not a dealer in money," he wrote, "but deals in stocks, mines, purchases coal mines, runs quartz and lumber mills, contracts for and controls the supply of quicksilver, silver and gold coin, tonnage and grain, and," he concluded, "is directly or indirectly connected with every speculative enterprise in the State." Ralston did not hold funds in trust for customers, but, as did Woods and Cohen of Adams & Co., used the Bank of California as a source of capital for his many ventures.<sup>56</sup>

Wells Fargo was involved in one of these "enterprises" that substantially benefited the California economy. On June 13, 1866, it subscribed to fifteen percent of the \$1 million capital stock of the San Francisco Assaying and Refining Works, successors to Kellogg, Hewston & Co. Wells Fargo had good business reasons for investment in the larg-

Louis McLane, third president of Wells Fargo, 1866 to 1868. Under his direction the stagecoach operation of Wells Fargo expanded rapidly through the West and became a virtual empire. With its colorful history and romantic lore, the stagecoach was destined to become Wells Fargo's corporate symbol. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*



est gold and silver refinery on the coast. "Dust and Bullion can be forwarded to us from any part of the country," advertised the metal processing firm, "and returns made through Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express."<sup>57</sup>

In 1869, president and manager of the new company, Louis A. Garnett, described the public service of the Assaying and Refining Works: it expanded the local money supply. The costs at the San Francisco United States Branch Mint to turn raw gold into coin were such that owners of gold received more if they sold their unrefined bullion to San Francisco's foreign bankers, who shipped it to Europe. Of \$40 million in gold produced on the Pacific Coast annually, Garnett estimated that \$22 million went abroad, while the mint received just \$18 million. Of that, \$7 million came from the "remote districts," said Garnett, where "the relative commercial value of bullion and its minting value is not at all understood." Garnett, who did understand the complexity, sent \$11 million to the mint for coinage, at a loss of three-eighths of a percent, to increase the money in circulation. He explained that the directors of the San Francisco Assaying and Refining Works—important city business leaders Alvinza Hayward, John Parrott, William C. Ralston, Wells Fargo's Charles McLane, and Garnett—were the "principal bankers" in San Francisco. By "keeping money easy," Garnett stated, the bankers felt the amount lost on the coinage charges "comes back to them again in stimulating the general business of the country." The next year, due to its efficiency and Ralston's influence, the Assaying and Refining Works received a contract to do all the refining for the mint.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time, Wells Fargo's bank experienced a period of difficult transition, set off by an accident. On April 16, 1866, an unmarked shipment of nitroglycerine exploded in the courtyard of Wells Fargo's Parrott Building office. Among the dozen killed were the much-respected bankers Samuel Knight and his predecessor, Gerrit Bell. On May 1, Louis McLane's brother Charles assumed Knight's duties as manager of banking and express services. Since 1860, Charles McLane had kept the Pioneer Stage Company's coaches running over the Sierra. Though not a banker, once in charge of Wells Fargo's California operation, he instituted an audit of the banking branches and removed several agents who had embezzled funds "gambling in Mining Stocks," as Louis McLane had suspected. Alexander M. Hayden at Sacramento, T. R. Anthony at Stockton, George E. Morgan, the bank cashier at San Francisco, and Peter D. Hedley at Gold Hill, Nevada, had abused the "trust and confidence

placed in them both by the public and ourselves," explained General Agent McLane.<sup>59</sup>

On November 1, 1866, Wells Fargo's stagecoach business energetically expanded eastward, uniting all the segments of the overland stagecoach line to the Missouri River. Under the presidency of Louis McLane, Wells Fargo's stagecoaches ran between the eastern and western railheads of the transcontinental railroad, as the Central and Union Pacific companies approached one another, and north from Salt Lake City into Idaho and Montana. The company advanced from joint stock association to incorporation by assuming a Colorado legislative charter issued to stagecoach king Ben Holladay. Wells Fargo also took over Holladay's Salt Lake City bank, giving it control of gold flowing into the Mormon capital from the north.<sup>60</sup>

Following the nitroglycerine explosion in San Francisco, the bank had three managers in quick succession during the late 1860s. On April 8, 1867, Andres B. Forbes, who headed the express following Knight's death, took over supervising the bank. Early the next year, Charles E. McLane went from superintendent to general agent. Under him, John J. Valentine headed the express, and J. K. S. Latham replaced Forbes at the bank. Then, in August 1870, Charles McLane became bank superintendent, and Latham dropped down to cashier.<sup>61</sup>

A new direction for the company in general came on October 4, 1869, when Lloyd Tevis and the Central Pacific Railroad magnates—Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins, Collis P. Huntington, and Leland Stanford—gained one third of Wells Fargo's stock. An aggressive entrepreneur and attorney, Tevis wished to change the focus of Wells Fargo's banking. The San Francisco *Bulletin* on August 11, 1870, published an advertisement reporting that Lloyd Tevis and D. O. Mills constituted an "Executive Committee" to review Wells Fargo's bank business. Mills, who had founded the respected banking house of D. O. Mills & Co. in Sacramento, was then also president of the Bank of California. The *Bulletin's* ad also indicated that Wells Fargo was shifting dramatically from gold rush banking to what banking today is understood to be. In contrast to its original gold dust buying, Wells Fargo's new services were: "Deposits received, Loans made on approved Securities. Letters of Credit issued. Collections and Investments attended to, and a general Banking Business transacted." Last on the list was that main banking service of the Gold Rush: "Exchange drawn on the principal Atlantic and European Cities."

On February 8, 1872, Tevis became president of Wells Fargo, and he served for the next twenty





Lloyd Tevis, president of Wells Fargo Bank from 1872 to 1892. Coming to San Francisco from his native Kentucky in 1849, Tevis and his brother-in-law James Ben Ali Haggin established a law practice in the city in 1853. Tevis held large mining, water, and banking interests in California and Nevada and was a prominent social leader until his death in 1899. His insight into the changing western economy, like that of Louis McLane, led him to develop modern banking practices that emphasized capital growth and investments. *Courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.*

years. As associates, he picked men who adhered to his banking philosophy. Homer King, on March 18, 1873, became treasurer of Wells, Fargo & Co., and manager of the bank. Born in 1841, King had come as a boy to California during the Gold Rush. Subsequently, he worked in Wells Fargo's Sacramento and Virginia City, Nevada, banking offices, served as cashier in San Francisco, and managed Wells Fargo's banks in Hamilton and Eureka, Nevada. King was well-suited for his new job. A testimonial biography declared that in the 1870s, he gave Wells Fargo's banking "solidity," while increasing its "popularity."<sup>62</sup>


Like Tevis, King grasped the changing California economy. In the 1860s and 1870s, gold production dropped rapidly from its heights in the 1850s, and large-scale hydraulic mining companies, not individual miners, brought forth the precious yellow metal. Making loans to meet the needs of capital formation in an increasingly corporate-dominated economy replaced gold dust buying as Wells Fargo's primary banking function, and the bank, including the interstate branches, contributed a third of the company's earnings. By January 1873, the former banking department's stationery read, "Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank."

In other ways in the 1870s, Wells Fargo grew in stature in far western banking. On February 4, 1876, the company became one of fifteen banks forming the San Francisco Clearing House, whose member banks settled accounts among themselves and united for joint policies. On June 8, 1876, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank moved into elegant quarters on the northeast corner of Sansome and California streets in San Francisco. For the first time, it was physically separate from the express department. Large steel vaults occupied almost all of the east wall, impressing customers with the bank's strength and solidarity. Light glistened off polished desks and counters, all of black walnut, carved and inlaid with laurel wood. The bank looked like what it was: a strong financial institution.<sup>63</sup>

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank was across Sansome Street from the Bank of California, whose recent past had been quite different. President William C. Ralston associated with risk-takers such as Alfred A. Cohen, the former receiver for Adams & Co., Asbury Harpending, and William Sharon of Nevada. All practiced what Louis McLane termed the crime of "Mining Stock Gambling." A stock market crash on August 25, 1875, inaugurated a crisis for the Bank of California, which had invested deeply in speculative mining companies. On Thursday, August 26, Ralston's high-flying speculations brought the bank to ruin. It closed early that after-

noon after paying out \$1.4 million in coin. "We don't expect to resume" business, remarked a dejected Ralston. Runs spread to the banks in the immediate vicinity on California Street and continued on Friday, August 27. That day, Ralston went swimming in the Bay and never returned, while his bank suspended for five weeks to re-capitalize.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast, Wells Fargo conducted business almost normally. Through the night of August 26, the twenty bank employees guarded the vault in the Parrott Building office, and prepared for the next day. "We anticipated a 'run,'" recalled exchange clerk William Franklin Hess, and on the morning of Friday, August 27, "long before the opening hour, the streets were crowded with people." About 11 A.M., a *Bulletin* reporter observed, "several hundred thousand dollars were taken out of the vault and placed in view back of the counter." Hess recounted that "our trays of goldpieces had the desired effect," and Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank was "transacting ordinary business by eleven o'clock." The next morning, the *Alta* reported, "Wells, Fargo & Co. stood a little run very successfully."<sup>65</sup>

During its first quarter-century, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank set lasting precedents. It saw great changes in the California economy and adapted its banking services to suit them. Founded on conservative banking principles, and without the flamboyance of some of its larger competitors, it weathered the great financial panics in 1855 and 1875. Through the tumult of the financial world, one constant was Wells, Fargo & Co.'s integrity. 

*See notes beginning on page 324.*

Robert J. Chandler is a senior research historian for Wells Fargo Bank. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Riverside; his dissertation was entitled "The Press and Civil Liberties in California during the Civil War, 1861-1865." His recent publications include "Crushing Dissent: The Pacific Coast Tests Lincoln's Policy of Suppression, 1862," *Civil War History* 30 (September 1984), and "Fighting Words: Censoring Civil War California Journalism," *The Californians* 8 (May 1990); and *San Francisco Clearing House Certificates: Last of California's Private Money* (1986).





On August 12, 1971, a jovial Governor Reagan signed SB 796, the welfare reform bill. At the lively bipartisan gathering of committee members who had hammered out the bill's final version, the governor quipped that adding his middle name to his signature would further prolong the drama of the occasion. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Ward Sharrer, photographer.*

# Governor Reagan and California Welfare Reform: The Grand Compromise of 1971

*by Garin Burbank*

---

On August 12, 1971, an unlikely celebration took place in the office of Ronald Reagan, then eight months into his second term as governor of California. Democratic legislative leaders who had recently denounced him as dishonest and demagogic gathered around his desk, smiling and laughing at his jokes as he signed a dozen souvenir copies of a welfare reform bill that had been angrily contested all summer long. "Here comes welfare reform. Tony, this is your bill," Reagan said, as he handed a copy to one of his fiercest opponents of these preceding months. Senator Anthony Beilenson, whose SB 796 had been the "liberal" alternative to the governor's proposal, joined in what the *Sacramento Bee* reporter described as "hearty laughter."<sup>1</sup>

In the infernal heat of a Sacramento summer, with thoughts of vacations receding still further into the haze of August, Governor Reagan and the Democratic majority in the legislature had resolved to seek a compromise on an issue that liberal politicians hesitated to discuss. Through four months of controversy and four weeks of arduous negotiations, these intensely practical politicians had sailed amid tricky currents and shifting sandbars. The public provision of welfare benefits to "families with dependent children," or AFDC for short, had become routine and unquestioned in the years after it was introduced as part of the national Social Security Act of 1935. Originally enacted to provide for widows with children, the program began to

serve a new kind of recipient in the 1960s. Single mothers, many of whom were black, were accepted for aid under liberalized federal rules written in the Democratic administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.<sup>2</sup> Thus the discussion of welfare was soon burdened with disquieting undertones of illegitimate births, family disintegration, and racial antagonism.

For an advocate of the work ethic and limited government like Ronald Reagan, there were obvious political advantages in declaring a crusade against waste and fraud in the welfare system. But there was also a serious public issue all too clearly seen in the rapid rise of state AFDC expenditures, which went from \$283 million in 1965 to \$1,061,000,000 in 1971. As Bill Bagley, the Republican chairing the Assembly's Welfare Committee put it, "Literally picture a graph with the arrow going almost straight up and going off the chart."<sup>3</sup> With recession bedeviling the state's economy in 1970-71, both the governor and the legislators lived in fear of a fiscal calamity. More spending surely meant more taxes; and here Reagan, who had made himself the spokesman of the "earners" and bungalow owners, cemented his appeal to the skilled working people, the independent businessmen, and suburban professional classes. He would not allow the most industrious and self-supporting citizens to be used as an endless chain of buckets, taxed and emptied for the sake of recipients whom he depicted as irresponsible and improvident.



---

The immediate political crisis arose in 1971 from Governor Reagan's refusal to give consent to a major Democratic bill on welfare reform (SB 796) that required an appropriation. In the absence of final approval of the upcoming budget, the governor's consent was constitutionally necessary.<sup>4</sup> Since the Democrats had already voted down the reform proposal carefully drafted by his administration's director of social welfare, Robert B. Carleson, the governor was in no mood to concede. Despite Democratic claims that the "bulk of the bill was lifted from the governor's bill," Reagan scorned SB 796 as a sham reform that would not control "skyrocketing" costs and only ensured the need for a major tax increase. And that, he emphasized, was a price he would "not ask the people to pay."<sup>5</sup>

The clamour of charges and countercharges on this issue gradually revealed the underlying conflicting attitudes of political leaders on welfare reform and broader social and political questions. When the Democrats examined the administration's welfare proposal, they concluded that there was too much purposeful harshness, too many devices intended to shake welfare recipients out of their alleged laziness, and too few incentives to stay on low-wage jobs. On the other hand, the governor's demand for a "closed-end" welfare budget, with a trigger for "ratable reductions" should demand exceed the funds appropriated, might appeal to the average taxpayer. But it would, the Democrats argued, surely impose hardship and even hunger upon poor children.<sup>6</sup>

Equally controversial was the Democratic-favored, so-called "thirty and one-third" rule, whereby in computing eligibility for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the first thirty dollars of earned income and one-third of the remainder, along with basic work expenses, were not counted. If this exemption placed the recipient "family" below a set "standard of need," then they could still apply for AFDC to bring them up to a satisfactory level of income.<sup>7</sup> In effect, this was supplementary income for the working poor, offered in the belief that carefully measured incentives could induce welfare clients to take, and to hang onto,

low paying jobs where earnings barely surpassed available welfare payments. To Reagan and his advisors this practice smacked of social engineering. The poor were being rewarded with public money because they had agreed to do no more than what most Americans always accepted as a moral and personal obligation. As Reagan put it in a major speech that was disrupted by "welfare rights" advocates, "except for the career welfare recipient work is not a strange or radical idea in America."<sup>8</sup> Though Reagan acknowledged that many welfare mothers could not work, he still believed that some could. Many American mothers with children under seventeen were already at work. AFDC mothers should, in their turn, be encouraged to return to work, making the program "a way-station en route to a permanent job and the dignity of self-sufficiency."<sup>9</sup>

As the Democratic leaders listened to each new Reagan speech on the need for welfare "reforms" that would control spiraling costs, they could barely suppress their fury. The governor's claims, they shot back, were filled with more deception than would ever be found in the administration of AFDC. The neutral Legislative Analyst's office had found at best only \$44 million in savings, even on an optimistic reading of the governor's proposals and the state's economic outlook.<sup>10</sup> The gap between that figure and the \$200 million savings predicted by Reagan and Carleson, Democratic leaders charged, reflected badly upon a governor playing presidential politics. They accused Reagan of posturing with the issue, suggesting his true motive was to embarrass the then-faltering Nixon administration, and to wait for a possible Nixon withdrawal that would open a path for Reagan to the Republican presidential nomination.<sup>11</sup> The state administration's tinkering with federal administrative requirements, the Democrats feared, might provoke the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to reduce funds allotted to California.<sup>12</sup> With federal funds gone and savings not approaching the level predicted by Reagan, the state and counties would soon face horrendous cost increases, and property taxpayers would be the logical group to foot the bill.<sup>13</sup> Surveying the gloomy prospect



In the early 1970s, Governor Reagan's call for reductions in state welfare spending generated much controversy. During the intense heat of summer 1971, Chicanos protested the governor's proposals for cutbacks in welfare and education by staging a sixty-day march to Sacramento from Calexico. Members of the Brown Berets acted as marshals to "La Marcha de la Reconquista," as it paraded through the streets of the state capital, demanding "justice" for Chicanos. Earlier in the week the group, shown in this Sacramento *Bee* photograph of August 1971, had also marched on Folsom Prison seeking broad penal reform. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Skip Shuman, photographer.*

from his partisan perch, Bob Moretti, Speaker of the Assembly, called the governor's Los Angeles Town Hall speech of June 23 "demagoguery personified." "He has no regard for the truth," Moretti charged.<sup>14</sup>

**P**eppery, combative, and shrewd in political tactics, Moretti was a superb legislative leader. He was the son of immigrant parents: his father was an Italian-born chef, his mother Armenian. They had worked hard to ensure that Moretti would have a higher education, which he took at Notre Dame, obtaining the degree in accounting that would make him, in his father's eyes, a "profes-

sional" man. But Moretti's real love, pursued through elective courses, was political philosophy. When he returned to California, he worked briefly in the billing department of a hospital before devoting more and more of his time to his local Democratic Party. Invited to work on the Sacramento staff of his district assemblyman, Moretti was soon to win the seat on his own after his boss moved up to Congress. To win a tough nomination battle and subsequent election to the Assembly at age twenty-eight was an exhilarating experience. To become the Speaker only seven years later signaled to the political world that Moretti was to be reckoned with.<sup>15</sup>



---

Moretti's family background had two important effects on his political views: he was less "liberal" on social matters than the average Democratic activist, but he also had a deeply-ingrained sympathy for the poor. If his most "liberal" colleagues could "live with" elements proposed in the welfare reform bill, he would follow their lead, persuaded that the aged, the handicapped, and especially, poor children would have a decent subsistence. His own views coincided here with Reagan's idea of aiding the "truly needy," an idea that Moretti accepted as Reagan's sincere conviction even if, in the hands of the governor's subordinates, it became a cruelly restrictive source of sanctions on the poor. So it was easier for Moretti than it was for his liberal lieutenants to agree with Reagan on the matter of welfare cheating. "We had," Moretti recalled, "no desire to protect the goddam welfare cheats. We were just as glad to get rid of them as [Reagan] was. . . ." <sup>16</sup> Urban liberals from districts where welfare was a major source of income were loath to acknowledge the possibilities of fraud. Moretti was convinced, however, that outrageous cases of welfare abuse discredited the program in the eyes of voters like his parents, compassionate people who also knew the responsibilities and demands of hard work. Liberals, Moretti concluded, could not afford to give such openings to a talented campaigner like Reagan, whose ringing defenses of the traditional work ethic had the perfect pitch to please the ear of the working and professional classes.

The resentment of the "earners," which surged in almost direct proportion to the imminence of tax increases, was beyond the immediate political experience of a left-wing liberal like John Burton. Representing a district of mostly poor blacks in San Francisco, Burton derided Reagan for "talking about some woman with eight kids from eight different fathers driving a cadillac and having a color TV—just stupid stuff." <sup>17</sup> Burton's jeer indicated little recognition that Reagan's composite figure of the "welfare queen" struck a moral and cultural nerve with many taxpayers—as indeed it still does. Chronic welfare dependency, whether seen as cause or effect of irresponsible and undisciplined per-



Democrat Robert Moretti, Speaker of the California Assembly, ca. 1970. *Courtesy California State Library.*

sonal behavior, was offensive to the majority of voters earning modest or comfortable incomes.

Behind this stormy California conflict one heard echoes of the transformed social policy debates of the 1960s. <sup>18</sup> The Lyndon Johnson administration's "War on Poverty" had changed basic premises, at least in the minds of some social service advocates. In the policy community, there was support for "income maintenance," as embodied to a limited degree in the abortive Family Assistance Plan that Daniel Patrick Moynihan suggested to the Nixon administration. <sup>19</sup> In the 1960s, interest grew in building into welfare programs finely-calibrated incentives that would supposedly nudge the chronically dependent into the workaday mainstream. Some critics of existing programs recommend establishing stiff work requirements to induce welfare clients to seek alternatives to welfare. This was, of course, the heyday of social science experimentation, a time of optimism for those who would reform the behavior of the socially marginal and unproductive

---

citizen. The intellectual and political issues arising out of these optimistic expectations now tossed and rolled upon the tides of California politics.

In the two months of 1971 that it took California's politicians to negotiate, pass, and sign into law a new welfare regime, the state's voters witnessed some extraordinary marches and maneuvers, a series of bloody thrusts and painful retreats by

political leaders. They also saw an unfamiliar new image of their governor. He was no longer the defiant, armour-clad enemy of violent campus radicals. Nor was he simply the unyielding advocate of tax relief. Now he seemed to rise to a new, more demanding, role: that of the patient, almost Madisonian seeker of compromise to achieve good policy for the public.



In August 1971, as the welfare reform bill moved into its final week of debate, Chicano protesters centered their demonstrations in Sacramento. Here, police blocked traffic for the angry crowd that carried the Mexican flag to Reagan's 45th Street residence on the night he signed the compromise bill that tightened welfare eligibility and cut benefits. The governor, however, refused to meet with them. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Skip Shuman, photographer.*



On the verge of greater accomplishments than in his first term, the transformed governor received the improbable help of the flinty, combative Robert Moretti, who had only recently accused him of living in a "world of unreality."<sup>20</sup> The Democratic Speaker of the Assembly flourished his love for professional politics as much as Reagan cultivated the appearance of the independent "citizen" politician. Surely the oddest couple of collaborators, Reagan and Moretti shared a keen instinct for the political center of a divided system of government: Toward that destination they both skillfully steered. It was Moretti's now-legendary letter in late June asking for serious talks on all outstanding state issues, but especially on welfare, that led to a mutual effort to clear the partisan underbrush.<sup>21</sup> When Reagan invited Moretti down to the executive offices for a talk, the Speaker took the occasion to be blunt, "Look, governor, I don't like you particularly and I know you don't like me but we don't have to be in love to work together."<sup>22</sup>

In the mid-summer of 1971, both sides appointed practical-minded teams of negotiators to tackle the welfare question. For the Republicans there was Ed Meese, Robert Carleson, Dr. Earl Brian, the state's Medi-Cal director, and Assemblyman Bill Bagley, the chairman of the Welfare Committee. For the Democrats Moretti selected his friends and trusted associates Leo McCarthy and John Burton of San Francisco, along with the more volatile liberal and arch-Reagan foe, Senator Anthony Beilenson of Beverly Hills.<sup>23</sup> His committee also reflected some conspicuous absences. Moretti had passed over Assemblyman Bill Greene of Los Angeles, a black member of the welfare committee. This glaring exclusion was condemned by Assemblyman John T. Miller, a black from Berkeley, who bravely exclaimed, "This whole question of welfare refers primarily to minority people. We should have some kind of input in the compromise. It's ridiculous."<sup>24</sup> That single black mothers were the major group receiving AFDC was an open and embarrassing secret. Moretti correctly surmised that if black politicians were seen as obstacles to controls on abuse and fraud, any legislative pack-

age would have little credibility in the eyes of white voters who liked Reagan. The political advantage would then remain heavily on the governor's side. Though they may not have appreciated the favor at the time, black politicians probably gained by being able to keep their distance from likely reforms that would inevitably tighten eligibility for benefits and subject clients to more searching evaluations of their welfare claims.

Already an unattractive figure to black voters, Governor Reagan had political shoulders broad enough to bear the "blame" for the "hard side" of welfare reform. But not much blame was likely to come from legions of Reagan voters who thought of themselves as the "earners" of California. Yet, in all of his stinging speeches about welfare abuse and fraud, the governor steadfastly argued that his purpose was to ensure help to the "truly needy," those whom he described as being without any other income, or any ready prospect of working for income.<sup>25</sup> If his plan were to prevail, their welfare grants would be modestly increased. Able bodied recipients, however, faced a tougher fate. If unencumbered by the need to care for small children, they would be offered opportunities to work. If they declined, they would face loss of welfare eligibility.

The final meetings of the negotiators took place between July 26 and August 6 in a windowless, but mercifully for them, air-conditioned Sacramento room. There were reports of table-pounding, cries of exasperation, and plain bad language.<sup>26</sup> Just as Moretti had excluded from the group all fervent liberals, save for Beilenson, so Reagan was finally forced, through the firm, unflinching figure of Ed Meese, to rein in the overzealous Carleson, who apparently did let loose cutting remarks that enraged the Democrats. Carleson increasingly despaired of the emerging legislation, seeing it as a pale and weak remnant that lacked the tensile strength designed into his original proposal.<sup>27</sup> To limit the serious damage threatened by Carleson's interventions, Meese at one meeting called a recess, left with Carleson, and returned for the afternoon session without him.<sup>28</sup> By all accounts, Meese was

particularly effective in his rapid grasp of complex welfare rules and in his ability to reduce concepts to concise legal language.<sup>29</sup> Meese, the Democrats all agreed, was a dogged opponent, but honest and honorable, certain to keep his word on any point that both sides had tentatively accepted. To Moretti, that attitude was critical to the search for welfare compromise. In this respect the Democrats

also commended Earl W. Brian, the state's Medi-Cal director, for his efforts as a go-between.<sup>30</sup> Through it all, Bill Bagley, the liberal Republican who had made welfare one of his strong legislative issues, served as a mediator, quick to comment "Down, Guv," or "Down, Tony," when the chief conservative and the most passionate liberal let loose their frustrations.<sup>31</sup> In this capacity Bagley



Having just signed both the Medi-Cal bill and the welfare bill, Governor Reagan told reporters, "I expect to be happy for the next few weeks." He then distributed souvenir copies of the welfare bill to several members of the bipartisan committee who had worked through the summer to reach an acceptable compromise on the controversial bill. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Ward Sharrer, photographer.*



---

may well have been the second-most-important elected Republican in California during this era of divided government.

It was through his reiteration of the large themes of individual responsibility and fiscal restraint that the governor had his main influence upon the negotiations. Doubting Reagan's grasp of detail, Moretti claimed that the governor had about "two cents worth" of knowledge on specific issues.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, Bill Bagley, a moderate Republican somewhat uncomfortable with Reagan's ideology, recalled that the governor was a "quick study" who could jump into the middle of negotiating session now and then, just to remind liberals that they faced a foe who was no less tenacious than popular.<sup>33</sup> Because Moretti judged Reagan's periodic "blow-ups" to be calculated for dramatic effect, he instructed his Assembly colleagues, in retaliation, to share the tactical duty of a once-a-day "blow-up," in which a Democratic negotiator, full of feigned outrage, would storm out, swearing that talks would never resume. Each of these histrionic departures was then followed by a resumption of furious negotiations.<sup>34</sup> The governor's "acting" had neither fooled nor rattled the opposition.

The compromise welfare bill that emerged from these tense confrontations was neither "liberal" nor, for all of Reagan's political prestige and weight, distinctively "conservative." It contained elements that were drawn from both the "hard" and "soft" approaches to the problem of welfare benefits and abuses. Reagan lost his main fiscal demand for a "closed-end" budget, a loss that resulted less from the immediate objections of legislative opponents and much more from a chorus of complaints issuing from nervous county administrators in the big metropolitan areas.<sup>35</sup> Bagley could see what the counties feared most: "You can't throw people off the rolls without somebody else feeding them or they starve." This could become the counties' Waterloo: if state funds were limited in any given year, taxpayers would have to make up the shortfall if legitimate applications for welfare rose.<sup>36</sup> Nor was this an idle fear in 1971,



Assemblyman William Bagley, ca. 1980. During the welfare bill negotiations, Bagley, as Republican chair of the Welfare Committee, played a key role in insisting that both Governor Reagan and Speaker Moretti temper their dramatic outbursts and stick to the task of resolving partisan differences over SB 796. *Courtesy Regional Oral History Office, the Bancroft Library.*

when the pressures of economic recession weighed upon the state.

Despite their concern for compassionate treatment of the poor, the Democrats also conceded numerous measures intended to tighten eligibility, check up on suspected abuse and outright fraud, and encourage financial responsibility on the part of relatives, especially absent fathers. The "thirty and one-third" rule, required by federal regulations, remained in the form of a provision that permitted recipients to combine benefits and outside income up to a total equaling 150 percent of the defined "standard of need" for the particular family group.<sup>37</sup>

But for the subsequent ascendance of Ronald Reagan to the presidency, the welfare reform he pursued as governor in 1971 might merit at best only a footnote in the long history of "social security." As insurance against unemployment or poverty in

old age, social security, since its inception in the 1930s, was widely accepted by the American people. The 1960s expansion of outright payments to the poor under President Johnson's "Great Society" programs, however, met with growing public opposition.<sup>38</sup> Most controversial was the rapid expansion of AFDC, to become the chief means of support for urban black families consisting of a single mother and her children. The suggestion by some liberals that these families were just as entitled to their payments and "in-kind" services as were traditional social security recipients provoked widespread hostility from many voters.<sup>39</sup> Reagan noted this hostility when he argued that the public was not required to subsidize "moral and spiritual disintegration" through the welfare system.<sup>40</sup>

In a political climate hostile to "welfare" as it had developed in the 1960s, Ronald Reagan could have opportunistically inspired his followers to use California's initiative and referendum procedures in an effort to secure his full program. He declined to do so, arguing that initiatives did not lead to good government.<sup>41</sup> Instead, he adjusted toward the center, prodded by the Democratic majorities in the legislature. To make his case as a successful governor in these circumstances, he had to soften his most conservative convictions, accept the welfare programs as modified, but claim to run them more efficiently. Moretti was relieved to find Reagan a responsible, candid, essentially moderate opponent in the negotiations, not at all the heartless and heedless zealot that the Speaker's liberal caucus members frequently denounced.<sup>42</sup>

In the aftermath of the 1971 welfare negotiations, some of Reagan's conservative followers did recognize how much he had compromised. Pete Schabarum, the former California football star now representing Covina as a Republican, complained that the bill did not save enough. "Middle-class suburbia deserves a better shake," he concluded.<sup>43</sup> Senator H.L. Richardson, a very conservative Republican from Arcadia, feared that "we'll end up paying \$100 million more for welfare than this year."<sup>44</sup> When criticized for his reported intransigence on the negotiating team, Robert B. Carleson

replied that it was his duty to protect "the integrity of welfare reform."<sup>45</sup>

On the other side of the aisle, Robert Moretti's handiwork was similarly assailed. Bill Greene of Los Angeles called the new bill a "hoax" whose training provisions had been shown by past experience to be ineffective.<sup>46</sup> John J. Miller of Berkeley said the bill took "from the poor to feed the non-working poor."<sup>47</sup> George Moscone of San Francisco agreed with those Republicans worried about costs: "You don't save a dime as a result of this bill."<sup>48</sup> Senator Nick Petris of Oakland accused Reagan of creating a terrible atmosphere, "carefully cultivated," which made scapegoats of "poor people and welfare recipients."<sup>49</sup> To all of this Speaker Moretti rejoined, "If anyone tells you we sold out the poor people he is mistaken. What we did is eliminate all the outrageous cases of welfare."<sup>50</sup> Reflecting on his experience as the Democrats' chief negotiator, he observed that he and the governor "just refused to let the thing die. We just refused to let it die. I've never been through anything as difficult in my life."<sup>51</sup> The governor summed it up in almost identical language. The bill, said the future president, "corrects a great number of abuses and at the same time makes life better for those who must rely on welfare."<sup>52</sup>

So there it was: the deal was made, and Moretti, Beilenson, Bagley, and Reagan received the lion's share of the praise and, from some, the blame. The governor yielded on "closed-end" budgeting and a cost-of-living increase for the following fiscal year; the Democrats conceded on fraud controls, eligibility standards, and lower maximum grants under the "thirty and one-third" rule. Predictions of savings ranged from Reagan's \$108 million (he had claimed a \$205 million savings for Carleson's original plan) to Bagley's estimate of \$50 to \$70 million.<sup>53</sup> The number of recipients had declined, and money was saved in fiscal 1972, but the state's fast economic recovery that year made it difficult to separate the effect of the new legislation from the upsurge in economic activity.<sup>54</sup> By the end of the 1970s AFDC costs had nevertheless more than doubled from the amount distributed in the year of the





Governor of California from 1967 to 1974, Ronald Reagan poses for his official portrait. *Courtesy California State Archives.*

deal.<sup>55</sup> Whether that increase should be attributed to broader economic currents or to the ineffectiveness of the 1971 reforms is a difficult judgment to make. Even the reasons for the short-term decline in the number of recipients sparks hot controversy. The smaller number of children on the AFDC rolls may have resulted as much from the 1967 liberalized abortion law sponsored by Senator Beilenson as from eligibility changes in the welfare law. Kingsley Davis, the distinguished University of California demographer, suggested that, in 1969-70, an eleven-percent decline in all births, and a sixteen-percent decline in illegitimate births, clearly reduced the number of children on welfare and the demand for social services.<sup>56</sup> Liberal economist Frank Levy, taking into account both the major economic trends and the Reagan reforms, estimated that overall the 1971 act made little difference in welfare expenditures. The rolls declined by only six percent more than they would have under the old eligibility rules.<sup>57</sup> The new

provisions were tilted toward increases for those who had no earned income and disentanglement for those with the most earned income.

To pass legislation is only the first step in the process of policy-making; to write the regulations that implement the law and guide bureaucratic practice is, in a sense, to legislate again. In the subsequent legal battles over implementation, the Reagan administration won many key decisions, warding off the challenges mounted by welfare-rights advocates that would have restored lenient evaluation of recipient claims and generous estimates of recipient needs.<sup>58</sup> On the relatively objective matter of errors in applying the eligibility and needs standards, it is useful again to quote welfare policy analyst Frank Levy:

When the governor took office, California's AFDC system made too many errors, and its errors were too skewed toward recipients. . . . The proper direction of errors is open to debate, but reducing their

---

---

number was clearly a good thing. Even CWRA's anti-fraud provisions . . . is something of which, people (including most recipients) would approve.<sup>59</sup>

By these lights, a policy that increased grants to the clearly eligible (Reagan's "truly needy"), reduced fraud, pursued absconding fathers of illegitimate children, and praised the example of steady, reliable work habits could be considered a modest success, if not exactly the social miracle that soon appeared in some of Reagan's campaign speeches.<sup>60</sup> Reagan's success lay somewhere between the symbolic and the substantial, in the domain of politics, the one shining dominion that he surely wished to master.

Its critics described the 1971 welfare reform as a "patchwork," lacking the unity imagined by consistently liberal or consistently conservative theorists. But on those occasions when Americans decide to reform welfare, theorists usually have to step aside while American politicians write the legislation. Tempered by campaigns and constituent service, they follow their first rule: compromise once, compromise twice, compromise some more. Reagan need not have joined them. He could have refused to negotiate, and could have followed the refusal with a brusque veto of the majority's bill. His more extreme aides were fashioning a campaign for a ballot initiative, a campaign that would have ridiculed the idea of welfare by presenting images of beer-guzzling recipients idling in front of color television sets. To his credit Reagan rejected this course, saying that the "legislative process" made for better government.<sup>61</sup> Bill Bagley, as often a foe as a friend of Reagan's purposes, feared that an

initiative would have provoked "war between economic classes." He did not believe that "the social fabric of this state could stand the strain."<sup>62</sup> Thus the liberal Republican deal-maker in these years helped the most important elected conservative Republican lay claim to a major political achievement. In the governor's shrewd refusal to countenance an all-out assault may be seen a sensible conviction: some strategies led one outside the boundaries of good sense and prudent policy. If an American politician were truly devoted to the public good, he should neither seek the opportunity nor even relish the thought of imposing a stringent ideology upon his fellow citizens. Through his strenuous and bruising encounter with the Democratic legislative majority over the issue of California's rapidly rising welfare costs, Ronald Reagan became a more effective, accomplished, and mature public official. Having already won two terms as governor, he was now poised to campaign for a still higher executive office. [CHS]

*See notes beginning on page 327.*

*An associate professor of history at the University of Winnipeg in Canada, Garin Burbank obtained his Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently doing research on California politics in the 1960s and 1970s. His article "Governor Reagan and Academic Freedom at Berkeley, 1966-1970" appeared in the Canadian Review of American Studies 20 (Summer 1989).*



---

---

# Pioneering Aerial Forest Fire Control: The Army Air Patrol in California, 1919-1921

*by Robert W. Cermak*

---

On a hot summer day in 1913 a rickety flying machine fluttered over the Los Angeles plain near where the San Gabriel Mountains rose steeply into the Angeles National Forest. Riding in this aerial equivalent of a Model T Ford were pilot Howard Gill and Forest Ranger S. V. Parnay. As Gill piloted the craft twenty miles along the plain, Parnay looked for fires set to test the effectiveness of aerial fire detection. According to S. B. Show, who wrote a manuscript history of the Angeles National Forest, this was the first time this feat had been attempted. Unfortunately, there is no other verification of this story; in fact, other evidence suggests the first aerial fire detection patrol was flown two years later and half a continent away in Wisconsin. In any case, the *idea* of flying fire detection patrol had originated several years earlier.<sup>1</sup>

William Cox, a former employee of the U. S. Bureau of Forestry, saw a Wright Brothers aircraft fly in 1909 and reported on its potential for fire control. His account was read with interest, but flying was in its infancy, and most foresters could see no immediate use for flying machines.<sup>2</sup> The forest supervisors of Arizona and New Mexico, however, thought otherwise. In 1909, at an annual meeting in El Paso, Texas, they resolved "that the use of aeroplanes for fire patrol be given consideration, since it appears they will be of value in that work."<sup>3</sup>

Well and good, but who was going to risk his rickety "aeroplane" and his neck flying over high mountains in 1911? Aeroplanes were few and far between; early models could neither fly very far nor very high and were too likely to fall from the sky at the least provocation.

Despite these problems, thoughts of fire fighting aircraft continued to stir the imaginations of foresters. The awful drudgery of fighting forest fire made firemen especially ready to accept anything that might make their job easier. The airplane, then as now, seemed a clean answer to a dirty problem. The airplane could even make a fireman wax poetic. Thus, in February 1912, Ranger John M. Farley of the Sierra National Forest wrote several stanzas about a "fireoplane manned by a driver bold," which would swoop over fires and drop globes of chemicals and thus "envelop the flame." Afterwards there would be "no burnt over to note, and no dead tired ranger to blame."<sup>4</sup>

Three years later, while Farley still dreamed of "fireoplanes," E. L. Scott of the Eldorado National Forest asked an innocent question that set a whole chain of events into motion. On June 3, 1915, he wrote a letter to the headquarters of District 5 (California) in San Francisco asking if the Forest Service had considered the use of aircraft or dirigibles in fighting fires. His letter was forwarded to



The 9th Aero Squadron at Mather Field, photographed on September 15, 1920. Commanded by Major Carl Spaatz, this unit made eight hundred flights and covered 265,000 miles during the five-month fire season of 1920, which included thirty-six forced landings and three fatalities. *Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.*

the chief forester's office in Washington, D.C., with a comment that District 5 had no knowledge of aircraft being used for fire control. The chief forester's office replied on June 23, 1915, that they thought that airships would eventually be used for fire control, but they had not yet heard of any such use. They added that it would probably be too expensive anyway. The district's inquiry must have intrigued the chief's office because on July 20, 1915, the Washington office wrote again to District 5 and referred to an enclosed news clipping telling of an air patrol by the Wisconsin Forestry Department.<sup>5</sup>

Coert DuBois, then the district forester of the California District, was once described as a man who "liked new things especially if they were dramatic."<sup>6</sup> Just a year earlier, he had written a comprehensive fire control manual, the first of its kind anywhere, and he constantly urged his men to look for better ways to do their jobs. The idea of aerial patrol intrigued DuBois enough to write to Wisconsin for details of the operation. He found

that the aerial patrol was a voluntary effort carried on by a Mr. L. A. Vilas. A letter from DuBois directly to Vilas on August 11, 1915, brought a reply on August 26. Vilas patrolled in a Curtiss flying boat because the numerous lakes in Wisconsin forests provided emergency landing sites. He expanded upon the benefits of air patrol and speculated that it could be used in California. Vilas had demonstrated that regular aerial detection patrol was feasible, but he was ahead of his time. The nation was gearing up for World War I, however, and DuBois's inquiry was not followed up.<sup>7</sup>

When war was declared by the United States in 1917 the Army had only thirty-five pilots. By agreement with the Allies the United States began all-out aviation development. By war's end the country had 45 squadrons with 740 airplanes and 77 balloons on the Western Front. There were 95,000 men in the Army Air Service. But this huge personnel build-up collapsed after the Armistice, when Congress drastically reduced all of the armed forces.





A DeHavilland DH-4 photographed in flight over California, September 10, 1920. Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

By 1920 there were only 896 flying officers and 8,000 enlisted men left of the once-great Army Air Service. After further Army reorganization in 1920 there were just twenty-seven squadrons, nineteen of which were observation or reconnaissance units.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, for military aviation, the handwriting was on the wall early in 1919. Reductions were coming. The Air Service was looking desperately for some way to maintain public awareness of its planes and pilots. Meanwhile, the Forest Service was mindful of the giant steps taken by aviation during the war and was eager to try out aircraft in controlling forest fires. In fact, Chief Forester Henry Graves wrote a letter on the subject to the editor of *Aviation and Aeronautical Magazine* in December 1918.<sup>9</sup>

The next events in the story have some aspects of legend. As District Forester DuBois recalled it, he had been recently discharged from the Army. Still wearing his major's uniform, DuBois came upon a colonel named H. H. "Hap" Arnold in a San Francisco hotel bar and struck up a conversation. They quickly discovered a mutual interest in aviation. Arnold, it turned out, was both the commander at Crissy Field in San Francisco and ranking officer of the Army Air Service in California. He told DuBois that he needed work for his airmen and airplanes. When DuBois said, "How about spotting forest fires from the air?" Arnold was quick to grasp the training and publicity aspects of such a program and responded enthusiastically.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, in Washington, D. C., representatives of the Air Service and the Forest Service met on March 3, 1919, to discuss aerial fire detection.

---

The meeting was followed by a letter to General William L. Kenly, director of the Army Air Service, from Chief Forester Graves suggesting a modest beginning, probably in California. Graves attached a request for an air patrol from the secretary of agriculture to the secretary of war. We do not know how the DuBois/Arnold meeting related to the meeting in Washington, but in any case, DuBois was notified of the impending program on March 31, 1919, and immediately began preparing for it.<sup>11</sup>

DuBois reported to Chief Graves on April 28 that an observation balloon would be stationed at 3,000

feet elevation at the Army Balloon School in Arcadia in the San Gabriel Valley foothills. An observer would be on duty daily from 7:00 A.M. until 2:30 P.M. and would report any fires seen on the south slope of the San Gabriel Mountains in the Angeles National Forest. The first two air patrol routes were laid out, one from March Field over the Angeles Forest (which at that time included most of the San Bernardino Forest) and one over the Cleveland Forest from Rockwell Field in San Diego. DuBois also reported that Mather Field near Sacramento was not ready to participate.<sup>12</sup>



Lt. Col. Henry H. "Hap" Arnold (left), commander at March Field, California, and a fellow airman, photographed at Mather Field, April 1930. In 1940, nearly a decade before creation of the independent U.S. Air Force, Arnold was given authority over both the Army Air Corps and its combat unit, which he continued to lead through World War Two. *Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.*



In the midst of this hurry-up program, the Air Service was struggling to establish a regional organization for California, with headquarters in San Francisco. Colonel Arnold expected eventually to be in charge of the state-wide program, but until then DuBois had to set up air patrol operations with individual field commanders. On May 7, he reached agreement with Colonel Watson at Mather Field for two patrols covering parts of the Eldorado, Tahoe, Plumas, and Stanislaus forests in the central Sierra Nevada. A trial patrol was flown May 6, and the results were encouraging. The patrol got under way at all locations on June 1.<sup>13</sup>

Initially, the airmen flew in Curtiss JN-4D or JN-4H training aircraft, known as Jennies in airman jargon. These were flimsy and unreliable airplanes with a short range and low ceiling. The Jennies were powered by a 100-horsepower engine in the JN-4D, and a 150-horsepower engine in the JN-4H. Their cruising speed was only 70 miles per hour. Communication to the ground was by radiotelegraph in the JN-4H, but the fliers of the JN-4Ds could report only by dropping messages, using homing pigeons, or landing and telephoning.<sup>14</sup>

Originally, the sole purpose of the air patrol experiment was to discover and report forest fires. The Forest Service had an existing network of buildings on prominent peaks called lookout stations. These stations were manned only during the fire season and located fires using an alidade, a sighting and mapping device. Dispatchers of fire fighters located fires by plotting lookout sightings as reported by lookout station personnel. The measure of lookout success was the number of "first reports" made to the dispatcher by telephone. The first report became the standard by which air patrol efficiency was measured. It was not enough to spot the fire first, it had to be reported first. Thus communications between lookout and dispatcher were vital.

The opening of the August 1919 deer season and a summer heat wave caused the Forest Service to request expansion of the aerial fire patrol to all of California west of the Sierra Nevada crest. The



Coert DuBois, U.S. Forest Service portrait. An expert on forest fighting, DuBois was instrumental in implementing and developing efforts of the Forest Service and the Army Air Service to patrol California's national forests. This likeness of DuBois hangs in the Forest Service's San Francisco Regional Office. *Courtesy Pacific Southwest Region, Regional Archives, USDA Forest Service.*

---

---

Air Service responded by establishing a base at Red Bluff to fly over the California (renamed Mendocino), Trinity, Shasta, Lassen, Modoc, and Klamath national forests beginning August 31. Another base was set up at Fresno, which began operations on August 28 over the Sierra and Sequoia forests. Auxiliary bases were established at Warner Springs, Santa Barbara, Bakersfield, Chinese Camp, Oroville, Lakeport, Montague, and Alturas.

Unsatisfactory performance by the Curtiss Jennies led Colonel Arnold to replace them during the week of September 1, 1919, with de Havilland DH-4 aircraft. The DH-4 was equipped with a more powerful 400-horsepower Liberty engine, giving it longer range, higher ceiling, and more speed than the Jenny. Unfortunately, the DH-4 was not equipped with radio-telegraph, so the gain in aircraft capability was lost in reporting capability.<sup>15</sup>

Air patrol was hazardous duty. Flying over deep canyons and steep peaks was new to most fliers, and it was unnerving. Earlier the same summer, on June 11, A.O. Waha from the Forest Service's Portland office was a passenger on a trip from Mather Field to Chinese Camp, near Sonora. He later wrote that a tense moment came at take-off, when the pilot doubted if he could clear telephone lines at the end of the landing strip. He told Waha that he had once flown through a tree top safely. Then he commented that "if we hit the wires we will tear through them, but if not, it is not much of a drop anyway."<sup>16</sup> Waha was not comforted by this news. As it turned out they cleared the wires by twenty feet. Even though the engine threw a fine spray of gasoline and water back into his face, he remembered, "the view was wonderful." This advantage was offset by the engine noise, which was so great that upon landing, Waha heard nothing but buzzing and ringing in his ears for several minutes. Waha summarized his experience by stating that radio-telephones were a necessity, as were topographic maps for the observer. He came away convinced that helium-filled dirigibles were more practical than airplanes because,

he thought, dirigibles could hover near a fire and let down fire fighters or even pump water and chemicals onto a fire from above. Waha concluded his report by writing "an aviator takes his life in his hands in every flight he makes."

Waha's last statement was right on the mark, but the patrol was extended to the Pacific Northwest nonetheless. Adding validation to Waha's later conclusion, Lt. Everett S. Wisdom's first flight from Rockwell Field in San Diego was his last. On May 31, 1919, he lost his way in a fog and crashed his JN-4H into a hillside, killing himself and injuring his observer. The Forest Service report for the 1919 air patrol season listed eight major crashes and one fatality, which occurred in Oregon. Wisdom's death was not counted because he was on his way to his patrol station when he crashed.<sup>17</sup>

Numerous forced landings and crashes were clear signals that the air patrol needed more emergency landing fields. The patrol aircraft could not be depended upon to complete a mission without mishap. This problem was soon turned into opportunity by local businessmen and boosters. They saw the advantages of an airfield for the patrol in their communities. Towns up and down the Central Valley and in the mountains began grading fields and installing landing "Ts" and windsocks. Visalia and Orland held town holidays, and everyone turned out to build their facilities, including barracks for the fliers. Competition was keen, but only a few airfields were chosen for air patrol bases. The extra fields were welcome, however, because emergency landings were a fact of life for the patrol. The result was that the patrol was the stimulus for construction or expansion of landing fields in towns and small cities across the state, and many of these facilities were quickly used for other forms of aviation.<sup>18</sup>

Of course, the construction of an airfield in 1919 was a fairly simple affair: An empty pasture two thousand feet long was selected, and the surface scraped into a semblance of uniformity. An even surface was assured if a Model T Ford could reach a speed of twenty-five miles per hour on the new



---

airstrip. A landing "T" was installed. A fence was built or maintained to make the airfield safe from livestock. A windsock was erected, and the airfield was ready.

In many ways the 1919 Army Air Patrol was a great success. The sight of regular flights did more to prevent fires than anything the Forest Service had ever done in California. Forest supervisors were convinced that arsonists were afraid to light fires for fear the observer would see them, and fire statistics seemed to bear them out. In one case, on the other hand, the patrol caused a fire to spread. An immigrant sheepherder was patrolling a controlled fire when a patrol plane made a low pass over the fire. The sheepherder took off for parts unknown, and the fire escaped control.<sup>19</sup>

Virtually everyone in the mountains and valley towns across the state was excited by the sight of airplanes flying overhead every day. Even today, hundreds of thousands of people attend air shows and marvel at huge transports, bombers, and fighter planes. If a sleek F-14 flashes by or the incomparable SR-71 Blackbird roars overhead, the crowd utters sounds of awe and amazement. So too, were the people of rural and small-town California thrilled by the biplanes of the Army Air Patrol. The patrol was responsible in no small measure for the widespread support that Californians gave aviation development in years to come.

Although fire prevention was a great success, the primary mission of spotting and reporting fires was not. In haze and smoke, patrol aircraft were superior to ground lookouts. But, under normal conditions, most of the fires reported by the air patrol had already been reported by ground stations. Probably the major reason for slow air patrol reactions was poor reporting techniques. Landing the airplane to report by telephone was time-consuming, while homing pigeons were erratic and costly to train and support. Message drops were often inaccurate, and the use of wireless radio-telegraph suffered from too few good operators and too few ground stations.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the disappointments of aerial detection, there were unexpected successes that almost evened the scorecard. On September 15, 1919, the great San Gabriel and Ravenna fires in the Angeles Forest were in their early stages. Both fires were in very rough, roadless country. The flames were spreading rapidly under the influence of Santa Ana winds, and ground lookouts were obscured by smoke. The fire perimeters were moving too fast to locate on foot or horseback. No one knew where the edge of the fires were, and suppression efforts were hamstrung. Then, Forest Supervisor R. H. Charlton remembered the air patrol. He called March Field and arranged for a pilot and aircraft to fly him over the fire areas. Every morning until the fires were controlled, Charlton or DuBois flew over the fires charting their location and rate of spread. Fire planners used this information to plan strategy, to warn fire fighters who were in danger, and to relocate fire camps. This appears to have been the first time an aircraft was used to scout a major forest fire.<sup>21</sup>

Despite mixed results, the Forest Service report for the 1919 air patrol season recommended expansion of the experimental program. A long list of proposals for the 1920 season was attached to the report including the following: at least eighteen aircraft; wireless telegraph or telephone for each aircraft; more ground radio stations and portable radio stations for use on large fires; hangers to shelter aircraft; more emergency landing fields; better maps and painted identification numbers on major landmarks such as lookout buildings. The Army Air Service was expected to supply most of this long list. Indeed, one gets the impression that the Forest Service had found a prize cow and was milking it to the limit.<sup>22</sup>

Apparently, Forest Supervisors R. W. Ayres and J. O. Wulff thought so too. In a letter to DuBois on June 1, 1919, they suggested that the Army Air Service was "making the Forest Service look like a piker," and that, "we had better get busy and give the subject the attention it deserves." In fairness to the Forest Service it should be noted that the

---

Airmen loading a carrier pigeon before a patrol flight in 1919. Ultimately, homing pigeons proved too unreliable and costly for detecting and reporting fires. *Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.*



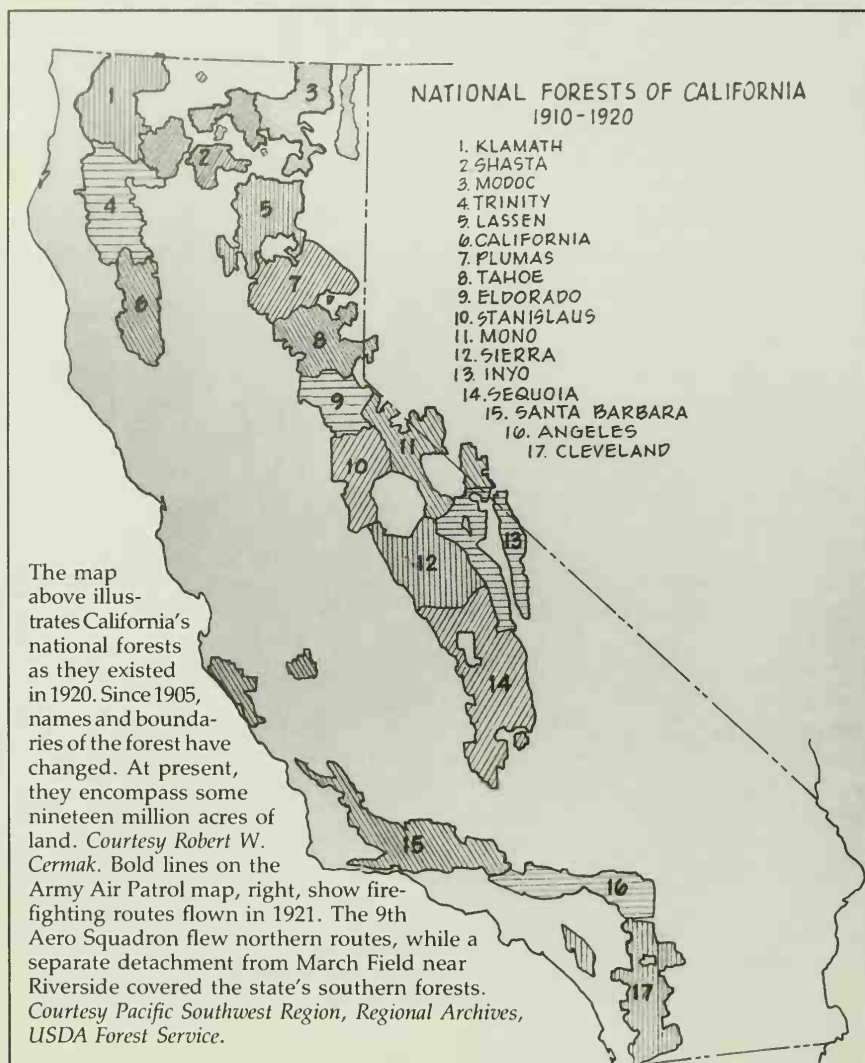
resources of both agencies were strained by the demands of the air patrol. Like the Air Service, the Forest Service was being reduced in men and funds, and its contributions, though comparatively small, stretched available manpower and funding to the limit.<sup>23</sup>

One of the biggest problems for the air patrol was the lack of good maps. The fliers needed current maps with sawmills and other sources of legal smokes located on them. They needed landmarks on the maps and on the ground, for these airmen were unfamiliar with the country. The air patrol observers were all Army Air Service men, but few had received training at the Air Service Observation School at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma. In fact many of the pilots had served in pursuit planes (fighters)

and were unfamiliar with larger, slower aircraft.<sup>24</sup>

Despite poor maps and antiquated reporting methods, the patrol reported 442 fires in the 1919 season, of which they made the first report on forty-seven fires. They flew an estimated 202,009 miles in 2,457 hours. The volume of work was impressive, but it was the enthusiasm and cooperative spirit of the airmen involved that made the program a success. Colonel Arnold was the spark-plug, but he had full support from base commanders, pilots, and ground crews. Colonel Arnold's summary of the Air Service's report for the 1919 season was significant in its emphasis. It stated: ". . . the results obtained will increase the popularity of the Air Service with the public more than any other course that could be taken."<sup>25</sup>





After the 1919 season, the air patrol program was analyzed, planned, and systematized. The first sign of the changing order was a school for pilots, observers, radiomen, and Forest Service liaison men. The school, held at March Field in February 1920, covered the fundamentals of flying, the use of radio and maps, and the basics of fire suppression. By April 1920 a "Manual of Instructions for Airplane Forest Patrol Units" was issued. Experience, training, and written instructions resulted in better fire patrol performance and more realistic assessments of costs and benefits.

Regrettably, the more formal system also caused a gradual loss of the glamour and excitement that surrounded the first year of operation.<sup>26</sup>

Signs of friction between the two agencies appeared in 1920 as the euphoria of the first year's operation wore off. The purpose of the patrol was to observe and report fires, but most of the observers were enlisted men without special training in either activity. Fire observation can be pretty dull work when done on a regular basis, and some of the observers made plain their preference by stating "We joined the Army to learn to fly." Even the

## Season 1921

- 
- AIR PATROL ROUTES**  
Season 1921
- Air Services Bases with Radios  
△ Sub-Bases - no Radios  
○ Forest Radio Receiving Stations





Major Carl Spaatz, commander of the 9th Aero Squadron at Mather Field when it was first organized. Architect of massive daylight bombing raids during World War II and a leading military figure, Spaatz in 1946 was appointed first chief of staff of the United States Air Force. General Spaatz, nicknamed "Ike's Eagle," retired from military service in 1948. *Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.*

pilots got tired of the daily routine. Sometimes the result was sloppy work, which, combined with the lack of first reports on fires, caused forest officers to doubt the worth of the air patrol.<sup>27</sup>

Forest Service liaison officer H. F. Wilcox, on duty at Mather Field, was disgusted with some observers. He reported that they threw away fire reports instead of filling them out, and then claimed the wind blew them from the cockpit. No doubt Wilcox was right, but flying cranky aircraft every day through the summer of 1920 was hard work. By season's end most pilots and observers were exhausted. The two air patrol squadrons were accounting for more than a third of the flying time of the entire Air Service and its twenty-seven squadrons. Continual flying in open cockpits at altitudes of 8,000 to 11,000 feet contributed to fatigue. In addition, postwar reductions in budget and personnel caused rapid turnover in the Air Service and created anxiety for the fliers. It must have seemed to them that they were doing the work and the Forest Service was doing the complaining.<sup>28</sup>

Predictably, there were more accidents in 1920.

There were thirty-six forced landings, and at one time, seven damaged aircraft littered the airfield at Alturas. It was near this field that the 1920 season's only fatalities occurred on July 10. A DH-4 with three Air Service men aboard took off from Alturas and had climbed to five hundred feet altitude when its engine failed. The aircraft plunged like a rock to the ground, bursting into flame upon impact. All three men aboard were killed.<sup>29</sup>

The report of the 1920 season showed improvement in detection of fires with more first sightings by the air patrol, but reporting of fires remained a problem. The conviction was growing among forest officers that a daily air patrol had as many problems as solutions. Gradually, it was becoming apparent that, except under certain conditions, fire detection was best done by fixed lookouts. The Plumas Forest demonstrated one of these conditions when it used air patrols to spot fires immediately after a lightning storm.<sup>30</sup>

Reconnaissance of going fires in the 1920 season was again an unqualified success. Cleveland Forest Supervisor S. A. Nash-Boulden flew over the

Palm Canyon Fire making observations that changed the whole course of the fire fight. Scouting flights were also used on large fires burning in the Klamath, Shasta, Sierra, and Trinity forests. In the Lassen Forest, the Mill Creek Fire burned 12,000 acres in rugged terrain. A radio station and an operator were sent to the fire camp and kept contact with a scout plane flying over the fire every day. Another innovation on this fire occurred when the plane was assigned to patrol a quiet sector of fireline. The pilot dropped to tree-top levels to patrol ten miles of fireline and thus relieved fire fighters for duty elsewhere on the fire.<sup>31</sup>

It was also in 1920 that airplanes were first used to transport supervisory fire personnel, or "overhead," from one forest to another. Today thousands of fire fighters are transported over thousands of miles in

huge jet aircraft. This practice had its inception in August 1920, when two men flew three hundred miles in a biplane from Sonora to supervise crews fighting lightning fires in the Lassen Forest. The two men returned by air a few days later, when a large fire broke out on their home forest, the Stanislaus.<sup>32</sup>

Plans were made to continue the air patrol in 1921 despite rumblings from Congress, which was drawing the purse strings ever tighter. The 1920 patrol had been made possible only because of a special \$60,000 appropriation passed principally through the efforts of E. T. Allen of the Western Forestry and Conservation Association and Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon. The struggle for funds in 1921 was even more difficult. Air



A DeHavilland DH-4 with pilot and observer readies for takeoff at Mather Field, near Sacramento. Most patrols were four hours long, flown at altitudes between eight and eleven thousand feet. The open cockpit DH-4 was the standard patrol aircraft. *Courtesy Pacific Southwest Region, Regional Archives, USDA Forest Service.*



---

---

patrol supporters enlisted Senator McNary again, and the California State Board of Forestry also helped. Influence was needed because the Army was in an increasing bind for manpower and money. The Air Service was reduced thirty-two percent, from 18,000 men to 11,500, in 1921, and money for supplies and equipment was tight. Nevertheless, the Army agreed to provide three squadrons for the 1921 air patrol on the West Coast.<sup>33</sup>

At times the regional offices of the two cooperating services in San Francisco seemed to be in league with each other against their counterparts in Washington, D.C. Colonel Arnold of the Air Service urged District Forester Paul Redington, who had replaced DuBois in 1920, to pressure Washington into transferring more airmen and planes to the West Coast. Arnold and forest officers believed that constant flying had taken the edge off pilots and observers, and that the overworked aircraft were in poor shape. They believed this to be the main reason for many of the crashes during the 1920 season. A confidential memo on the subject urged that Arnold's name not be mentioned, for he had "once already been seriously criticized by the general staff" for trying to pressure his superiors.<sup>34</sup>

The 1921 season showed some improvement in methods and performance over the preceding year. A shortage of funds for gasoline delayed the start of regular patrols, but the season was completed in routine fashion. All aircraft were equipped with wireless transmitters, and the Forest Service maintained receiving stations at all forest headquarters. These stations were manned mostly by young radio enthusiasts hired by the Forest Service for the fire season. Observation continued to be performed by Air Service men, except for flights after lightning storms and for the scouting of large fires, when Forest Service observers took over. An interesting addition to the 1921 program was the "nerve" camp at Gold Lake in Sierra County. Exhausted airmen were sent there under orders to hunt, fish, camp, and read. No women or alcohol were allowed at camp. Even "shop talk" was

banned. At the end of their stay, their "nerves" presumably recovered, the airmen returned to duty.<sup>35</sup>

As the air patrol neared its end, there was renewed interest in the use of lighter-than-air craft for fire control purposes. On May 24, 1921, the secretary of agriculture asked his counterpart at the Navy Department to cooperate with the Forest Service in exploring the potential of dirigibles for fire control. At about the same time, Los Angeles County Forester Flinham proposed use of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company's blimp for fire control. The Navy Department authorized fire control experiments but said they had to take place in San Diego due to lack of funds. The Navy said its blimps could rise to 5,500 feet, fly at fifty miles per hour for eight to ten hours, and carry ten firefighters. The blimps could not get near a fire because their interiors were filled with flammable gas. Like many other proposals of the twenties, the use of blimps to fight fire was defeated by lack of funds.<sup>36</sup>

At the end of the 1921 season the forest supervisors were asked for comments about the air patrol. Almost to a man they replied that, strictly from a fire detection standpoint, the air patrol was not worth its cost. Supervisor Wulff of the Stanislaus Forest wrote that he would trade his share of the air patrol for an extra forest guard. The supervisors were grateful for whatever help they could get, but they did not feel that brief, daily patrol flights were as effective as their ground lookout stations.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, Forest Service supervisors enthusiastically supported use of patrol planes on hazy, smokey days or for spotting fires after lightning storms. All supervisors agreed that airplanes were unmatched for scouting large fires, for transporting "overhead" to fires, and for fire prevention. Their attitude seemed to be that judicious use of planes for specific tasks was the way to go. Daily air patrol was not needed.

When attempts to get another special appropriation for a 1922 air patrol program failed, the Air Service reluctantly agreed



An air patrol view of a fire burning northeast of Red Bluff (probably in Lassen National Forest) on September 7, 1920. Most likely, the fire was photographed during a scouting mission. *Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.*

---

with the supervisors' assessment. The Air Service continued to provide men and aircraft to the Forest Service for fire control on a case-by-case basis from 1922 until 1928, when the Forest Service received permission from Congress to contract for aircraft services. The Air Service cooperated with the Forest Service in attempting to drop supplies to fire camps and, in one case, in bombing test fires with bottles filled with fire retardant. These attempts to expand aerial fire control were not followed up, and the great air patrol experiment ended in October 1921. No longer would there be daily flights by the air patrol over most of California. The experiment had promised much and delivered much but not exactly what had been expected.<sup>38</sup>

By 1921, however, the Air Service had received the widespread favorable publicity it needed and wanted. Officers and men had gained valuable experience in mountain flying, in landing on all

kinds of airfields, and in observing forest fires under difficult conditions. Communications methods and equipment were given a rigorous test. Radio-telephone proved to be the only effective method to communicate from air to ground. The need for better radios was also evident from the air patrol experience. Finally, organizing and supplying the patrol was good practice for men like Colonel H. H. "Hap" Arnold and Major Carl Spaatz, who became leaders of the Army Air Corps in World War II.

The Army Air Patrol launched the Forest Service into the air age. The agency learned what could and could not be done in fighting fire from the air. In the near future, the Forest Service concentrated upon the uses of aircraft that were proven effective by the patrol: special detection flights, scouting large fires, transporting "overhead," and fire prevention. It would be another decade before cargo





Transporting firefighters quickly and safely to the fire scene posed one of many challenges to be resolved in the early years of aerial fire control. Although the use of blimps or dirigibles was never adopted, this artist's sketch of a navy blimp suggests it was briefly considered as one way of getting help into remote areas. Courtesy Pacific Southwest Region, Regional Archives, USDA Forest Service.

Aircraft on forest patrols were stocked with emergency rations such as the canned meat and fruits this airman holds prior to flight. A pistol holster, barely visible on his right hip, reflects the need for protection in the wilderness, to signal an emergency or perhaps even to kill game for survival. *Courtesy USAF Photographic Collection, National Air & Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution.*



dropping was perfected and nearly four decades before direct aerial attack on fires became effective. Lighter-than-air craft were never again seriously considered, but by 1932 test trials of the autogyro paved the way for eventual use of the helicopter. More than anything else, the air patrol established in the Forest Service a desire to experiment with aircraft, and this provided the thrust that resulted in modern aerial fire fighting.<sup>39</sup>

The public also gained from the air patrol experiment. Many new airfields were built, and others were reconstructed to meet the needs of the air patrol. Local authorities gained experience in supplying the needs of aircraft and pilots. Many people in rural California who had never seen aircraft

before became familiar with them and became supporters of future aviation development. The air patrol thus helped establish a new vision of the future of transportation in California. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 329.*

*Robert W. Cermak received the B.S. degree in forestry from U. C. Berkeley in 1950. After a thirty-year career with the U. S. Forest Service in six states, he retired in 1982 as deputy regional forester in the California Region. In 1986, he completed the Master of Arts degree in history with honors from California State University, Chico. Mr. Cermak is currently a forest fire consultant living with his wife Ethel on a fifty-acre tree farm in the foothills east of Oroville.*





North Baker (1912-1991). *Courtesy CHS and Moulin Studios.*

# NORTH BAKER: CHS Benefactor

by Michael McCone,

*Executive Director of the California Historical Society*

North Baker was a quiet man. He was soft-spoken, but his unobtrusive presence belied an inner strength. When he died on July 17, 1991, at his home in Tiburon, California, the absence of his voice was deafening. All his numerous friends realized that an essential part of their life was gone. But his many courtesies and acts of kindness remain as a tribute to his life—they do not fade.

North Baker was president of the board of the California Historical Society from 1978 to 1980, and was elected trustee emeritus in 1985. The North Baker Library, one of the many treasures of CHS, is fittingly named after him, and not only for his magnificent contributions to it over the years. Like North, the library is filled to the brim; it holds rare and priceless treasures, and it is a pleasure to be a part of it, enjoying its presence and relying on its resources. It is a quiet place, but a vibrant one; people and adventures pop up out of manuscripts and photographs all the time. Upon meeting North for the first time, I remarked on his extraordinary generosity to the California Historical Society, and asked why the library was such a favorite of his. "I don't know," he answered. "I guess I just love books." So he did, and well, too.

North was a man with a long and rich history. A native Californian, he was raised in Los Angeles and attended Stanford University during the Great Depression, graduating in 1934. He made and paid his own way and eventually, quietly as was his wont, endowed a chair in English literature at that good institution.

His business career was varied, and in earning his living, he always used his creative talents, be they literary or managerial. He was a set designer at Republic Studios; he sold screenplays to Columbia and Paramount studios; Doubleday-Doran published his mystery novel, *Dead to the World*, in 1944; and seven of his plays were produced by the Pasadena Playhouse. He reorganized his father's business in 1935, became a partner in Albert Van Luit & Co. in 1940, and was active in the management of both companies. After extensive volunteer work for the Los Angeles Chapter of the American

Red Cross, he came to San Francisco to work in the Public Information Office of the Pacific Area Headquarters of the Red Cross. He soon became its director. In 1947 he began a free-lance public relations service, and was hired shortly thereafter by the J. J. Weiner Company, where he managed the accounts of Cresta Blanca Wine Company and the California Physicians Service, among others. In 1957 he formed Nelson/Baker/Inc., specializing in public relations. He was truly a man of diverse talents.

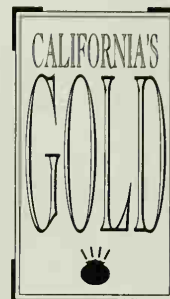
CHS was only one of a great number of non-profit institutions that benefitted from North's wisdom and largesse. He was sought by many boards of trustees, on which he worked diligently and gave generously in support of their objectives. His advice was thoughtful, never intrusive, and his knowledge, patience, and understanding of people and problems made him invaluable. Even a partial list of the beneficiaries of his support is long: the Florence Crittenton Services, the San Francisco Ballet, Palo Alto Medical Foundation, Buckelew House in Marin, San Francisco Senior Center, Pacific Medical Foundation, The Nature Conservancy, and the Oregon Shakespeare Festival in Ashland, to name a few.

People liked North, and he liked them. Many whom he encouraged and believed in became close friends. He supported their enterprises, and he was tenacious in sticking with them rain or shine for as long as it took to make it through. He was successful in his work and, in turn, helped others to succeed. The California Historical Society was aided immeasurably by his work, his friendship, and his incredible generosity. We are forever "in his debt," as the saying goes, a concept this quiet and modest man would no doubt find uncomfortable.

To know North Baker was to understand what was important in life. He was magnificently unadorned, his friends were legion, his loyalty and generosity were unequalled and will remain so well beyond the limits of his lifetime. These are the marks of a kind, gentle man who lived for others—his most precious possession was their well-being. CHS



# Join us in search of "California's Gold"



The only statewide TV series devoted to the history, natural wonders and people of California. Endorsed by the California Teachers Association and the California School Boards Association.



Television as exciting and diverse as our state, "California's Gold" now seen weekly starting in September on PBS — check your local listings.

Hosted by Huell Howser and underwritten by Wells Fargo Bank.



**WELLS FARGO BANK**

*Edited by James J. Rawls*

*They Saw the Elephant:  
Women in the California Gold Rush.*

By Joann Levy. (Hamden, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1990, xxii, 265 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

*Equal to the Occasion:  
Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century  
West.*

By Sherilyn Cox Bennion. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990, ix, 210 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Glenda Riley, Alexander M. Bracken Professor of History, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, and author of The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and Plains.*

In *They Saw the Elephant*, a fast-paced narrative of women in the California Gold Rush, the reader easily gets caught up in the story. Levy's enthusiasm for women's contributions, and her joy at discovering them, are infectious. She draws on women's diaries, letters, and reminiscences to reconstruct women's crossing of the Overland and Panama routes to the gold fields, and their activities after arrival. Levy has a charming style and presents her reader with an engrossing account.

Levy also makes a point to include some material on African American women, notably Biddy Mason and Mary Ellen "Mammy" Pleasant. Unfortunately, Asian and Hispanic women appear only as entertainers and prostitutes. The book is thus biased toward the Anglo experience as Argonauts and entrepreneurs.

From a scholar's point of view, the book has a serious weakness in that it lacks endnotes. Even extended quotes have no specific identification, which complicates the process of further research. In addition, the rich scholarship on western women is barely touched upon, and Levy makes no effort to tell us what women's participation in the Gold Rush meant in the long term. Did women's activities, for example, bring women's suffrage to California faster, or perhaps partially account for the state's high rate of divorce as early as the mid-nineteenth century?

Moreover, few, if any, of the women's documents are "new." Historians of western women have long made good use of such women's writings as those of Sarah Royce, Eliza Farnham, and Margaret Frink.

Recognize, however, that these are scholarly quibbles and Levy is a writer rather than a scholar. One more book reconstituting women's experiences in the West has to be seen as a contribution to the advancement of all scholarship regarding



Millicent Washburn Shinn in 1880. At twenty-five, Millicent became the editor of the revived *Overland Monthly* magazine and served in that position for twelve years, until 1894, when she returned to the university to study child development. For this work, she was further distinguished as the first woman to receive a Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley. *Courtesy the Bancroft Library.*



western women. One written with such verve and zest will convince readers that nineteenth-century women did more than idly wait for their men to return with riches. And surely it is a book to make Californians proud to have had such vigorous and determined women as forebearers.

*Equal to the Occasion*, a brief account—136 pages of text—offers a narrative overview of approximately thirty-five western women editors. Despite its inclusive title, the book actually deals with Caucasian women editors in the far western states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming between 1854, when the region's first identifiable woman editor began to work, and 1900, "a convenient cut-off point" (p. vii). The author has assiduously collected facts concerning these women and their careers, presenting them here under such chapter topics as weekly newspapers, women's magazines, suffrage newspapers, medical and health periodicals, religious magazines, fiction and literary criticism, and medical and health magazines.

The major contribution of the book is in establishing the fact that women editors existed in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the Far West. The major lack is that its author, Sherilyn Cox Bennion, a professor of journalism at Humboldt State University in Arcata, California, offers little, if any, analysis of what the existence of these editors might mean to western or women's history, while she largely ignores the rich recent scholarship on western women. In her introduction, Bennion virtually dismisses the work of what she terms "feminist historians" of "the late 1970s and early 1980s" as "disparate viewpoints" that lead to the conclusion that "no archetypal western woman existed" (p. 8). In her coverage of Abigail Scott Duniway, for example, she fails to draw upon Ruth Barnes Moynihan's *Rebel for Rights* (p. 61-66), and she dispenses with categorizing arguments in women's suffrage newspapers in a few paragraphs and uses a single model presented in one mid-1970s article (p. 69-70).

In her last paragraphs, Bennion claims that female editors "in some ways bridged the gap between the female frontier and the male, showing that gap not to be insurmountably wide nor deep" (p. 164). But she gives no specific examples of the "ways" in which women did that bridging, nor does she examine or explain why women editors were generally held in low regard, almost always produced women-related publications, earned low pay, and were seldom hired by major publications. How these conditions constitute bridging the gap—and I believe such an argument could be made—remains unclear.

Nor is there any comparison of West and East. Rather, Bennion tells us, for example, that "the West proved a fertile field for radical and reform publications. It probably spawned no more of them per capita than the East, but virtually every

national reform movement of the latter nineteenth century had western, as well as eastern, periodical voices (p. 43)." This highly speculative statement leaves the reader wondering about women's involvement and impact in western reform publications. Were women freer to speak out in the East or the West? If the West offered a more tolerant environment, did more women take advantage of it than in the East?

Moreover, Bennion makes no effort to discuss women editors of varying ethnicities and races. The oldest African American newspaper on the West Coast, *The California Eagle*, began publication in 1879. Charlotta Spears Bass of Los Angeles became its editor in 1912, a year that clearly falls outside the period of this book. But were there perhaps a black woman editor or two someplace in the Far West before 1900? And what about Mexican-American and Asian newspapers? What role did women play there? If they were excluded, did they start their own alternative publications as did the thirty-five editors discussed here?

What Bennion does do is offer a compendium of women editors' names, dates, and locales, as well as the names of publications run by women. Thus, her work lays ground for historians who will raise the above, and other, questions. Both in its text and its appendix, *Equal to the Occasion* will spur others to do what it does not: to analyze, to extrapolate, to link, and to tell us what the existence of women editors—and their apparent segregation in a woman-oriented segment of the industry—means. We can thank Bennion for doing the necessary leg-work and presenting the factual narrative to get the analytical process started.

## *Shadowcatchers: A Directory of Women in California Photography before 1901.*

By Peter E. Palmquist. (Arcata, Calif.: Peter E. Palmquist, 1990, x, 272 pp., \$40.00 paper).

*Reviewed by William A. Bullough, professor of history at California State University, Hayward, and author of The Blind Boss and His City; "Eadweard Muybridge and the Old San Francisco Mint," California History; and co-author of The Elusive Eden: A New History of California (1988).*

When James Wilson Marshall discovered gold in California in 1848, photography was an infant technology introduced only nine years earlier by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in France and William Henry Fox Talbot in England. With some justice, accounts of the medium's early decades have treated it



This half stereograph of miners in front of their riverside log cabin, ca. 1874, is the work of Eliza W. Withington. Born in New York (ca. 1825), Withington settled in Lone City, California (Amador County). There she opened her Ambrotype Gallery, where she became known for her landscapes and portrait photography, recording scenes at home and in neighboring counties. Previous visits to Mathew Brady's New York gallery had proved an inspiration. Withington was but one of many women photographers of the period. Her career is described in *Shadowcatchers: A Directory of Women in California Photography Before 1901*, by Peter E. Palmquist. Courtesy Peter E. Palmquist.

as a man's pursuit in a man's world; indeed, most histories of photography's first half-century discuss only a handful of female luminaries such as Julia Margaret Cameron in England or Frances Benjamin Johnson in the United States.

Peter E. Palmquist, who ranks high among compilers of data about photography and photographers in the nineteenth-century American West, has gone far to dispel the traditional assumption. With *Shadowcatchers*, he adds an important new element to an impressive publication list: confirmation that a significant number of women participated in what has been deemed a male-dominated profession. Diligent research in sources ranging from census data and city directories to

family records and newspaper advertisements has identified more than eight hundred practitioners of photography (professionals and amateurs) and related trades (gallery operators and clerks, finishers, retouchers, and the like) in large cities and small communities throughout California between 1850 and 1901.

Information about individuals included in the directory relies upon surviving records or recognition that each received during her career; thus, entries are understandably uneven in content. Julia Shannon, probably California's first woman photographer, remains relatively obscure; in San Francisco newspapers between 1850 and 1852, she advertised daguerreotypes



"taken by a real lady" ("Give her a call, gents.") and her services as a midwife (with references from several local doctors), but she died in 1854. More is known about Elizabeth Fleischmann, who worked in the city from 1896 until 1905, when death resulted from the hazards of her profession. She won public acclaim from both San Francisco physicians and the U.S. Army surgeon general as "The Woman Who Takes the Best Radiographs [X-Rays]," especially for her work with war wounded returning from the Philippine Islands. Between 1896 and 1935, Clara Sheldon Smith of Marysville made photographs that included studio portraits, landscapes, train derailments, and a panoramic view of earthquake damage in San Francisco, taken from a helium-filled balloon. Alone and with her husband, she operated galleries, photographic supply stores, and motion picture theaters, and she was regarded in her community as the "most popular and skilled photographer in this section . . ." Other vignettes vary from vital statistics and a few tantalizing lines to brief biographical sketches.

*Shadowcatchers* is an appealing book for casual browsers and serious scholars alike. It includes photographs, quotations, and contemporary essays by and about women photographers, provides a "Checklist" of entries arranged by counties, identifies and locates sources, and finishes with a page of selected readings, all of which should stimulate interest and encourage further investigation. In his introduction, Palmquist appeals to readers for both additional information and corrections and supplies his address: 1183 Union Street, Arcata, CA 95521. Responses to the request are certainly encouraged; they will make a valuable resource even more comprehensive and useful.

## *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict.*

By Richard Griswold del Castillo. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, xv, 272 pp., \$22.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Manuel G. Gonzales, instructor of history at Diablo Valley College and author of The Hispanic Elite of the Southwest.*

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed in 1848, brought an end to the war with Mexico. Resulting in the acquisition of California and the Southwest, the agreement is one of the most important in the annals of American diplomatic history. The treaty, and the war that preceded it, have been little studied in the United States. In this modest volume, intended for the layman rather than the specialist, Richard Griswold del Castillo attempts to present the subject in a new historical perspective.

His work, the author claims, "is the first book written in

English that is devoted exclusively to analyzing the national and international dimensions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo" (p. xiii). Promising an analysis of the treaty, the author focuses instead on interpretations of the document made by U.S. courts, intellectuals and diplomats on both sides of the border, and, more recently, Chicano and Native American activists.

American historians of color tend to be critical of American institutions, and Richard Griswold del Castillo is no exception. While he recognizes that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo reflected the power realities of two countries of vastly unequal strength, he laments the repeated violations of the agreement by the United States. He is especially concerned about the mistreatment of Mexicans in this country, whose rights, he asserts, were protected by the treaty: "The promises the U.S. government made with respect to the conquered Mexican populations . . . have remained largely unfulfilled" (p. 173).

The latter thesis has been one of the major criticisms made of the U.S. government by both Chicano and Native American militants since the mid-1960s. Intellectually, the author was shaped by these experiences, and it is not surprising that he shares a revisionist perspective. In fact, there is much to commend this point of view—the history of California and the Southwest after 1848 is replete with examples of broken promises—but Griswold del Castillo misses the opportunity to make the case very convincingly; the exploitation is simply taken for granted.

This deficiency is perhaps inevitable, given the superficial treatment of the treaty that this slim volume affords. Many avenues are explored, but none in detail. While the preface makes mention of an impressive number of archives, both in Mexico and the United States, there is little evidence of original research in the text itself. Moreover, the book is full of typographical errors, reinforcing the impression that the author's efforts were less than meticulous.

Though not the definitive work on the subject, the book is not without merit. Students of Latin American history often neglect the writings of native historians, but Griswold del Castillo has done well in this regard. He provides a very good review of Mexican interpretations of the war and the treaty. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Mexican historians have not been as critical of the United States as their Chicano counterparts in evaluating either the origins of the conflict or the severity of the treaty.

Finally, this book is valuable because it covers an important topic about which little has been written. In recent years diplomatic history has been eclipsed by other interests, as historians have perhaps overreacted to the earlier emphasis on history as simply "past politics." This publication represents an attempt to deal with an old subject from a new perspective, a Chicano perspective.

*Bret Harte's California: Letters to the Springfield Republican and Christian Register, 1866-67.*

Edited and with an introduction by Gary Scharnhorst. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990, 170 pp., \$22.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by James D. Houston, visiting professor in literature, University of California, Santa Cruz, author of *Californians: Searching for The Golden State*, and editor of the anthology, *West Coast Fiction*.

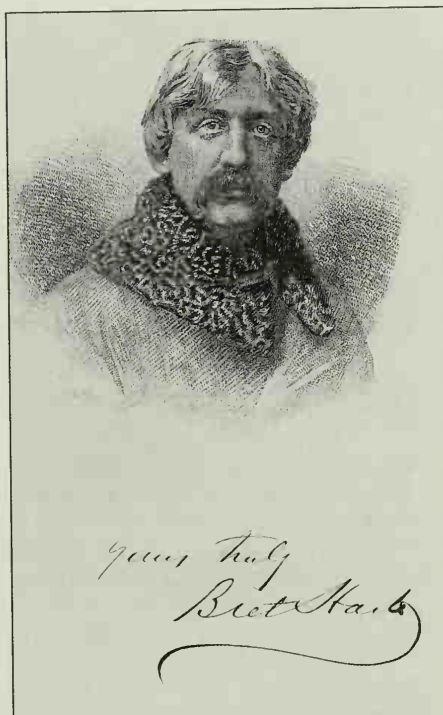
Bret Harte immigrated to California in 1854. While others mined the Mother Lode, he mined the territory, in both poetry and prose. The Gold Rush had ignited the world's imagination, and for a multitude of American readers he became the first literary writer to tell them what the far and fabled West was like. By the time he left San Francisco, returning east in 1871, he was said to be the highest paid writer in the country.

His California fiction made him famous—such stories as "The Luck of Roaring Camp," "Tennessee's Partner," "The Outcasts of Poker Flat"—but it was largely his reportage that first caught the attention of eastern readers. In the years before he began to edit San Francisco's *Overland Monthly*, Harte was the Pacific Coast correspondent for two Massachusetts papers, *The Christian Register* and *The Springfield Republican*. *Bret Harte's California* is a collection of thirty-seven "letters" written to these papers between January 1866 and November 1867. Twenty-six of them have never previously been reprinted.

Signs and portents of later and better known works are here (from Letter 28: "The arcadian hamlets of Poker Flat and Jackass Gulch are snowed up and most of the portable property has already changed hands several times through the agency of seven-up or bluff."), along with a characteristic ambivalence toward California. ("The climate," he notes, in Letter 31, "is fatal to abstract contemplation.")

A stylist and an astute observer, he writes about churches, the Chinese, the landscape, pioneers, political corruption, other writers of the day. In some ways these are detailed and vivid glimpses into a world long-gone. In other ways, no time has passed. In this region where the very rate of change sometimes seems to overwhelm us, it is instructive to see how certain features of west coast life haven't varied much in 125 years. Here is Harte on the hazards of street life (from Letter 5, April 5, 1866):

Physical disturbances are the least dangers that threaten our prosperity . . . the pistol and the knife, drunkenness and debauchery, have claimed more victims than ever pestilence, flood or volcanic throes.



First editor of the *Overland Monthly*, Bret Harte established the San Francisco literary magazine's reputation with his classic fictional accounts of the Gold Rush. He left California in 1870 and eventually settled in London, where he continued to rework his popular California stories. *Courtesy the Bancroft Library.*

On the fringe benefits of living with the fault line he has this to say (from the same letter):

An earthquake is the one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin. The slightest shock is sufficient to overthrow the artificial barriers of society.

And on the eternal surprise of the weather (from Letter 2):

As the clouds lifted we saw the mountains of Contra Costa and the low hills which encompass our city glittering with freshly fallen snow. San Francisco gazed and wondered: the oldest inhabitant had never seen the like.

Gary Scharnhorst has provided a valuable introduction and thorough annotation. For anyone interested in the range of Harte's work, or in western literary history, or in the ongoing California kaleidoscope, these transcontinental reports from the 1860s are still worth reading. They illuminate Harte's era and our own.



## *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted; Volume V: The California Frontier, 1863-1865.*

Edited by Victoria Post Ranney, Gerard J. Rauluk, and Carolyn F. Hoffman. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, xxvi, 820 pp., \$48.50.)

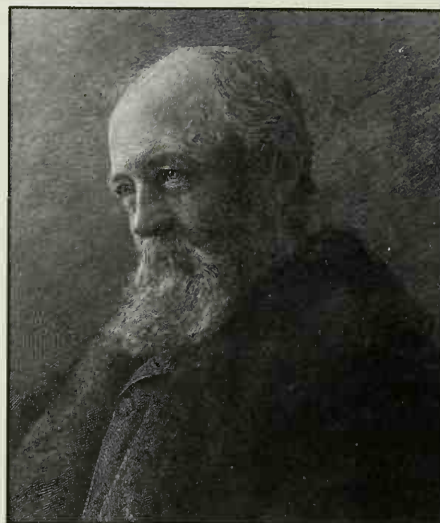
Reviewed by K. Christie Vogel, senior librarian, San Jose Public Library.

In the middle of 1863, in what would become the mid-point of the Civil War, Frederick Law Olmsted ventured out from the civilization of the American East Coast to begin a new life on the California frontier. Having written several studies on the antebellum South, co-designed New York's Central Park, and headed the U.S. Sanitary Commission (predecessor of the American Red Cross), Olmsted accepted the position of manager of the 44,000-acre Mariposa Estate, chiefly its gold mines, which had been yielding great wealth. Not unlike other adventurers to California, Olmsted expected to make his fortune there and return to the East, able to follow civilized pursuits.

The correspondence in Part I is presented in chronological order, and the editors have divided it into topical chapters, among them "Bear Valley" (the locus of the Mariposa Estate), "Civilizing the Frontier," "Sierra Scenery and Politics," and "Landscape Projects East and West." Part II consists of Landscape Design Reports, among which are the Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland; Public Pleasure Grounds of San Francisco; and a Projected Improvement of the Estate of the College [University] of California, at Berkeley. Part III is a lengthy essay, "Notes on the Pioneer Condition."

Here Olmsted presents, literally, a gold mine of reportage and commentary on the individuals, society, and scenery he encountered in California. The papers fascinate in their depiction of Olmsted's wide interests and abilities, as well as his powers of observation, from camping in and around Yosemite with his family and trips to the Mariposa Big Trees Grove, to descriptions of the San Francisco of the sixties. We get first-hand documentation of the racial/ethnic composition on the gold-mining frontier, and the discrimination against nonwhites that was so rife. In "Notes on the Pioneer Condition," for example, he writes,

The whole framework of Society is necessarily lax in these sparsely settled communities, and the man who has learned to think that negroes [sic], indians [sic], Mexicans, Chinese, half-breeds, may properly enough be treated as a sort of outlaws, or on different principles of right and duty from other men, does not require the inducement of a very strong demand from his passions,



Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903). A landscape architect and conservationist, Olmsted designed the grounds at the University of California and Stanford University, and was instrumental in preserving Yosemite as a state reservation. *Courtesy the Bancroft Library.*

his prejudices, his lusts, his covetousness or his pride to be exerted to make him forget law, and civilized customs in dealing with any other men.

One of Olmsted's aims was to civilize the frontier. Establishing a "Reading and Coffee Room" at one of the Mariposa Company's mining camps would be a start. To this purpose he wrote longtime friend Edwin Lawrence Godkin, a young journalist soon to found the *Nation*, requesting that he order numerous periodicals and newspapers, among them "London Punch," "London Fun," "London New Penny Magazine," and the "Cornish Telegraph." "The reason for taking so much cheap English stuff," his letter closes, "is that we want to draw off a considerable number of Cornish miners from the dram shops and gambling booths . . ."

Introductory matter includes a forty-page overview of Olmsted's life during the period covered and a description of the editorial policy for the Olmsted Papers project. An eighteen-page biographical directory provides insight into the principal associates and colleagues with whom Olmsted exchanged correspondence. Numerous illustrations throughout enhance the text. The volume concludes with an Olmsted chronology for 1863 to 1866, an index of plant materials mentioned in the text, and a general index. This is source material that all serious collectors of Californiana should own.

*The Uncounted Irish: in Canada and the United States.*

By Margaret E. Fitzgerald and Joseph A. King.  
(Toronto: P. D. Meany, 1990, xiv, 377 pp., \$36.00 cloth.)

*Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War.*

By Robert Ryal Miller. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989, xv, 232 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by R. A. Burchell, senior lecturer in American history and institutions, University of Manchester, England, and author of The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880.*

It is not easy to review the first of these works, if only because the writers make it abundantly clear from the start that they have less than unqualified respect for professional historians whose faults are firmly, if not unkindly, detailed. The authors would presumably find it unfair to be judged against professional standards. But no professional historian can deny his professional training, and all will require that those professing to write history should obey certain rules and attain certain standards. There is surely room for amateur historians, but they must be historians first and foremost.

As these preliminary remarks may suggest, Fitzgerald and King have produced a work that some may feel lacks a consistent historical tone. Parts of it will certainly be useful to historians and make eminently sensible points. Ethnic groups should not be judged entirely on the records of the first generation. Genealogy can help historians to understand social patterns. Irish life and culture in the United States in the nineteenth century was positive, exuberant, accommodating, and successful, even if sometimes suffering from dislocation, failure, stress and strain. But parts of this book are so personal that they cannot be described as historical. They are firmly autobiographical, aimed at a narrower rather than a wider audience and might, if the mood was upon the reader, even be seen as dangerously self-centered. The retelling of the Fenian invasions of Canada is a case in point. The authors approve of the end for which the invasions were mounted, therefore they approve of the invasions as a means. Yet as the work by Miller shows, and maturer reflection might itself suggest, the doctrine of the end justifying the means is a dangerous one.

This was believed by a noticeable section of American opinion when the United States invaded Mexico to acquire California—fourteen members of the House and two senators even

went as far as to vote against the declaration of war. Miller's lively and very readable work details the history of one group of soldiers who showed their own view of the war by deserting, describing how some two hundred of them even enlisted in the Mexican army to form the Saint Patrick's Battalion. Not surprisingly, since the United States won so convincing a victory, they came to a sticky end. Sixty-eight of those captured by the Americans were sentenced to be hanged; fifty actually met this fate. The two hundred were not all Irish, despite the battalion's name, and only nineteen of those hanged were Irish. Unfortunately, as Miller shows, it is not possible to claim that those who deserted from the American forces did so from any sense of sympathy with the invaded Mexicans or with fellow Roman Catholics. Those charged defended themselves by blaming lapse of loyalty on drink, threats, the harsh discipline in the American army, Mexican promises of land, and speedy promotion. Miller points out how both Zachary Taylor's message to the Mexicans suggesting that contemporary American Catholics lived in 'peace and security' under the 'sacred guarantee' of the American constitution and Santa Anna's appeal to American Catholic Irish soldiers in the invading army to withdraw from the fight against co-religionists fell equally on deaf ears. The vast majority of Irish Catholics in the army, which depended on the foreign-born to a very large extent, fought on.

Yet the war was not popular. Miller argues that it produced higher desertion rates than any other war in American history: 8.3 per hundred troops, as against 4.1 for the Vietnam War and 1.3 and 5.3 respectively for World Wars I and II. It is thus not surprising that there were some Irish deserters and, given the socio-economic stratum from which they came, that they were allured by material promises to reenlist with the enemy. Simultaneously, it might be noted, the American army was enrolling Mexican renegades, mainly horse thieves, a further confusion of ends and means.



## *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of Italian American Relocation During World War II.*

By Stephen Fox. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990, xix, 223 pp., \$24.95.)

*Reviewed by Andrew Rolle, author of California: A History (Fourth Edition, 1987), who holds the title of research scholar, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.*

Before this volume was printed, I was asked by its publisher to supply a brief appraisal for the book's jacket description. It was a pleasure to endorse its author's research as well as the vibrant story he tells. Upon rereading the completed volume, one is reminded that important aspects of America's minority history remain unexplored. While the incarceration of its Japanese during World War II has been rather amply described, the story of what happened to Italians and Germans in this country during the war has not.

Professor Fox focuses on the Italians, whose relocation and internment has generally been ignored. From February to June of 1942, some ten thousand California residents were forced to leave their homes and were detained for interrogation. Those who were defined as "enemy aliens" included not only foreigners (some of them seamen) visiting the United States, but also those moved from their homes. Most of these lost their jobs and were separated from their families. Interviews with surviving aliens or members of their families form the core of this book. Their words provide evidence that this impulsive government policy cost some of them dearly.

Through archival research in government documents and newspapers of that era, Fox shows how, unlike the experience of the Japanese Americans, the internment of the Italians came to be forgotten. Painful and too long repressed memories elicited in these interviews serve as a reminder of how fragile civil liberties are in times of war, when few nations can afford even the hint of internal division. Once a war has been declared, hysteria surfaces.

The California part of this story involves the internment of ship crews, fishermen, a few journalists, and anyone suspected of harboring Fascist sympathies. These persons, with family names like Spadaro and Ferrante, were "relocated" to so-called safe zones at least twenty miles inland from the Pacific Ocean. Not only were they forced to leave their homes; some who were considered to be of doubtful loyalty were detained and interned without trial. Many of these law-abiding folk had been in the United States for decades, while others even had children in the armed forces. But, because they had not obtained American citizenship, they were subjected to surveillance and harassment. Only because the Japanese

internment proved to be so cumbersome and costly did the government finally abandon the practice. The whole sordid story is in this admirable book.

## *Marinship At War: Shipbuilding and Social Change in Wartime Sausalito.*

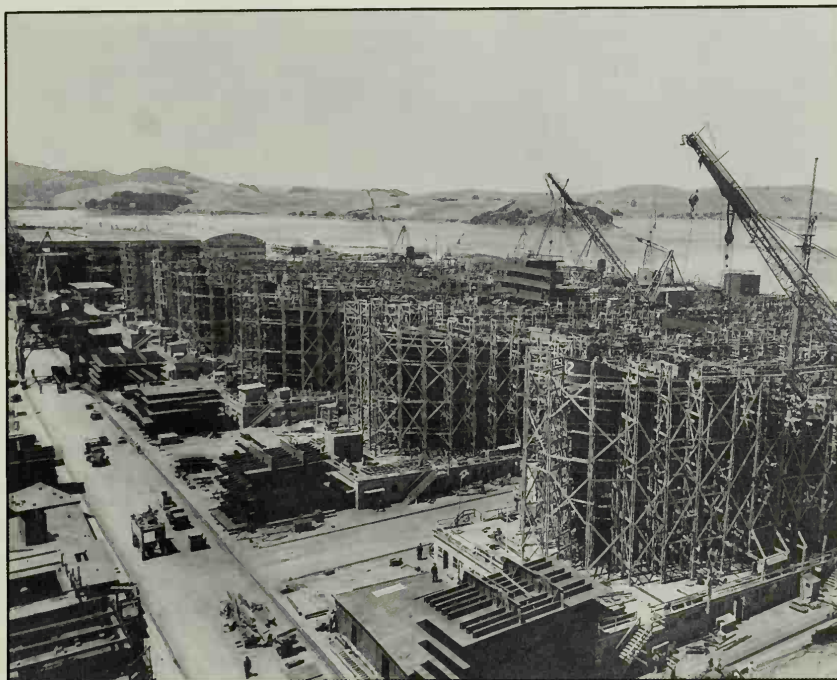
By Charles Wollenberg. (Berkeley: Western Heritage Press, 1990, viii, 120 pp., \$8.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by Roger W. Lotchin, professor of history, University of North Carolina, and author of Fortress California, 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare, forthcoming from Oxford University Press, 1991.*

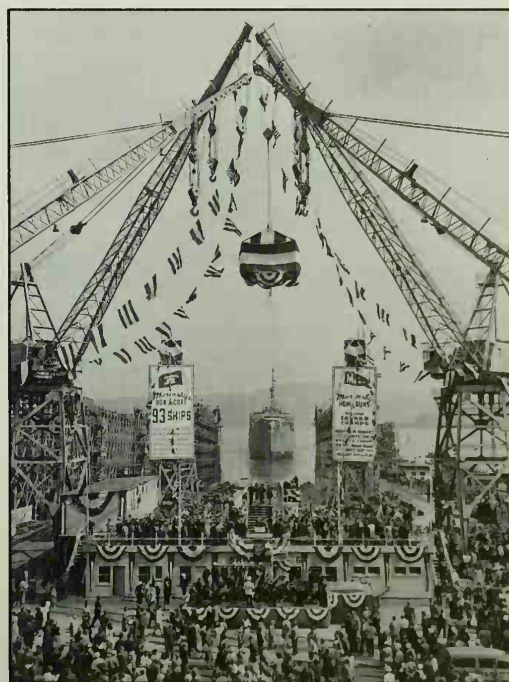
For years, Europeanists in the historical profession have been writing about war and society. They have also been pointing out the lack of Americanist participation in this venture. Obviously, wars are momentous events, affecting every part of society. Yet American historians have chosen mostly to chronicle the military part of these conflicts or to look at them from a battlefield rather than homefront perspective. This oversight is particularly true for World War II, easily the most important armed conflict of the twentieth century.

However, that situation is changing, thanks to Alan Clive and a few women's, western, and labor historians. *Marinship at War* reminds us again how little we understand that war and helps to create a scaffolding for investigating it. The author presents chapters on the construction of the yard, the Maritime Commission, assembly line production, workers and management, women and men, blacks and whites, Marin City, and the closure of the yard. Each of the chapters is well done, and some are very good.

Following Gerald Nash, Professor Wollenberg argues the customary thesis that the war brought a "great and cataclysmic transformation to the West." Building on an earlier book on *Marinship* by Richard Finnie and on what appear to be very rich oral history collections at the Sausalito Historical Society, Wollenberg seeks to document further the upheaval thesis. He reminds us once again of the remarkable expansion of wartime shipbuilding and the social ramifications it produced.



The Marinship facility near Sausalito was one of numerous World War II shipbuilding industries that played a critical role in California's economy, employing thousands of workers to produce fleets of oceangoing tankers at incredible rates. Above: Rows of tall scaffolding suggest the assemblyline manner in which the ships were constructed with record speed. Right: On September 18, 1945, Marinship launched its 93rd and final ship, the *S.S. San Francisco*, amid a spectacular waterfront celebration. *Courtesy Bechtel Corporation.*





He reiterates the extraordinary achievement of the Bechtel management team and its work force, which continuously expanded production, reduced costs, and greatly diminished output times. Not only did Bechtel create a manufacturing organization out of whole cloth in an industry in which it had little experience, it also trained a labor force that eventually reached 22,000 persons of diverse ethnic, racial, and sexual makeup. Nor does the author shirk from his duty to illuminate the seedy side of the war effort. There was petty jurisdictional strife, management-labor conflict, absenteeism, management blunders, and worker "goofing-off" (crap games, cooping, waste). In some cases, prostitutes even provided curb service in the yard to their war-weary customers. Nonetheless, the record of achievement was remarkable and helped greatly to win the war, which after all, is the ultimate test of the yard's activities.

One of Wollenberg's most interesting arguments is that

organized labor gained many members from the conflict, but "missed the boat" by failing to instill or even try to instill union principles that would have lasted into the postwar period. The author's discussions of women and minorities are also fascinating, but he ultimately keeps the emphasis where it belongs—on the tremendous contribution of the shipbuilders to a successful conclusion of the conflict and the extraordinary, once-in-a-lifetime experience that the effort provided for everyone involved. Writing the history of shipbuilding workers from the bottom up is a lot easier with the kind of rich oral history data that the Sausalito Historical Society has amassed.

My only reservation about the book is that it largely ignores neighboring Sausalito, which was one part of Bay Area urban society that Marinship vastly affected. Otherwise, the book is another expert product from a man who has already contributed generously to our understanding of twentieth-century California.

## CALIFORNIA MAKING HISTORY

NOW IN PAPERBACK

### In Pursuit of Justice

Reflections of a State  
Supreme Court Justice  
BY JOSEPH R. GRODIN

Foreword by

Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.

"An easily readable insider's demystification of the work of state appellate courts."

—*San Francisco Chronicle Book Review*

"A tale filled with intelligence, wit and, inevitably, a measure of sadness. . . . [A] valuable book"

—*American Bar Association Journal*

"An engaging book."

—*Los Angeles Times Book Review*

\$12.95 paper, 229 pages

### Western Times and Water Wars

State, Culture, and Rebellion  
in California

BY JOHN WALTON

Walton chronicles more than a hundred years of the tumultuous history of California's Owens Valley.

"A passionate and first rate historical adventure. The plot is as intricate, fascinating, and full of intrigue and detail as a Dickens or a Tolstoy novel."

—John Nichols, author of *The Milagro Beanfield War*

A Centennial Book

\$27.50 cloth

360 pages

illustrated



At bookstores  
or order toll-free  
1-800-822-6657.  
Visa/MasterCard.

UNIVERSITY  
OF CALIFORNIA  
PRESS

BERKELEY LOS ANGELES  
NEW YORK OXFORD

# WE'VE BECOME AN HISTORIC LANDMARK



After 100 years of supporting the preservation of California historic landmarks, we've become one. 1991 marks our 100 year anniversary of providing America with the highest quality canned fruits and vegetables. And to help celebrate, we're proud to have become a Historic Business Partner with the California Historical Society.

**100 YEARS OF QUALITY**



# CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

Allen, Richard Sanders. *The Northrop Story, 1929-1939*. New York: Orion Books, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-517-56677-X. Order from: Crown Pubs. Inc., Div. of Random House Inc.; 201 E. 50th St.; New York, NY 10011.

Armstrong, Robert D. *Nevada Printing History: A Bibliography of Imprints and Publications, 1881-1890*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991. \$50.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87417-124-5. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Department S91; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

Bamonte, Tony. *Sheriffs 1911-1989: A History of Murders in the Wilderness of Washington's Last County*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1991. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-206-4. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Bean, Lowell John, Sylvia Brakke Vane, and Jackson Young. *The Cahuilla Landscape: The Santa Rosa and San Jacinto Mountains*. Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1991. \$19.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87919-121-1, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87919-120-1. Order from: Ballena Press Publisher's Service; Post Office Box 2510; Novato, CA 94948.

Bennion, Sherilyn Cox. *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87417-163-6. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Department S91; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

Bookspan, Shelley. *A Germ of Goodness: The California State Prison System, 1851-1944*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. \$35.00 (cloth). Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 North 17th Street; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Boucher, David. *Ride the Devil Wind: The History of the L.A. County Fire Department, 1912-1989*. Bellflower: Fire Publications, 1991. \$55.00 (cloth). Order from: Fire Publications, Inc.; 9072 E. Artesia Blvd., Suite 7; Bellflower, CA 90706.

*The Captain: A Biographical Novel of Captain Russell Perry Mace and the Founding of Madera*. Madera: Madera County Historical Society, 1991. \$25.00 (cloth). Order from: Madera County Historical Society; Post Office Box 478; Madera, CA 93639.

(Death Valley Scotty.) *Record Breaking Run of the Scott Special*. Reprint of the 1905 edition, as told by Mr. Frank Newton Holman. Guasti: William Gardiner Hutson, Publisher, 1991. \$3.95 (paper, including postage). Order from: William Gardiner Hutson; Post Office Box 1314; Guasti, CA 91743-1314.

Drescher, Timothy W. *San Francisco Murals: Community Creates Its Muse 1914-1990*. St. Paul: Pogo Press, 1991. \$19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9617767-7-3. Order from: Pogo Press, Inc.; Four Cardinal Lane; St. Paul, MN 55127.

Ellingson, Yvonne. *From Sea to Sea in a Model T*. Boulder: Fred Pruett Books, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9623868-3-9. Order from: Fred Pruett Books; 2928 Pearl; Boulder, CO 80301.


*Every Structure Tells a Story*. Santa Cruz: Historical Trust, 1990. \$10.95 (paper, tax and shipping add \$2.55). Order from: Historical Trust; 1543 Pacific Avenue, Suite 220; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Gibson, Robert O. *The Chumash*. Broomall, Penn.: Chelsea House Publishers, 1991. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-7910-0376-0. Order from: Chelsea House Publishers; 1974 Sprout Road; Box 914; Broomall, PA 19008.

Gillet, Rachel. *Memories of the San Antonio Valley*. King City: San Antonio Valley Historical Association, 1991. \$6.95 (paper, plus \$1.60 tax and postage). Order from: Janice Grim; San Antonio Valley Historical Association; Post Office Box 906; King City, CA 93930.

Haslam, Gerald. *Voices of a Place: Social and Literary Essays from the Other California*. Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1989. Reprint edition. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-915685-05-1. Order from: Devil Mountain Books, Post Office Box 4115; Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

Hilton, George W. *American Narrow Gauge Railroads*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991. \$60.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8047-1731-1. Order from: Stanford University Press; Stanford, CA 94305.

- Hofsommer, Don L. *The Quanah Route: A History of the Quanah, Acme & Pacific Railway*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991. \$42.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89096-437-8. Order from: Texas A&M University Press; John H. Lindsay Building; Drawer C; College Station, TX 77843-4354.
- Hutson, William Gardiner. *My Friends Call Me C. C.: The Story of Courtney Chauncey Julian*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1990. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-86534-143-5. Order from: Sunstone Press; Post Office Box 2321; Santa Fe, NM 87504-2321.
- Kendrick, John, trans. *The Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana 1792*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1991. \$32.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-203-X. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.
- Klages, Ellen. *Harbin Hot Springs: Healing Waters, Sacred Land*. Middletown: Harbin Springs Pub., 1991. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-944202-01-2. Order from: Harbin Springs Pub.; Post Office Box 1132; Middletown, CA 95461.
- Maynard, John A. *Venice West: The Beat Generation in Southern California*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991. \$22.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8135-1653-6. Order from: R.U.P. Distribution Center; Post Office Box 4869; Baltimore, MD 21211.
- Morgado, Martin J. *Junipero Serra: A Pictorial Biography*. Monterey: Siempre Adelante Publishing, 1991. \$15.95 (paper, \$2.50 postage and handling per order, Calif. residents add 6.5% sales tax). Order from: Siempre Adelante Publishing; 1190 Alta Mesa Road; Monterey, CA 93940.
- Morrison, Richard. *Best Books in the West: A Guide to a Core Collection of 1700 Works*. Austin: W. M. Morrison, 1989. \$22.50 (paper) ISBN: 0-926158-03-1. Order from: W. M. Morrison Books; 15801 La Hacienda; Austin, TX 78734.
- Morrison, Richard, and Shelly Morrison. *Western Americana Catalogue Prices, 1990, Vol. 4: Fifteen Thousand Price Entries for Works Offered for Sale in 1990*. Austin: W. M. Morrison, 1991. \$38.50 (paper) ISBN: 0-926158-08-2. Order from: W. M. Morrison Books; 15801 La Hacienda; Austin, TX 78734.
- Pattie, Jane. *Cowboy Spurs and Their Makers*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991. \$39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89096-343-6. Order from: Texas A&M University Press; John H. Lindsay Building; Drawer C; College Station, TX 77843-4345.
- Robinson, Judith. *The Hearsts: An American Dynasty*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1991. \$49.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87413-383-1. Order from: Associated University Presses; 440 Forsgate Drive; Cranbury, NJ 08512.
- Ruhge, Justin M. *Repair and Recovery: The Story of Hoff General Army Hospital, 1940 to 1954: World War II Comes to Santa Barbara*. Goleta: Quantum Imaging Associates, 1991. \$6.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-9614807-6-9. Order from: Quantum Imaging Associates; Post Office Box 2216; Goleta, CA 93118.
- Rumer, Thomas A. *The Wagon Trains of '44: A Comparative View of the Individual Caravans in the Emigration of 1844 to Oregon*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1989. \$35.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-197-1. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.
- Shipek, Florence Connolly. *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography, An Account of Her Last Years and Her Ethnobotanic Contributions*. Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1991. \$16.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87919-123-6, \$12.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-87919-122-8. Order from: Ballena Press Publisher's Service; Post Office Box 2510; Novato, CA 94948.
- Weber, Dickinson. *Early Tall Buildings from the Agricultural Valley Towns of Central and Northern California: A Sentimental Sketchbook Collection of Downtown Street Views (c. 1985) from Main Street California, U.S.A. (c. 1930)*. Concord: Sand-scape Press, 1988. \$15.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-936721-01-4. Order from: Sand-scape Press; 1647 Willow Pass Road, Suite 300; Concord, CA 94520.
- Weber, Francis J., comp. *Prominent Visitors to the California Missions: The Provincial Period (1786-1842)*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1991. \$30.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87461-933-5. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Weiss, Hillary. *The American Bandanna: Culture on cloth from George Washington to Elvis*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1990. \$16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87701-783-2. Order from: Chronicle Books; 275 Fifth Street; San Francisco, CA 94103.
- Wheelright, Jane Hollister and Linda Wheelright Smith. *The Long Shore: A Psychological Experience of the Wilderness*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991. \$19.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87156-625-7. Order from: Sierra Club Books; 730 Polk Street; San Francisco, CA 94103.
- 75th Birthday of Monterey Park. Monterey Park: Historical Society of Monterey Park, 1991. \$9.15 (paper, includes postage and handling). Order from: Historical Society of Monterey Park; Post Office Box 272; Monterey Park, CA 91754. 



# California Historical Society

## BOOK SALE

### **BACKSTORY: INTERVIEWS WITH SCREENWRITERS OF HOLLYWOOD'S GOLDEN AGE**

By Pat McGilligan

A delightfully acute and articulate band of screenwriters tells their side of what happened, on and off the set, before the cameras rolled. Their reminiscences are both entertaining and instructive for anyone who cares about the art of film—past or present. Paper, \$10.95.

### **BITTER MELON: STORIES FROM THE LAST RURAL CHINESE TOWN IN AMERICA**

By Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow

This original work traces the experiences of the rural Chinese in the town of Locke, California, through the lives of its inhabitants. Paper, \$17.95.

### **BOYHOOD DAYS**

By Ygnacio Villegas and edited by Dr. Albert Shumate.

Villegas shares his reminiscences of California in the 1850s. \$7.95.

### **COMING TO TERMS—A STUDY IN MEMORY AND HISTORY**

By Henry F. May

A history written with warmth and candor that traces the lives of the May family in the context of their times—the 1920s and 30s—more effectively than a simple memoir or a mere recounting of a particular period of American history. Hardback, \$25.00.

### **A COMPANION TO CALIFORNIA (1978)**

By James D. Hart

The complete reference book on the most populous state in the Union. Its 3,000 cross-referenced entries cover California from Alcatraz to Zanut. This painstakingly thorough yet delightful guide includes entries on cities and counties, newspapers, missions, flora and fauna, architecture, climate, politics, ethnic groups, literature, and famous figures. Hardback, \$35.00.

### **DEATH VALLEY AND THE AMARGOSA: A LAND OF ILLUSION**

By Richard E. Lingenfelter

In his review of *Death Valley in California History*, Richard Dillon says that this book "will seed many other studies, for it is full of new ideas, new information." Richard Lingenfelter has written an exhaustive story of the arid region straddling the California Nevada border, the Amargosa River country of the "greater Death Valley." Paper, \$13.95.

### **THE DIARIES AND WRITING OF ANNA MORRISON REED, 1849-1921**

Edited by John E. Keller

These writings provide fresh, first-hand insights into

the condition of Northern California during the last half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. As a popular lecturer and writer, Reed's singular philosophy of life mingled Victorian ideas with latter-day feminist concepts. Hardback, \$10.00.

### **DR. HISTORY'S WHIZZ-BANG: FAVORITE STORIES OF CALIFORNIA'S PAST**

By James J. Rawls

This lively and entertaining romp through California history is a compilation of the exciting and eclectic topics covered during KNBR's Frank & Mike In the Morning radio show interviews with "Dr. History." These lively historical vignettes are illustrated and expanded, each followed by suggestions for exploring the topic further. Paper, \$9.95.

### **ESSAYS AND ASSAYS: CALIFORNIA HISTORY REAPPRAISED**

Edited by George H. Knowles

Eminently readable accounts by nine outstanding California historians, which together create a book of rare freshness and lively writing. Characterized by their unusual points of view, these essays combine information and speculation which challenge the myths by which Californians, no less than others, live. Hardback, \$7.95.

### **EYE ON THE SKY: LICK OBSERVATORY'S FIRST CENTURY**

By Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh

The world's first mountain-top observatory and America's first big-science research center, Lick Observatory exemplifies astronomy's dramatic development in the past century. *Eye on the Sky* presents the observatory from the point of view of the people who breathed life into its giant telescopes and helped to change our conception of the universe and our place in it. Hardback, \$23.00.

### **FELIPE DE NEVE: FIRST GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA**

By Edwin A. Beilharz

De Neve transformed California from an appendage of Baja California into the last important outpost of Spain's empire. He rewrote the laws, founded Los Angeles and San Jose, and built presidios and missions. This is an intimate and incisive portrait of the man who might be called the "Founder of California." Hardback, \$10.00.

### **IF THE WALLS COULD TALK—COLUSA'S ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE**

By Jane Foster Carter

This book captures in beautiful contemporary photographs the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century buildings and houses in this historic California

city, located on the Sacramento River. 325 structures and sites are covered in this historic resource inventory. Hardback, \$40.00.

### INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA: THE CHANGING IMAGE

By James J. Rawls

This important book examines white images of the California tribes from the earliest Spanish contacts to the present, and finds that the images tell us more about the image-makers than the Indians themselves. No other writer has traced this evolution of attitudes and treatment, an analysis based on exhaustive research into thousands of written and visual images of individual Indians. Paper, \$7.95.

### LOS ANGELES FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO

By W.W. Robinson

This classic history of the Plaza was revised in 1981 by Doyce Nunis, Jr. The book covers the history of Los Angeles through the American period and the passing of El Pueblo at the turn of the century. The book includes a guide to El Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historic Park. Paper, \$7.95. Hardback with slipcover, \$15.00

### THE MAKING OF GOLDEN GATE PARK 1906-1950

By Raymond Clary

Clary's book clearly documents the continual threat to urban parklands. From political forces who would "develop" parks with cultural facilities to rich private donors who bequeath statuary and even buildings to be placed on public land, the effect is the same: the diminution of open space within our city. Paper, \$12.95.

### PALOS VERDES PENINSULA: TIME AND THE TERRACED LAND

By Augusta Fink

In this book, the story of the terraced land, as captivating as its landscape, is told with memorable clarity. Among the intriguing cast of characters are Cabrillo and Vizcaíno, the Domínguezes, and the Sepulvedas, the Bixbys and Phineas Banning, and finally the Vanderlip family of financiers. Development of San Pedro Harbor, as well as that of the rest of the peninsula, is described in detail. Paper, \$9.95.

### THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN

By Robert Chamberlain. Hardback, \$5.95.

### TO THE PROMISED LAND

By Ken Light

In this splendid photographic essay, the plight and pride of the Mexican migrant worker to survive and succeed is dramatically presented to the viewer-reader. Beginning with the introduction by Richard Rodriguez setting the mood for the migrant worker's story, the cogent explanatory text by Mary Jo McConahay, and the excerpts from nearly fifty interviews by Samuel Orozco, we gain tremendous insight into the lives of these Mexican *indocumentados*. The visually compelling photographs by Ken Light give added impact to this story. Hardback, \$25.00.

### TRIP WITH FATHER

By Katharine Bixby Hotchkis

Although written for her grandchildren, Hotchkis's story is typical of the ranching lifestyle of early California. Includes Fred H. Bixby's description of his experiences with the San Francisco to Los Angeles "commute" in 1916. Paper, \$4.50. Hardback, \$5.00.

### UPRIVER BOATS—WHEN RED BLUFF WAS THE HEAD OF NAVIGATION

By Edward Galland Zelisky and Nancy Leigh Olmsted. Paper, \$3.00.

### INDEX TO THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Vols 1-40, 1922-1961 \$10.00

Vols 41-54, 1962-1975 \$12.00

### BACK ISSUES OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Back issues of available *California History* magazines from 1944 to the present can be purchased. Requests for 10 or more copies of a single issue are entitled to a 10% discount, 25 or more of a single issue receive a 25% discount. Ask about additional volume discounts. Prices are as follows (prices include the new 8¼% sales tax):

1944 through Spring 1990—\$7.00 each.

Summer 1990 to present—\$9.00 each.

Exception: "Railroads in California and the Far West," Spring 1991—\$11.00 each.

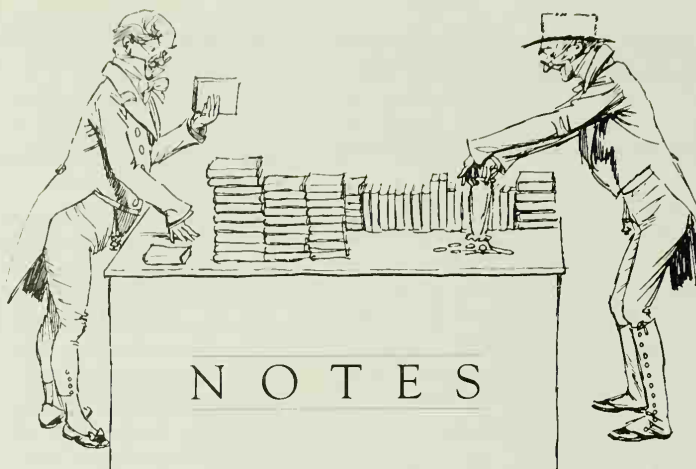
### POSTERS AND PRINTS

After Dark (boxing playbill)	\$7.00
San Francisco Wharf	\$15.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	\$8.00
History of California Women	\$8.00

To order books or magazines, please add postage and handling—\$2.90 for first item, \$.75 for each additional item. Add California sales tax (8¼%) to all book orders. Prices are subject to change—please call for current listings. Send orders to CHS Books, 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109.

Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.





Pisani, "Water Law," pp. 242-257.

1. On the historiography of nineteenth-century western water law see Donald J. Pisani, "Enterprise and Equity: A Critique of Western Water Law in the Nineteenth Century," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (Jan. 1987): 15-37. For a small sample of the historical literature on the origins of water law in California during the 1850s, see Douglas R. Littlefield, "Water Rights during the California Gold Rush: Conflicts over Economic Points of View," *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (Oct. 1983): 415-34; Gordon R. Miller, "Shaping California Water Law, 1781-1928," *Southern California Quarterly* 55 (Spring 1973): 9-42; and Pisani, "The Crucible of Western Water Law," in *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 30-53. I have relied heavily on Littlefield's provocative article. It traces three leading water cases in Nevada and El Dorado counties from miners' arbitration committees to the supreme court. Littlefield was the first professional historian to show that inconsistencies in California water law developed largely from variations in local mining conditions.

The common law doctrine of riparian rights, which prevailed throughout the humid eastern half of the nation in 1850, restricted water use to those who owned land adjoining streams. ("Riparian" derived from the Latin word for "river-bank.") At that time, the law did not regard water as a species of property apart from the land. In theory, each riparian owner had the right to an uninterrupted flow of water, undiminished in quantity or quality. (In practice, legislatures and courts often permitted diversions for the purpose of powering machines in mills and factories, or to fill canals, but only if landowners were compensated for damages.) Riparian rights had no independent existence; they could be defined only in relation to each other. They were based on geogra-

phy and reflected traditional uses of water in a water-rich environment. A second system of water law, prior appropriation, originated in California. By granting the first person or group that tapped a stream an absolute right not just to use water, but to sell it and transport it, prior appropriation relied on time, rather than place, to allocate this resource.

2. Herbert O. Lang, *A History of Tuolumne County California* (San Francisco, 1882), 99-100; *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), May 14, 1850; *Weekly Columbian* (Columbia, Calif.), Nov. 8, 1856.
3. *Stockton Times* (Stockton, Calif.), April 13, 1850. Also see the *Stockton Journal*, March 15, 1851.
4. *Daily Alta California*, Aug. 4, 1852.
5. *Columbia Gazette* (Columbia, Calif.), Oct. 30, 1852. The *Gazette* invariably portrayed the water company as a public benefactor—as local newspapers later depicted early railroads—pointing out that large-scale mining could not exist in the county without it. See particularly the issues of February 19, April 9, and June 25, 1853. Also see William R. Kenny, "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California, 1848-1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1955), 298-305.
6. Lang, *History of Tuolumne County California*, 127-28; *Daily Alta California*, Nov. 23, 1852.
7. Kenny, "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California, 1848-1860," 301; *Daily Alta California*, Sept. 16, Nov. 29, and Dec. 1, 1852.
8. *Daily Alta California*, Feb. 11 and April 29, 1853; *Columbia Gazette*, Jan. 22, Feb. 12, April 9 and 23, and Oct. 29, 1853.
9. *Daily Alta California*, Aug. 2, 1853; *Columbia Gazette*, April 1 and 29, 1854. The daily income of miners averaged about twenty dollars in 1848, but declined to ten dollars in 1850, five dollars in 1853, and three dollars in the late 1850s; Philip Ross May, *Origins of Hydraulic Mining in California* (Oakland, Calif., 1970), 25.
10. The Tuolumne Hydraulic Company's enormously expensive system headed at the

Tuolumne River at five thousand feet, where a dam impounded the water. The system had been costly to build because the country between the river and the mining camps it served—Sonora, Camp Seco, Yorktown, Poverty Hill, Chinese Camp, Chile Camp, Sullivan's Creek, and Montezuma Flats—was extremely rugged, requiring extensive, heavy flumes and the excavation of ditches in solid rock. The Tuolumne County Water Company had been wise to tap the much more accessible Stanislaus River. The *Alta* of Oct. 8, 1855, reported that the Tuolumne Hydraulic Company's fifty-mile canal had cost \$300,000 to build, about the same amount that had been spent on the Tuolumne County Water Company's works. The *San Francisco Daily Herald*, Jan. 28, 1856, estimated that as of that date more than \$2.5 million had been invested in Tuolumne County hydraulic works.

11. *Daily Alta California*, July 14 and Dec. 8, 1853, Jan. 1, 1854.
12. *Daily Alta California*, March 17 (quote), 27, and 28, 1855. Strikes against private water companies were very common during the middle 1850s. See, for example, the *Weekly San Joaquin Republican* (Stockton, Calif.), Dec. 1, 1855 and March 29, 1856, which recounted conflicts near Nevada City and in the Chile District of Mariposa County.
13. *Columbia Gazette*, Oct. 7, 1854; *Weekly Columbian*, Nov. 22, 1856.
14. *Columbia Gazette*, Oct. 14, 1854; *Tuolumne Courier* (Columbia, Calif.), Nov. 13 and Dec. 4, 1858; Lang, *History of Tuolumne County, California*, 162-78; Edna Bryan Buckbee, *The Saga of Old Tuolumne* (New York, 1935), 265-81; John Heckendorn and W. A. Wilson, *Miners & Business Men's Directory for the Year Commencing January 1st, 1856* (Columbia, Calif., 1856), 25; Tyrrell Martinez and Frank J. Drummond, "The Early Mining Laws of Tuolumne and Calaveras Counties," undated typescript at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 24.
15. *Weekly San Joaquin Republican*, April 12, 1856; Kenny, "History of the Sonora Min-

- ing Region of California, 1848-1860," 426.
16. *Weekly Columbian*, Dec. 13, 1856 (quote), March 28 and April 4, 1857; *Weekly San Joaquin Republican*, July 25, 1857; *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 17, 1858.
17. William H. Hutchinson, "An Early-Day Memory," *Overland Monthly* 22 (Sept. 1893): 259-60; *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 3, 1858.
18. Kenny, "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California, 1848-1860," 440. The *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 19, 1859, reported that the exodus to the Fraser River country alone had reduced the assessed value of property in Tuolumne County by ten percent.
19. *Tuolumne Courier*, May 7, 1859, Oct. 13 and 27, 1860.
20. *Columbia Weekly News*, Feb. 24, May 26, and Aug. 18, 1859; *Columbia Times* (Columbia, Calif.), Feb. 2 and 9, July 5, 14, and 25, Sept. 13 and 27, Oct. 11 and 18, Nov. 22 and 29, 1860; March 21, 1861. The quotes are from the issues of July 5 and Oct. 18. Also see Kenny, "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California, 1848-1860," 449-50.
21. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Nov. 14, 1861; *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 20, 1862. The *Alta* estimated that this system had cost nearly \$4 million to construct. Probably no more than one-quarter to one-third of that amount had been invested by the Tuolumne County Water Company.
22. The quote is from John Carr, *Pioneer Days in California* (Eureka, Calif., 1891), 142. Also see Isaac Cox, *Annals of Trinity County* (San Francisco, 1858), 53, and James W. Bartlett, *Trinity County California* (Sacramento, 1926), 13. Miners throughout California joined together to turn rivers from their courses during the early 1850s. For example, the *Daily Alta California*, July 30, 1851, reported that dams were being erected on the north, south, and middle forks of the American River and that miners working the beds of those streams averaged \$200 a day per person. Along the middle fork, the entire stream had been turned out of its bed for miles.
23. Cox, *Annals of Trinity County*, 157. Claim sizes varied from camp to camp and district to district. Some districts did provide larger claims to groups of miners who constructed ditches. For example, one of the first miners to arrive at Yankee Jim's in Placer County in 1850 recounted that he was driven from his claim by a ditch owner who said: "Stranger, do you see that ar ditch up thar? The laws here is that a man claims everything below his mining ditch. That ditch belongs to me, and you had better git from here, or I'll call a meetin' of the miners." See the *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), March 1, 1859.
24. Cox, *Annals of Trinity County*, 191-93.
25. Helen Loomis, "Search for William Ware," *Trinity*, 1983; *Official Yearbook, Trinity County Historical Society* (Weaverville, Calif., 1983), 23-24; *Shasta Courier* (Shasta, Calif.), May 14, 1853.
26. Isaac Cox, who published the first Trinity County history in 1858, noted that the Ware and Howe races carried sufficient water to serve twenty-four long toms while the fourteen races downstream, which were collectively over twice as long as the Ware and Howe systems, had a capacity to serve 190 toms. See Cox, *Annals of Trinity County*, 158-60.
27. Carr, *Pioneer Days in California*, 254-62 (the quote is from 261); Cox, *Annals of Trinity County*, 159-60, 191-93.
28. *Shasta Courier*, June 11, 1853; "Mining Laws," in *Tenth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1885), v. 14, 278-79; Charles J. Hughes, "The Evolution of Mining Law," in *Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association Held at Denver, Colorado, August 21, 22, and 23, 1901* (Philadelphia, 1901), 332-34.
29. *Shasta Courier*, June 25, 1853.
30. Hughes, "The Evolution of Mining Law," 333; John F. Davis, *Historical Sketch of the Mining Law in California* (Los Angeles, 1902), 31-32.
31. *Democratic State Journal* (Sacramento), Dec. 10, 1853; *Shasta Courier*, Jan. 14, 1854.
32. Bartlett, *Trinity County California*, 12; *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 23, 1859. On May 26, 1857, the *Alta California* reported that Trinity County contained the largest number of mining ditches of any California county—120 of the state's total of 325. These were all relatively small and technologically unsophisticated, no match for the elaborate water systems in Nevada or El Dorado counties.
33. The quotes from Judge McCorkle's decision in *Davis v. Ware*, decided on April 21, 1854, are as reprinted in Oscar T. Shuck, "Our First Water Rights Decision," in *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), 362.
34. Cox, *Annals of Trinity County*, 192. Cox also noted that when he finished his book during the summer of 1858, the miners were "in a full blaze of litigation," which he promised would do nothing but enrich lawyers and check "all desire in [the] future on the part of such as might otherwise feel inducement to invest money and labor in works for public good, to do so." (160)
35. Thomas M. Marshall, "The Miner's Laws of Colorado," *American Historical Review* 25 (April 1920): 431; Charles H. Shinn, *Land Laws of Mining Districts*, (Baltimore; 1884), 57-58.
36. Shinn, *Land Laws of Mining Districts*, 61; Shinn, *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885), 256.
- Chandler, "Wells Fargo," pp. 258-277.
1. Peter F. Ewer, Sacramento, November 2, 1851, to Warren B. Ewer; J. Crawford, Panama, April 7, 1852, to J. Woodward, Honesdale, Pennsylvania, R. J. Chandler Collection.
2. California Constitution, 1849, Article IV, Sections 34-35; J. A. Hobart, San Francisco, September 8, 1851, to W. Bucknam, Columbia, Maine, R. J. Chandler Collection. Leroy Armstrong and J. O. Denny, in *Financial California* (San Francisco, 1916), 16-19, described the legal basis of California banking. The best state study remains Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire: History of Banking in California* 4 vols. (Chicago, 1927). For the experiences of an early banker, including the harrowing one of being burnt out in 1851, see *Letters of an Argonaut: Extracts from the Correspondence of the Pioneer Banker, Thomas Goodwin Wells*, ed. by Benjamin W. Wells (Los Angeles, 1905), reprinted from *Out West*. A detailed, almost daily account of operations from 1853 to 1857 by the manager of Lucas, Turner & Co. is Dwight L. Clarke's *William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker* (San Francisco, 1969), while Sherman recalled events in *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* 2 vols. (New York, 1875), I:100-16, and reprinted, Sherman, *Recollections of California* (Oakland, 1945), 78-100. Sherman designed Lucas, Turner & Co.'s building and it still stands at the northeast corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets as the one surviving Gold Rush bank building. In 1861, Charles T. Blake described the activities of the Folsom establishment of C. T. H. Palmer—private banker, assayer, and Wells Fargo express agent, in Anson S. Blake, ed., "Working for Wells Fargo—1860-1863: Letters of Charles T. Blake," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 16 (March and June 1937): 30-42, 172-81. See also Robert D. Livingston, "Folsom's Pioneer Entrepreneur: C. T. H. Palmer," forthcoming. Essential for the economic basis of Gold Rush California are Thomas Senior Berry, *Early California: Gold, Prices, Trade* (Richmond, 1984); Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York, 1974); Peter R. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Cambridge, 1978); and Robert M. Senkewicz, S. J., *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (Stanford, 1985).
3. Thomas C. Wells, Walpole, New Hampshire, December 30, 1848, to Dr. Phineas P. Wells, typescript, Wells Fargo & Company Archives, San Francisco; business card of "Thomas G. Wells, Specie and Exchange Office, San Francisco, 1849," Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Cross, *Financing an Empire*, I:52-57.
4. Cross, *Financing an Empire* I:41-43, 121-22; Berry, *Early California*, 96-110; Tables for Receiving and Paying Gold Dust at \$17 per Ounce, *The Stockton Directory and Emigrants'*



- Guide to the Southern Mines (Stockton, 1852), 56-57.
5. Journal entry, July 31, 1851, in Shirley H. Weber, ed., *Schliemann's First Visit to America, 1850-1851* (Cambridge, 1942), 65-66; and see John F. Wilhelm, "Heinrich Schliemann's Sacramento Connection," *California History* 63 (Summer 1984): 224-29. Schliemann's California gold helped finance his search for Troy.
6. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:103.
7. Orville Sedgewick, Special Deposit, Todd & Co., Stockton, January 25, 1851, copy courtesy of Robert D. Livingston, Sacramento. Sedgewick paid a one-half percent monthly fee.
8. Wells Fargo banker Reuben W. Washburn, San Francisco, January 12, 1853, to President Edwin B. Morgan, Carter-Washburn correspondence, Wells College, Aurora, New York, copy Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Joseph P. Allyn, San Francisco, March 15, 1866, published in *Hartford Evening Press*, July 11, 1866, in John Nicolson and David K. Strate, eds., *By Horse, Stage & Packet: The Far West Letter of Joseph Pratt Allyn* (San Francisco, 1988), 50-51; and see Ezra S. Carr, *The Patrons of Husbandry on the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco, 1875), 416-17; *California Statutes*, 1854, Chap. 79, art. 3, pp. 106-109.
9. John K. Osgood of Alsop & Co., San Francisco, May 27, 1863, to Benjamin Stark, R. J. Chandler Collection; Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, 61.
10. William B. Clark, *Gold Districts of California*, Bulletin 193 (San Francisco: California Division of Mines and Geology, 1970), 4; Thomas Senior Berry, in "Gold! But How Much?" *California Historical Quarterly* 55 (Fall 1976): 251, gave more conservative figures: 1850, \$53 million; 1851, \$65 million; and 1852, \$67 million; Hobart to Bucknam, September 8, 1851, R. J. Chandler Collection; *Sacramento Union*, May 30, 1851; Rochester worked in Wells Fargo's New York office 1852-3, was agent at Marysville, 1853-4, and agent at Sacramento, 1854-7; Peter Z. Grossman, *American Express: The Unofficial History of the People Who Built the Great Financial Empire* (New York, 1987), 44-63; Wells, Fargo & Co., Articles of Incorporation, March 18, 1852, New York, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Wells, Fargo & Co. circular, January 27, 1855, MSS 1583, C. C. Beekman Collection, Oregon Historical Society, Portland; see advertisement in the *San Francisco Pacific*, August 12, 1852. The original address was 114 Montgomery, but in 1861, when the city renumbered streets, it became 424. For general histories, see Noel Loomis, *Wells Fargo* (New York, 1968); Wells Fargo Bank History Department, *Wells Fargo: Since 1852* (San Francisco, 1988); and Robert J. Chandler, "William George Fargo," "Henry Wells," and "Wells Fargo & Company," in Larry Schweikart, ed., *Banking and Finance to 1913*, in the *Encyclopedia of American Business History and Biography* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1990), 170-73, 491-99.
11. Washburn, January 12, 1853, to Morgan, Carter-Washburn Correspondence. A. W. Morgan's *San Francisco City Directory, September 1852* (San Francisco, 1852), 94, listed twenty bankers.
12. Samuel P. Carter, to Wells, Fargo & Co., Carter-Washburn Correspondence; see the "barley" (gold dust) correspondence from A. A. Cohen to I. C. Woods, July 6, to October 22, 1852, in *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 10, 1856, and *Arguments of the Hon. Edward Stanly . . . and T. W. Park . . . in the Case of Adams & Co. . . . versus Alfred A. Cohen . . . Hon. John S. Hager, Presiding, March 1856* (San Francisco, 1856), 10, 49, 73-76; Page, Bacon & Co. partner David Chambers complained that between December 1, 1850, and February 18, 1855, Woods and Cohen sold them 200,000 ounces of inferior gold dust. Former Adams employees H. A. Whiting and James King of William were Chamber's sources. *San Francisco Alta California*, July 13, 1855; Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, 421.
13. Carter, San Francisco, November 30, 1852, to Colonel James McKay, Secretary; Henry Wells, San Francisco, February 15, 1853, to President E. B. Morgan; *Truly Yours Henry Wells* (Aurora, New York: Wells College Press, 1945), 17; Wells, Fargo & Co., Minutes, January 17, 1854; Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
14. Wells, February 14, 1853, to Wells, Fargo & Co.; Wells, February 15, 1853, to E. B. Morgan; in *Truly Yours*, 9, 12, 17.
15. Samuel J. Jones, Express Department, San Francisco, May 9, 1853, to William H. Barnhart, Portland, Barnhart Correspondence, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.
16. Reuben H. Washburn, May 9, September 8, 1853, to Barnhart. Unless noted, Washburn is the author of letters cited below from the Barnhart Correspondence.
17. W. H. Barnhart & Co., broadside, April 30, 1853, Oregon Historical Society; also letters of June 21, July 8, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence.
18. June 7, September 8, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence.
19. July 8, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence. See "Value of Gold and Silver Coin," in *Stockton Directory*, 1852, 55.
20. May 9, 23, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence.
21. Circular, Samuel J. Jones, San Francisco, July 9, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence; Wells Fargo & Co. advertisement, *San Francisco Pacific*, April 8, 1853. It also listed a dozen offices: San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, and Portland, plus Nevada and Grass Valley in Nevada County, Placerville, Coloma, and Georgetown in El Dorado County, and Auburn, Ophir, and Yankee Jim's in Placer County.
22. August 6, October 12, December 7, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence.
23. See September 8, 1853, Barnhart Correspondence. On September 1, 1853, Wells Fargo purchased Todd's Express running to the Southern Mines.
24. "Placer County Branch of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express, August 25, 1852," broadside, Wells Fargo History Museum, San Francisco; *Auburn Placer Herald*, standing advertisement, 1854-1855; John Q. Jackson, Auburn, October 23, 1852, to brother, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
25. Jackson, October 23, 1852; Auburn, February 11, 1854, to father, Petersburg, Virginia, Wells, Fargo & Company Archives.
26. Auburn, September 15, 1854, to father, Wells Fargo & Company Archives. See Adams & Co., ledger recording gold purchased and checks paid from upcountry offices through the Sacramento and Stockton offices, which *Call* reporter Ernest C. Stock used in 1879 as a scrapbook; #5398L, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
27. Washburn, San Francisco, January 12, 1853, to Morgan, (his italics), Carter-Washburn Correspondence.
28. Carter, San Francisco, June 30, 1852, to Wells, Fargo & Co., Carter-Washburn Correspondence; William R. Garrison, San Francisco, July 24, 1855, to Charles A. Whitney, New York, copy courtesy of Irv Vogel; *Alta*, February 2, 1855. In 1854, Adams & Co. of New York spun off the California business and reorganized as Adams Express Company. The California firm retained the name Adams & Co.
29. "Page, Bacon & Co.," San Francisco, February 19, 25, 26, 1855, to H. D. Page; San Francisco, February 26, 1855, to Page & Bacon, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
30. *Alta*, February 23, 24, 1855. Page, Bacon & Co.'s two branches, in Sacramento and Sonora, also suspended; circular, Page, Bacon & Co., San Francisco, February 22, 1855, copy courtesy of Steve Meier, Huntington Beach. A very weakened bank reopened on March 29, but Page, Bacon & Co. closed forever on May 2, 1855, following another run. See *Alta*, May 2-4, 1855.
31. *San Francisco Herald*, February 24, 28, 1855; William T. Sherman, February 25, 1855, in Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, 112; Washburn, San Francisco, April 24, 1855, to Morgan, Carter-Washburn Correspondence. Pardee's lack of supervision aided banker Angus Frierson at Sacramento to embezzle \$200,000. See Robert D. Livingston, "Illuminating Sacramento: Wells Fargo and the Sacramento Gas Company," *Golden Notes* 27 (Winter 1981).
32. Sherman, February 25, 1855, in Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, 112.
33. Sacramento, *California Statesman*, February 24, 1855; *San Francisco Herald*, February 25, 1855; *Alta*, February 24-26, 1855; Grass Valley *Telegraph*, February 27, 1855.



34. Grass Valley Telegraph, February 27, 1855; Herald, February 24, 27, 1855; Alta, February 26, 28, 1855; Jackson, February 24, 1855, to father, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
35. For friction among the partners see, Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, December 8, 1854, 85; January 8, 1855, May 14, 1855 (quote), 143, and Francis W. Page on the subject, 420-33; Sherman, *Memoirs* 1:109; Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, February 25, 1855, 109, see 107-16. Sherman refused to hire any former Page, Bacon & Co. employees at Lucas, Turner & Co. because "their school was a bad one." Clarke, *Gold Rush Banker*, May 8, 1855, 140. For an overview of the multitude of court cases, see Dorothy H. Huggins, comp., *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco: From June 1, 1854 to December 31, 1855* (San Francisco, 1939), 37-103, *passim*.
36. *Put's Golden Songster* (San Francisco, 1858), 39-42. For Woods, see the sympathetic study, Albert Shumate, *The Notorious I. C. Woods of the Adams Express* (Glendale, 1986).
37. Alta February 26, 1856; San Francisco Evening Bulletin, February 27, 1856; *Arguments of Stanly and Park at the Trial of Cohen*, 54-59.
38. *Arguments of Stanly and Park at the Trial of Cohen*, T. W. Park, 50 (quote), and see Bulletin, February 29, 1856; for assets, see Alta, February 26, 28, 29, 1856; *Arguments of Stanly and Park at the Trial of Cohen*, 7-9, 46-48, 67; Bulletin, February 26, 1856; quotes, Bulletin, March 1, 6, 1856.
39. Jackson, Auburn, April 14, 1855, to brother, and June 14, 1855, to father, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
40. Jackson, February 24, 1855, to father, Wells Fargo & Company Archives. Wells Fargo generally numbered its exchanges consecutively, and I calculated the average on twenty-five working days a month (six-day work week). July 13, 1852, #1; December 25, 1853, #8,110; March 29, 1855, #15,853; April 16, 1855, #22,626; January 21, 1863 (Columbia), #253,701.
41. Wells, Fargo & Co., Minutes, January 13 (quote), 15, February 17, 26 (quote), May 14, 1855; February 20, March 6, June 4, 1856 (quote), Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Alta, May 30, December 1, 1855.
42. Jay Monaghan, ed., *The Private Journal of Louis McLane, U.S.N., 1844-1848* (Santa Barbara, 1971), 29.
43. Report of Select Committee Appointed to Investigate Matters Pertaining to the State Treasury Department (Sacramento, 1857), 5-8, and Report of Special Committee Appointed to Ascertain the Whereabouts of Certain Moneys Illegally Paid Out and Abstracted from the State Treasury (Sacramento, 1857), 5. Both reports are bound in the Appendix to the Assembly Journals, Eighth Session (1857). Sacramento Bee, April 6, 1857; "Quis?," Sacramento, April 5; Alta, April 6, 1857. See Frank M. Stewart, "California's First Impeachment, 1857," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 39 (December 1957): 328-39. Stewart concluded that "designing men," who were "reported to be Palmer, Cook and Company," through Rowe, "one of their group," used Bates in "a giant conspiracy to loot the Treasury."
44. Wells Fargo & Co., San Francisco, August 14, 1855, to W. L. Dudley, Mokelumne Hill, #2552, Wells Fargo & Company Archives. The advertisements listing agents appeared for some weeks in the *Alta* and *Bulletin*.
45. Jackson, June 14, 1855, to father, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
46. R. J. Steele, James P. Bull, and F. I. Houston, *Directory of the County of Placer, for the Year 1861* (San Francisco, 1861), 78; see Blake, "Working for Wells Fargo," 34-39 (Folsom, April 15, 1861).
47. Blake, "Working for Wells Fargo," 34.
48. Blake, "Working for Wells Fargo," 34; Sacramento Bee, December 28, 1857; William Daegener, Columbia, June 13, 1860, to Louis McLane, letterpress book 58, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
49. Blake, "Working for Wells Fargo," 35. From 1858 to 1861, Palmer shipped between \$60,000 and \$120,000 monthly. Daegener, June 17, 1860, to McLane, letterpress book 66, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
50. Vansyckle, San Francisco, December 10, 1857; Bell, San Francisco, March 15, 1858, #7663-94, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
51. Bulletin, April 11, 1856; Sacramento Union, October 10, 1857; W. Turrentine Jackson, "Banking, Mail, and Express Service in British North America," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 76 (October 1985): 137-38; Los Angeles Star, May 7, 1859; Edward Hungerford, *Wells Fargo: Advancing the American Frontier* (New York, 1949), 201-04; and Roland Stucki, *Commercial Banking in Utah, 1847-1966* (Salt Lake City, 1967), 12-13, 98. Wells Fargo closed the two Nevada branches in 1891. It sold the Portland and Salt Lake offices in 1905, and the New York bank (opened in 1852) in 1911. In 1905, Wells Fargo & Co. Bank, San Francisco, merged with the Nevada National Bank to become Wells Fargo Nevada National Bank. Today, Wells Fargo Bank is the oldest still functioning bank in the West. Henry G. Langley (comp.), *Pacific Coast Business Directory for 1867* (San Francisco, 1867), 439, 458-59.
52. "Private Banks Changed to Corporate Banks," (on Sather Banking Company) San Francisco, March 23, 1887, clipping in H. H. Hewlett of First National Bank, Stockton, scrapbook, Wells Fargo & Company Archives.
53. Blake, "Working for Wells Fargo," 175 (Bannock-Boise, February 26, 1864, Dear Father and Mother).
54. Wells, Fargo & Co. circular, "To Our Agents," March 29, 1859, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Though generally numbered chronologically, not enough exchanges have been recorded to resolve inconsistencies; Exchanges, January 18, 1861 (Folsom), #205,601; October 15, 1861 (Stockton), #218,254; December 13, 1862 (Marysville), #250,309; January 21, 1863 (Columbia), #253,701; November 3, 1863, #262,427; November 11, 1863 (Folsom), #281,401; March 23, 1864 (Stockton), #285,834; June 3, 1865, #300,424; November 7, 1866, #308,023; November 2, 1868, #340,673; compiled from William H. Knight, ed., *Handbook Almanac for the Pacific States, 1863 and 1864* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Company, 1863, 1864), 127-274; 132-267.
55. Armstrong and Denny, *Financial California*, 20-22.
56. Cecil G. Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston: Courageous Builder* (Boston, 1935). See Neill C. Wilson, *400 California Street: The Story of the Bank of California* (San Francisco, 1964), 14-17, and David Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco* (Palo Alto: 1975); Carr, *Patrons of Husbandry*, 416.
57. Minutes, June 13, 1866, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; San Francisco Assaying and Refining Works advertisement, *California Business Register* (July 1868), 15. See San Francisco Assaying and Refining Works, *Tables of the Value of Gold and Silver per Ounce Troy, at Different Degrees of Fineness* (San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1867).
58. Report of the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment, Senate Report #47, 41st Cong, 2nd Session (1870), 276-78; see Louis A. Garnett, *A Letter to the Secretary of the Treasury in Reference to the Present Mint System of the United States* (San Francisco: Alta California Printing House, 1867), and *The Refining and Coining of Gold and the Mint Charges Therefore, Considered with Reference to Our Excessive Exports and Diminished Coinage* (San Francisco: Bacon & Company, 1869); Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 281-84, 292, 331-34; "Selby Smelting and Lead Company," *The Bay of San Francisco* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1892), II: 434. In 1896, Wells Fargo president John J. Valentine thought his "personal friend" Garnett was "as well informed a man upon the subject [of money] as I have ever come in contact with." See "A Layman" [Valentine], *Money. The Silver Question and Hard Times* (1896), 4. McLane, Hayward, and Parrott also directed the Golden City Chemical Works. It locally made the acids necessary to refine gold, thereby cutting costs and customer fees. See San Francisco Spirit of the Times, July 8, 1867.
59. Alta, April 17, 1866; Wells, Fargo & Co., circulars, May 1, 1866, September 3, 1866, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Mokelumne Hill Calaveras Chronicle, January 5, 1867; Stockton Independent, August 31, 1868.
60. Loomis, Wells Fargo, 178-89.
61. Wells, Fargo & Co., circular, April 8, 1867, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for*

- the Year Commencing September, 1867 (San Francisco, 1867), 199 (Forbes); Circular, July 4, 1868, signed by McLane as General Agent, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; Langley, *The San Francisco Directory of the Year Commencing October, 1868* (San Francisco, 1868), 336 (Latham); J. K. S. Latham, Superintendent, July 26, 1870, to William Daegener, #6858-25, Wells Fargo & Company Archives; *Bulletin*, August 11, 1870.
62. Robert D. Livingston, "Pacific Expresses: Many with Short Lives," *Western Express* 36 (October 1896); 11-15; Alonzo Phelps, *Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men* (San Francisco, 1882), 178. In 1876, King left Wells Fargo to become a stock broker, but returned in 1892 to manage the bank. In 1905, he assumed the presidency of the Bank of California and the San Francisco Clearing House, retiring from both in 1909.
  63. Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank, January 8, 1873, to William Daegener, #7667-2, Wells Fargo & Company Archives. There is a gap in the Columbia correspondence between June 1872 (banking department) and January 1873 (Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Bank). L. O. Head, "History of Wells Fargo & Company" (ca. 1917), 209, Wells Fargo & Company Archives. The annual percentage of company earnings that the bank contributed between 1870 and 1876 was: 1870, 35%; 1871, 39%; 1872, 40%; 1873, 40%; 1874, 32%; 1875, 36%; and 1876, 32%; Robert J. Chandler, *San Francisco Clearing House Certificates: Last of California's Private Money* (Reno, 1986), 5-7; William Franklin Hess, "The Bank's First Move," *Wells Fargo Nevada* 1 (March 1920): 6.
  64. Alta, August 27, 28, 1875; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 348-85.
  65. Hess, "Forty-five Years with Bank," *Wells Fargo Nevada* 1 (October 1919): 3-4; *Bulletin*, August 27, 1875; *Alta*, August 28, 1875.

**Burbank**, "Reagan and Reform," pp. 278-287.

An earlier version of this essay was read at the Northern Great Plains History Conference, St. Cloud, Minnesota, October 5, 1989.

1. *Sacramento Bee*, August 13, 1971. The author gratefully acknowledges support for this research in the form of an American Studies grant from the United States Embassy, Ottawa, Canada, and a major internal grant from the University of Winnipeg.
2. For recent descriptions of the history of social aid policy, see David T. Ellwood, *Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family* (New York, 1988), 26-39; and Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York, 1986), 251-73.
3. William Bagley, "Some Complexities of

Social Progress and Fiscal Reform," An Interview Conducted by Gabrielle Morris in 1981, Government History Documentation Project, Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 34.

Some scholars may ask for a word of justification for the heavy reliance on oral history and personal interview material in this essay. The scrupulously-prepared oral history interviews for William Bagley and Robert Moretti will likely remain the best sources for their political tactics *vis-a-vis* Governor Reagan's administration. Neither the Moretti papers at the California State Archives in Sacramento, nor the Bagley papers at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley yield much in the way of inside maneuver and the private thinking of these important state politicians. Moretti himself recalled the critical need for private debate and public solidarity: "The one thing that the group around me did was to hammer out our differences in private. When there was a difference of opinion, we got together and we beat on each other until we reached a compromise. Once we left my office we were together, and as far as the public knew we hadn't had all these fights and arguments and what have you. I just think it is stupid to fight in public when there is a way to resolve a problem. You do it privately. . . ."; Robert Moretti, "Recollections of an Assembly Speaker," An Oral History Interview Conducted by Steven D. Edgington, California Government History Documentation Project, The Reagan Era, Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 185.

4. *Sacramento Bee*, June 10, 11, 1971.
5. Speech by Governor Ronald Reagan to Los Angeles Town Hall Forum, June 23, 1971. The text is available from the Hoover Institution Archives, Ronald Reagan Collection, Press Unit 30, Speeches 1971. President Reagan offered the same argument about "skyrocketing" costs in a recent letter; Ronald Reagan to the author, April 10, 1989.
6. *Oakland Tribune*, August 5, 6, 1971. The Democrats' Assembly leader, Speaker Bob Moretti, said at a critical moment, "We are going to do everything we can to keep them from becoming slaves or going hungry." The poor had to have "some basic subsistence." See also his reflections on the controversy in Robert Moretti, "Recollections of an Assembly Speaker," An Interview Conducted by Steven D. Edgington, California Government History Documentation Project, The Reagan Era, Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 174-75.
7. *Sacramento Bee*, May 1, 3, 4, 1971. Also see Excerpts of Remarks by Governor Ronald Reagan to Welfare Reform Rally,

Sacramento, May 24, 1971; Hoover Institution Archives, Reagan Collection, Press Unit, May 24, 1971. In a 1973 interview, Robert B. Carleson, Reagan's director of social welfare, contended that the "thirty and one-third" rule meant that a Los Angeles area mother of three would have to exceed \$1,300 per month in outside earnings before being dropped from the welfare rolls; interview with Robert B. Carleson, *Nation's Business* (August 1973), 17-19.

8. Reagan Remarks to Welfare Reform Rally, Sacramento, May 24, 1971.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Sacramento Bee*, June 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 15, and (especially) 24, for Democratic anger at claims made by Reagan and Carleson. When pressed by an astute and well-informed oral history interviewer to explain the origins of the estimated savings to be derived from welfare reform, Carleson recalled that he had "a great big, long laundry list of maybe eighty things" that were, to his mind, the "right" things to do without having equally precise estimates of savings. In the middle of a major budget meeting, with Reagan and Finance Director Verne Orr looking on, Carleson offered \$100 million as the amount to be saved from four particular changes. The final figure, he recalled, was \$212 million in savings. Carleson's recollections, in my judgment, make it seem as if the predicted savings were almost an afterthought, abruptly and roughly calculated when the governor and finance director put him on the spot. "I can remember the feeling I got," said Carleson. "I was sure we could [save \$100 million with four major changes], but all of a sudden the responsibility [struck him]."; Robert Carleson, "Stemming the Welfare Tide," An Interview conducted by Gabrielle Morris in 1983, Government History Documentation Project, Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, 42-44. Courtesy, The Bancroft Library.
11. *Sacramento Bee* and *Oakland Tribune*, May 13, 1971. Moretti charged that the governor was using the issue to build himself up as a rival to President Nixon. "I wish he would stop hassling the President," said Moretti. In discussing proposed revisions and reforms in California's welfare practices, the Nixon administration carefully anticipated some of the arguments that the governor made when he eventually met the president in late August 1971. Nixon's advisors apparently believed that Ronald Reagan was trying to upstage the president as a "conservative" reformer. See the memorandum from John Erlichman to the president (actually prepared by Jack Veneman, undersecretary of health, education, and welfare), August 19, 1971; John G. Veneman Papers, Box number



11. Folder: DHEW-White House Memos, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, California.
  12. One policy analyst suggests that HEW's threat to cut off federal funds was an empty gesture, since neither the governor nor the voters had much enthusiasm for maintaining welfare recipients; Frank Levy, "What Ronald Reagan Can Teach the United States about Welfare Reform," in *American Politics and Public Policy*, edited by Walter Dean Burnham and Martha Wagner Weinberg (Cambridge, Mass.: paperback edition, 1980), 336-63. The comment is on 347.
  13. Reagan could never wholly assure the supervisors of numerous counties that closed-end budgeting would not result in a major cost-shift to local taxpayers. For instances of the concern, see *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1971; *Orange County Register*, July 21, 1971; and *Sacramento Bee*, July 28, 30, 1971. Major urban counties filed suit in the state supreme court to challenge Reagan's veto of the "open-end" budget language; *Bee*, July 28, 1977.
  14. *Sacramento Bee*, June 24, 1971.
  15. For Moretti's personal background and his rise to the speakership, see Robert Moretti, "Recollections of an Assembly Speaker," 145-51.
  16. Moretti, "Recollections . . .," 174. Senator Anthony Beilenson, who was a "pure" liberal if there ever was one, also acknowledged the occasional reality of welfare fraud. He was wary, though, of any attempt to use the fraud issue to introduce what he termed "bad stuff" into the general law. To keep the idea of "fraud" from serving as a pretext for harsh reductions and restrictions was, he recalled, his main goal in the negotiations; Anthony C. Beilenson, "Securing Liberal Legislation During The Reagan Administration," transcript of a tape-recorded interview conducted by Steven Edgington, 1982; University of California, Los Angeles, Oral History Program, 50, 55-56.
  17. "Oral History Interview with Hon. John L. Burton," by Julie Shearer, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; California State Archives, State Government Oral History Program, 38.
  18. Recent studies of the welfare puzzle, reflecting a variety of ideological positions, have commented on both change and resistance to change in social theories about welfare; Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*; David T. Ellwood, *Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family*; Charles Murray, *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980* (New York, 1984); Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Crises in Welfare," in *Coping: Essays on The Practice of Government* (New York, 1961, 1968, 1973).
- Despite their many disagreements, all of these commentators note the enormous growth of AFDC payments and the changed social characteristics of recipients in the 1960s.
19. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Annual Income* (New York, 1973).
  20. *Sacramento Bee*, June 7, 1971.
  21. Journalists assigned to the Sacramento beat in the Reagan era have given essentially similar accounts of the letter and the meeting; Bill Boyarsky, *Ronald Reagan: His Life and Rise to the Presidency* (New York, 1981), 136-39, says that Moretti told Bill Stall, the AP bureau chief, the gist of the conversation soon after emerging from the governor's office.
  22. Boyarsky, 136-39; and Lou Cannon, *Reagan* (New York, 1982), 179-82, who says that Reagan's subsequent campaign accounts of this issue portray a humbled Democratic leader arriving to say "Stop those cards and letters" [from outraged citizens who had joined a Reagan-endorsed "Citizens for Welfare Reform" movement]. In light of the sparring matches of the preceding weeks, such a response would have seemed uncharacteristically abject and sheepish on Moretti's part.
  23. Telephone interview with Bill Bagley, San Francisco, Calif., May 30, 1989; also Bagley, "Some Complexities of Social Progress and Fiscal Reform," 32-35; Boyarsky, 136-39; and Moretti, "Recollections," 173-75. See also *Sacramento Bee*, August 15, 1971.
  24. *Oakland Tribune*, August 3, 1971. For evidence that some northern California liberals were unhappy with Moretti's election as Speaker, see *Oakland Tribune*, May 2, 1971.
  25. Governor Reagan's speeches, May 24, June 23, 1971, previously cited. *Sacramento Bee*, August 6, 1971, and *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1971; and Ronald Reagan to the author, April 10, 1989.
  26. Telephone interview with Bill Bagley, in San Francisco, May 30, 1989; and *Sacramento Bee*, August 15, 1971. Bagley recalled that at one heated moment Reagan's reading glasses slipped off his nose and slid across the table. The Democrats held a mock debate on whether to restore the governor to the world of readers.
  27. Telephone interview with Bill Bagley, May 30, 1989. In his own recollections, Carleson declared himself in favor of a "city manager's" normal technique of "quiet, conciliatory, working things out. . . ." In this instance, however, he was convinced that securing thorough-going welfare reform would require a "confrontational" approach. As he put it, "But the welfare bureaucracy . . . was arm-in-arm with the welfare rights groups and politically [they were] very close to our greatest political enemies, I mean the Burtons. . . ."
- Carleson fully intended that his new broom would sweep very cleanly indeed; Robert Carleson, "Stemming the Welfare Tide," 34-35, 52-54. Courtesy, The Bancroft Library.
28. Telephone interview with Thomas Dooley, Legislative Analyst's Office in Sacramento, June 14, 1989. Dooley worked in the Legislative Analyst's office in 1971, assigned to do fiscal analysis of health and welfare proposals. In that capacity he was present at the session described in the text, prepared to offer expert advice to the negotiators.
  29. Bagley and Dooley telephone interviews, previously cited.
  30. See also *Sacramento Bee*, August 15, 1971, where it is reported that the Democrats found Dr. Earl Brian most effective in communicating legislators' positions to the governor's negotiators. Brian recalled that striking up a friendship with Moretti through their mutual enjoyment of "serious tennis" had led to "a very close relationship that effectively allowed me to get close enough to negotiate that bill with him." Moretti was, in Brian's estimate, "a great man" who had a shrewd sense of where to find the firmest ground for successful compromise of the most contentious issues.
- In contrast, Brian found Carleson sadly lacking in political skill, not a "good manager," and very "hard to get along with"; Earl W. Brian, "Health and Welfare Policy, 1970-1974: A Narrow Spectrum of Debate," An Interview Conducted by Gabrielle Morris in 1983, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, California, Government History Documentation Project, Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era, 13-14, 16-18, 21-11, 30; courtesy, The Bancroft Library.
31. *Sacramento Bee*, August 15, 1971; Bagley telephone interview, May 30, 1989.
  32. Moretti, "Recollections," 156.
  33. Bagley, telephone interview, May 30, 1989.
  34. Moretti, "Recollections," 174.
  35. *Sacramento Bee*, July 28, 30, 1971.
  36. Such fears could not be entirely subdued even in "Reagan country" like Orange County, where the county supervisors hotly debated the effects of a "closed-end" state welfare budget; *Orange County Register* July 21, 22, 1971. Senator Joseph Kennick, (D), Long Beach, stated that no Los Angeles area legislator who wished to be re-elected could possibly support a "closed-end" state welfare budget. The County Supervisors Association of California also announced its opposition to the Reagan plan; *Sacramento Bee*, June 10, 1971.
  37. The best account of the bill as passed (60-9 in the Assembly) may be found in *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1971.
- The ensuing legal battles over the new legislation may be studied in two law review articles by the protagonists: Anthony



- Beilenson and Larry Agran, "The Welfare Reform Act of 1971," *Pacific Law Review* 3 (July 1972): 475-502; and the reply by Ronald A. Zumbrun (Carleson's chief legal aide), Raymond M. Monboisse, and John H. Findley, "Welfare Reform: California Meets The Challenge," *Pacific Law Review* 4 (July 1973): 739-85.
38. A good brief account may be found in Ellwood, *Poor Support*, 33-39. For a contrasting account that indicts the "structural inequalities" of America's "political economy," see Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 251-73. Katz grudgingly acknowledges that the American people might have some reason to believe that welfare reduces the impulse to work and deepens dependency.
  39. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Crises in Welfare," in *Coping* (New York, 1961-1973), 145-60, makes this point persuasively.
  40. Speech of Governor Ronald Reagan, May 24, 1971.
  41. Los Angeles Times, August 15, 1971, interview with Governor Ronald Reagan.
  42. Moretti, "Recollections," 174, 178.
  43. Los Angeles Times, August 12, 1971.
  44. Ibid.
  45. Sacramento Bee, August 15, 1971.
  46. Los Angeles Times, August 10, 1971.
  47. Ibid., August 12, 1971.
  48. Ibid.
  49. Oakland Tribune, August 12, 1971.
  50. Ibid., August 11, 1971.
  51. Ibid., August 13, 1971.
  52. Ibid.
  53. Ibid., August 6, 1971: "We have," sighed Bagley, "done all that is humanly possible to reform welfare and see that kids are still eating."
  54. Jerome Evans, "Welfare Reform Revisited," *California Journal* 3 (December 1972): 352-55, 375-78. The statistics for caseload are on pp. 375-76; Sacramento Bee, July 2, 1972, "Taxable Sales soared . . ."; telephone interview with Thomas Dooley, Sacramento, June 14, 1989; Frank Levy, "What Ronald Reagan Can Teach the U.S. about Welfare Reform," previously cited. Robert Carleson, defending the utility of the reforms, pointed to the enormous growth in the number of recipients during the prosperous 1960s; *Nation's Business* (Autumn 1973), previously cited. There was a seven per cent decline in AFDC expenditures between fiscal 1972-73. Figures are available in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*.
  55. Compare the figures in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1971), (1980). Inflation in the 1970s probably accounts for a good part of the increase. In a recently-published oral history interview, longtime assistant director of the state Welfare Department, Verne E. Gleason, argues that the Reagan reforms ended up costing more money because Carleson and his advisors did not fully understand trends in family size. "This is where Bob Rosenberg and I did him in," said Gleason. He advised Rosenberg, the Assembly's researcher on welfare issues, that the small families of the "truly needy" were increasing in number between 1964 and 1974. There were, in Gleason's estimate, fewer and fewer of the large families that would hit the "ceiling" imposed by the Welfare Reform Act; "Oral History Interview with Verne E. Gleason," by James Leiby and Julie Gordon Shearer, for the Ronald Reagan Era Governmental History Project, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, and State Government Oral History Program, California State Archives, pp. 74-75, 79-80. Courtesy, State Government Oral History Program.
  56. As of 1977, the number of AFDC recipients had not returned to the 1970 level of 1,542,000. The numbers (in thousands) from 1971 were 1520; 1972, 1445; 1973, 1330; 1974, 1346; 1975, 1429; 1976, 1434; 1977, 1434; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Davis is quoted in the Sacramento Bee as saying that abortions quadrupled between 1969 and 1970; Sacramento Bee, July 28, 1972. The careful language of the Legislative Analyst in 1975 confirmed earlier speculation: "Projected AFDC-FG Decrease. The budget projects a small increase in the number of families receiving family group benefits. However, this group is more than offset by a reduction in the number of children per family. The budget anticipates that this 'person' reduction will result in budget year caseload reductions being \$4.8 million less than current year expenditures" (my italics); Analysis of the Budget Bill of the State of California for the fiscal year July 1, 1975, to June 30, 1976, Report of the Legislative Analyst to the Joint Legislative Budget Committee, Item 287, 544-46. I am indebted to Bill Bagley of San Francisco for leading me to this document and for his earlier suggestion that the liberalized abortion law, signed by Ronald Reagan, reduced the number of poor children of AFDC; Bagley interview, May 30, 1989.
  57. Frank Levy, "What Ronald Reagan Can Teach . . .," previously cited, 357-58. For an angry denunciation of Reagan's "crusade" for welfare reform see Barbara Joe, "Reagan's Welfare Fraud," *Washington Monthly* 12 (October 1980): 34-36. A self-described "middle-level bureaucrat" in the California Department of Social Welfare when Reagan was elected governor, Joe contends that these reforms "in fame only" succeeded simply by "watching mothers grow old." Her argument presents the kernel of the liberal case: welfare "activists" had, by 1970, already signed up almost everyone eligible; recession created a peak of applications that Reagan dramatized; and falling birth rates ensured a declining demand that Reagan and Carleson could attribute to their spurious "reforms."
  58. See Evans, "Welfare Reform Revisited," 377, for a summary of the status of class action challenges against the Welfare Reform Act as of December 1972. Also see Zumbrun, et al., "Welfare Reform: California meets the Challenge."
  59. Levy, "What Ronald Reagan Can Teach . . .," 359.
  60. While "workfare" in the California Work Experience Program (CWEP) placed only 9,600 recipients in jobs in three years of operation, the idea of encouraging work shaped subsequent welfare reform efforts in both the Carter and Reagan presidential administrations; Levy, "What Ronald Reagan Can Teach . . .," 356-70. See also Nathan Glazer, "The Social Policy of The Reagan Administration: A Review," *Public Interest*, no. 75 (Spring 1984): 76-98.
  61. Los Angeles Times, August 15, 1971.
  62. Ibid.
- Cermak, "Aerial Fire Control," pp. 288-303.
1. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, "History of the Angeles National Forest," by S. B. Show, (San Francisco: Region 5, 1945), Typescript, 129. Show began his career with the Forest Service in California in 1910. He became one of the first researchers in fire control and with Edward I. Kotok wrote several landmark research papers on fire control. Show became district forester of the California District in 1926 and served in that post for twenty years. Show left several histories and memoirs that are notable for candid assessments of his contemporaries. His recollections are usually accurate, but no other mention of the Gill/Parnay flight could be found in the official records.
  2. Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America: A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 439.
  3. Ibid. Chief Forester Graves gave the date of this meeting as 1909 in a letter; Henry S. Graves to L. D'Orcy, associate editor, *Aviation and Aeronautical Engineering*, on December 3, 1918, in Federal Records Group 095, Box 38538, Federal Records Center, San Bruno, Calif.
  4. *The Sierra Ranger* 2 (February 1912): 5-6, Employee Newsletter, Historical File, Sierra National Forest, Fresno, Calif.
  5. Correspondence in Federal Records Group 095, Box 38538, Federal Records Center, San Bruno, Calif. The designation of Districts in the Forest Service was changed to regions in May 1930. Afterwards the district forester was known as the regional forester.
  6. S. B. Show, "The Development of Forest Service Organization, Personnel and Administration in California," 1963, 68, type-

- script, unedited and unfinished due to the author's death, Library, School of Forestry and Natural Resources, University of California, Berkeley.
7. Correspondence in Federal Records Group 095, Box 38538, Federal Records Center, San Bruno, Calif.
8. *Concise Dictionary of American History*, 1962 ed., s. v. "Air Forces, United States." Despite the large build-up, the United States fell well short of its aircraft construction targets, and U. S. aircraft were a minor factor in the war effort. See Herbert Molloy Mason, Jr., *The United States Air Force: A Turbulent History* (New York: Mason/Charter, 1976), 35-47.
9. A. W. Potter to DuBois, March 31, 1919, in Federal Records Group 095, Box 38538, Federal Records Center, San Bruno, Calif.
10. Coert DuBois, *Trailblazers* (Stonington, Conn.: Stonington Publishing Co., 1957), 81.
11. Correspondence in Federal Records Group 095, Box 38538, Federal Records Center, San Bruno, Calif., (hereinafter FRG).
12. Ibid.
13. DuBois to The Forester, letter dated May 5, 1919, FRG. "The Forester" was the official name for the Chief of the Forest Service. Throughout the correspondence, Arnold is addressed as both major and colonel and signed his name under either title. Probably his wartime rank was colonel, but in peacetime his rank was reduced to major and later again raised to colonel. Colonel is used here for consistency.
14. R. F. Hammatt, Forest Supervisor to District Forester, September 3, 1919; C. J. Buck, Acting District Forester, District 6, to District Forester, District 5, San Francisco, October 24, 1919; FRG. Care and handling of homing pigeons was rather expensive. One estimate was that it took four men to care for and train enough pigeons to serve the patrol. The birds had to be taken a distance of thirty miles from their base every day to practice homing flights.
15. C. E. Rachford, "Report on Airplane Forest Fire Patrol in California For 1919," FRG. Reports for 1923 through 1927 stated that Liberty aircraft engines were unreliable and had to be overhauled after every one hundred hours of flight time.
16. A. O. Waha to The Forester, June 11, 1919, FRG.
17. Clipping entitled "Aviator is killed as Plane Crashes," *The San Diego Sun*, May 31, 1919; Rachford, "Report," 26, FRG.
18. Rachford, "Report," FRG. Experience with the development of airfields resulted in Forest Service membership on the Committee on Commercial Aviation of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington, D. C. The committee minutes for January 20, 1920, outlined a program for development of commercial aviation in the United States. The first airline was proposed to link New York and Washington, D. C. A news clipping in this file dated April 9, 1920, outlined plans by the Fresno Chamber of Commerce to improve the city's airfield for use by the air patrol and as a lunch stop for an airline between Los Angeles and San Francisco proposed by Stockton Aerial Transport.
19. Rachford, "Report," 15, FRG.
20. Ibid., 18-19; L. E. Brereton, Chief Air Service Operations, to The Forester, May 23, 1919, FRG. Radio-telephones used by the patrol had a range of fifteen to twenty miles while the radio-telegraph had a range of one hundred miles.
21. On October 1, 1919, DuBois wrote a long letter to Lt. Col. Yount at March Field thanking him for Air Service assistance. He stated that the fire fight was directed with the information gained during the flights. The fires covered 135,000 acres and together were the largest burn in the history of the Angeles National Forest.
22. Ibid., 22-25.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 11, 19, 25; H. F. Wilcox, "Report, Air Patrol Mather Field—1920," 5; a report on the 1920 season by E. I. Kotok, "Airplane Fire Patrol in California—1920," 14-15, FRG.
25. H. H. Arnold to Director of Air Service, Training and Operations Group, November 5, 1919, FRG.
26. R. J. Herman, "Manual of Instructions for Airplane Forest Patrol Units," April 24, 1920, FRG.
27. Carl Spaatz, Forest Patrol Memo #4, June 22, 1920; representative comments about the patrol were written by J. Wulff, Forest Supervisor, Stanislaus National Forest, to District Forester, October 1, 1920; D. N. Rogers, Forest Supervisor, Plumas National Forest, to District Forester, October 4, 1920; and H. F. Wilcox, District Ranger to District Forester, October 7, 1920, FRG. Other concerns were expressed in Kotok, "Airplane Fire Patrol in California—1920," 24-25, and in a memo by Kotok titled "A Survey of the Season—October 1920," FRG.
28. H. F. Wilcox to District Forester, October 7, 1920, FRG.
29. A clipping from the *Alturas Plaindealer* of July 16, 1920, gives details of the accident; FRG.
30. Kotok, "Airplane Fire Patrol in California—1920," 20-21, FRG. The 1920 air patrol in California included 26 airplanes, 29 officers, 15 cadets, and 92 other personnel. The patrol reported 772 fires, of which 253 were claimed as first reports. The fliers made 1,118 flights covering 388,820 miles in 3,262 hours of flight time. Also, see P. G. Redington, District Forester, to The Forester, September 29, 1920, FRG.
31. Ibid.; Kotok, "Airplane Fire Patrol in California—1920," 22, FRG.
32. Ibid., 23.
33. Correspondence from E. T. Allen, from the secretaries of war and agriculture and from agency heads and state government document the struggle for more funds, FRG. See especially the resolution of the California State Board of Forestry, January 6, 1920; W. B. Greeley, Chief, Forest Service, to Major General Charles T. Menoher, Chief Air Services, January 19, 1921; William Mitchell, Brigadier General, to W. B. Greeley, January 27, 1921 and John Weeks, Secretary of War, to Secretary of Agriculture, May 13, 1921.
34. E. I. Kotok to District Forester, September 1, 1920, FRG.
35. A report by E. I. Kotok, "Airplane Forest Fire Patrol in California, Season 1921," FRG. Airbases were established at Corning, Lakeport, Sacramento, Chowchilla, Visalia, and March Field for the 1921 season. Radio buffs of the early twenties were similar in their fascination with radio to the computer hackers of today. A clipping from the *San Francisco Call* of September 26, 1921, by Willis T. Chapman is entitled, "Forest Fliers Have 'Nerve Camp' For Rest," in FRG.
36. Secretary of Agriculture, Henry G. Wallace to Secretary of the Navy, May 24, 1920; S. W. Allen, Forest Supervisor, Angeles National Forest, to District Forester, May 18, 1921; Commanding Officer, San Diego Naval Air Station, to District Forester, June 29, 1921; FRG.
37. Kotok, "Airplane Forest Fire Patrol; in California, Season 1921," FRG. This accomplishment report listed 38 aircraft, 10 officers, and 132 other personnel. Fifteen radio stations were manned by the Forest Service. The report listed 595 fires spotted by the patrols, of which 257 were inside national forest boundaries. The patrol had first reports on 90 of the 257 fires. Of the total number of fires, 484 were reported by radio. Reports by 15 forest supervisors accompany Kotok's report.
38. The Air Service made 22 flights in 1922, 206 in 1925, 199 in 1926, and 128 in 1927. There are no records for 1923 and 1924, although flights were authorized and made in 1924; FRG. The air patrol is rarely mentioned in aviation histories. Col. Billy Mitchell's flamboyant activities caught the public's attention in the East, especially in 1921, when his fliers bombed and sank several warships off the Virginia capes. The Air Service also tried to keep in the public eye by making record-setting flights during the early and middle twenties. For details see Mason, *The United States Air Force*, 73-103.
39. Robert W. Cermak, "Fire in the Forest: Fire Control in the California National Forests—1898-1955," unpublished manuscript, Oroville, Calif., 1987, 298-300, 408-18, 532-37, 625-32.



# PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

For more than fifty years, *PHR* has published articles devoted to the history of American expansionism to the Pacific and beyond and the postfrontier developments of the twentieth-century American West.

Recent articles include:

*Clio, Clientage, Ethnocentrism, and War: Some Reflections*, by Alexander DeConde

*General John DeWitt and the Proposed Internment of German and Italian Aliens during World War II*, by Stephen C. Fox

*Water Resource History: A New Field of Historiography*, by Lawrence B. Lee

*A Forum: American Democratization Policy for Occupied Japan: Correcting the Revisionist Version* by Justin Williams, Sr., and *Rejoinders* by John W. Dower and Howard Schonberger

*Chinese Livelihood in Rural California: The Impact of Economic Change, 1860-1880*, by Sucheng Chan

*Machine-Age Iconography in the American West: The Design of Hoover Dam*, by Richard Guy Wilson

---

In addition to articles, *PHR* features historiographical and review essays, notes and documents, reviews of books, and professional news.

---

Subscriptions: \$15 Individuals; \$30 Institutions; \$10 Students.  
Outside the USA, add \$4 postage. Send orders to the  
University of California Press,  
Berkeley, CA 94720.



## CHS Donors

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who have made gifts of \$250 or more over the past fiscal year—July 1, 1990 through June 30, 1991.

### \$5,000 and Above

Mr. North Baker, San Francisco  
Estate of Geraldine K. Bowman, San Francisco  
Estate of Mr. Richard W. Croucher, Sacramento  
Estate of Mrs. John Melville Kyes, San Francisco  
Estate of Edna Parratt, Monterey  
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco

### \$1,000-\$4,999

George D. Basye, Esq., Sacramento  
Mr. & Mrs. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco  
Constance C. Bowles, San Francisco  
Robert & Alice Bridges, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Sherman Chickering, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino  
Mrs. Ina Cokeley, San Francisco  
Mrs. Gerry B. Commons, San Francisco  
Mr. Robert T. Devlin, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. James Dickason, Los Angeles  
The Hon. Isabella H. Grant, San Francisco  
Mr. Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento  
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco  
Ms. Joan Hotchkis, Santa Monica  
Mr. Christopher Houser, Sierra Madre  
Mr. & Mrs. David B. Hudnut, Tiburon  
Mr. William C. Johnston, Pasadena  
Mr. Melvin Lane, Menlo Park  
George H. Link Esq., Los Angeles  
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco  
Arthur Mejia, Jr., Ph.D., San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco  
Edith Lamm Piness, Ph.D., Claremont  
Ms. Marna Schnabel, Los Angeles  
Mr. Ralph Scurfield, Sacramento  
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco  
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek  
Mr. & Mrs. Edward G. Zelinsky, Tiburon

### \$500-\$999

Mr. Warren J. Abbott, West Covina  
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino  
Ms. Leslie S. Ballinger, Menlo Park  
Mr. William F. Bennett, San Mateo  
Mrs. Zella E. Bleyhl, Davis  
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew E. Bogen, Santa Monica  
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco  
Mr. George M. Bowles, San Francisco  
Mrs. Harding Clegg, Santa Rosa  
Mr. & Mrs. Harold W. Cookson, San Francisco  
Mr. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco  
Mrs. Homer D. Crotty, San Marino  
Mr. D. Michael Cullivan, Alameda

Mr. & Mrs. Reid Dennis, Woodside  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Dulin, Bayfield  
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Devoe Field, San Francisco  
Mrs. Leonard Firestone, Pebble Beach  
Mr. Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Fish, Pasadena  
Mr. & Mrs. Donald G. Fisher, San Francisco  
Miss Muriel T. French, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Winston R. Fuller, Pasadena  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Gallo, Modesto  
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, II, Sausalito  
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Haas, San Francisco  
Mrs. Edward A. Howard, Piedmont  
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Jagels, Pasadena  
Louise Bennett, Jahant Ranch, Acampo  
Mr. & Mrs. C. Russell Johnson, Kentfield  
Mrs. Leroy F. Krusi, Piedmont  
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles  
Miss Alicia McEvoy, San Francisco  
Mrs. Ernest F. Menzies, Santa Barbara  
Mr. & Mrs. B. Milo Mitchel, Flintridge  
Andrew T. Nadell, M.D., San Francisco  
Mrs. Russell D. Niles, San Francisco  
Mr. Charles E. Noble, San Francisco  
Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D., Los Angeles  
Mr. & Mrs. George Otto, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Cyrus G. Paulus, San Francisco  
Miss Mary E. Pike, Pasadena  
Mr. & Mrs. Edwin A. Seipp, Jr., Atherton  
Mr. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles  
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena  
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross  
Ms. Alice B. Vincilione, Nicasio  
Mr. & Mrs. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Frank A. West, Carmel

### \$250-\$499

Mr. Charles F. Adams, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Allan Alcorn, Portola Valley  
Mrs. Harry L. Arnold, Jr., San Francisco  
Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D., Eureka  
Dr. John M. Baker, Carmichael  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena  
Ms. Anne M. Barnes, Piedmont  
Mrs. Robert S. Bebb, San Jose  
Mrs. Sydney Benson, San Francisco  
The Hon. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, Los Angeles  
Ms. Kay Clegg, Santa Rosa  
Mr. Steven S. Conner, El Cajon  
Robert Corrigan, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Mr. Thomas B. Crowley, Oakland  
Dr. & Mrs. William N. Davis, Jr., Sacramento  
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Doheny, Los Angeles  
Mr. William G. Doolittle, Carmel

**\$250-\$499, continued**

Mr. Fred Drexler, San Francisco  
Mr. Eugene S. Elkus, Jr., Atherton  
Mr. J.H. Engbeck, Jr., Berkeley  
Mr. & Mrs. William S. Floyd, Jr., Portola Valley  
Dr. John Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville  
Mr. George Gibson, Sacramento  
Ms. Mary Elena Goodan, Alameda  
Mrs. William Goodan, Pasadena  
Mr. Seymour Greben, Novato  
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades  
Mrs. Katherine H. Haley, Ventura  
Mr. David W. Hall, Belvedere  
Mr. Douglas D. Hastings, Lafayette  
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred E. Heller, Corte Madera  
Mr. & Mrs. C.W. Homer, Tiburon  
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos  
Mr. John F. Hotchkis, Pasadena  
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere  
Ekona Ehrenkrantz Kamages, San Francisco  
Ms. Judith G. Kelly, San Marino  
Mr. William Kent, III, San Francisco  
Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D., San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Henry N. Kuechler, III, San Francisco  
Mrs. Maribelle Leavitt, San Francisco  
Mr. E.R. Lilienthal, San Francisco  
Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Berkeley  
Mr. Milton Marks, III, San Francisco  
Mrs. Philip N. McCombs, Walnut Creek  
Gardner W. Mein, San Francisco  
Dr. Knox Mellon, Jr., Riverside  
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph Messler, Pasadena  
Mr. & Mrs. John R. Metcalf, San Francisco  
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough  
Mrs. John Mock, Los Angeles  
Mr. Will B. Murphey, Lafayette  
Mr. Peter Johnson Musto, San Francisco  
Dr. Ynez O'Neill, Los Angeles  
Mr. Gordon E. Oliver, Virginia City, NV  
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere  
Mr. Clair L. Peck Jr., Los Angeles  
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pike, San Marino  
Mr. G. Keith Provo, Hillsborough  
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom  
Mrs. Wanda Rees-Williams, Pasadena  
Ms. Hanna Regev, San Francisco  
Mr. Lawrence W. Reinecke, San Francisco  
Mrs. John Dowling Relfe, San Francisco  
Haydie Rodriguez - Pastor, Orinda  
Mr. William M. Roth, San Francisco  
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbrae  
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto  
Mrs. J.F. Schulz, Santa Rosa  
Mr. & Mrs. S. Donald Schwabacher, Atherton  
Mrs. Naomi Serrurier, Pasadena  
Mr. Bradford E. Shepard, Chula Vista  
Mr. Douglas H. Smith, Laguna Beach  
Mr. & Mrs. J.P. Solari, San Francisco  
Mr. & Mrs. William G. Steele, Jr., San Marino

Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco  
Mr. Ted Van Bebber, San Rafael  
Mr. & Mrs. Revett Wallace, Woodside  
Mrs. James Hayden Wells, Carmel  
Mr. & Mrs. William D. Wenzlau, San Marino  
Mr. & Mrs. Paul R. Wesendunk, Concord  
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Williams, San Francisco  
Dr. James C. Williams, Cupertino  
Mr. Mark L. Woodbury, Oakland  
Mr. & Mrs. Alden P. Yates, Atherton

**Corporate and Foundation Contributors**

**\$5,000 and Above**

California Tamarack Foundation, San Francisco  
Del Monte Foods, San Francisco  
Louise M. Davies Foundation, San Francisco  
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento  
Mericos Foundation, South Pasadena  
North Point Gallery, San Francisco  
Odell Fund, San Francisco  
The San Francisco Foundation, San Francisco  
L.J. & Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, Oakland  
Sunset Publishing Corporation, Menlo Park  
The Wm & Flora Hewlett Foundation, Menlo Park  
J.B. & Emily Van Nuys Charities, Los Angeles

**\$1,000-\$4,999**

Brobeck, Phleger & Harrison, Los Angeles  
California Council for the Humanities, San Francisco  
Columbia Channel Gold Mining Co., Oakland  
First Interstate Bank of California, Los Angeles  
Flagg Family Foundation, San Francisco  
The Gap Foundation, San Francisco  
Hilton Hotels Corporation, Beverly Hills  
IBM Matching Grant Program, Southbury, MA  
Levi Strauss Foundation, San Francisco  
Matson Navigation Co., San Francisco  
North Point Gallery, San Francisco  
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., San Francisco  
Sharlands Investment Corp., Oakland  
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades  
Unocal Foundation, Los Angeles

**\$500-\$999**

W. & H.B. Allen Foundation, Belvedere  
Bixby Ranch Company, Los Angeles  
Dolby Laboratories, Inc., San Francisco  
Lockheed Corporation, Burbank  
Mountainview Foundation, Pasadena  
Louis & Flora Petri Foundation, San Francisco  
Security Pacific Foundation, Los Angeles

**\$250-\$499**

Los Angeles Dodgers, Inc., Los Angeles  
San Francisco Federal S&L Assoc., Sacramento  
Cathy Simon, FAIA, San Francisco

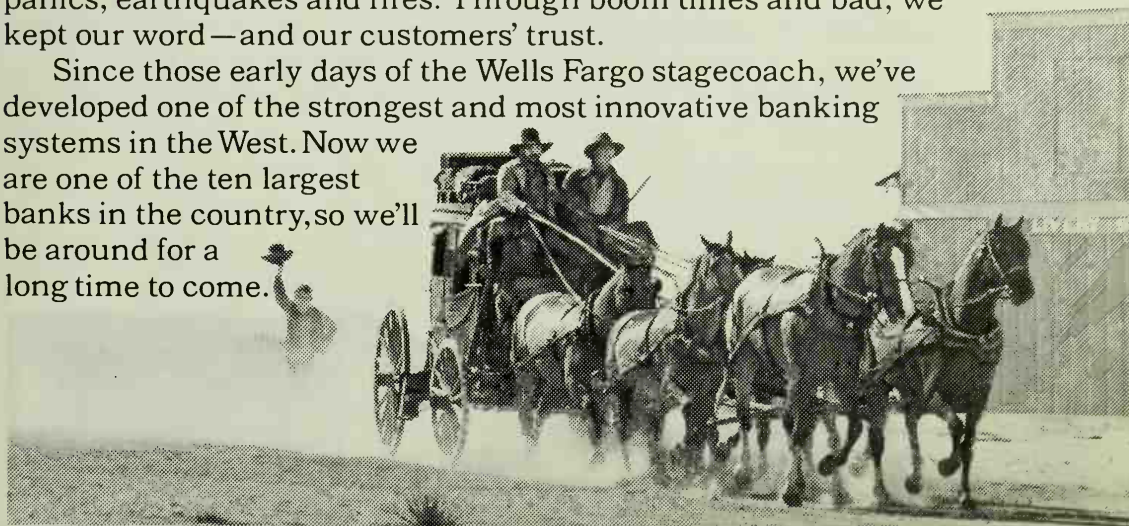
Note: Accurate gift acknowledgement is very important to us, but occasionally mistakes are made. Please notify the CHS Development Office of any corrections as soon as possible.

# Trusted by Californians since 1852.

## Wells Fargo comes through.

For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word — and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.



© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC

### WELLS FARGO BANK



# Join the California Historical Society today!

California's past is an open book, richly illustrated with the lives of those who helped create it. Since 1871, the California Historical Society has dedicated itself to collecting, preserving and presenting the account of our remarkable, multi-cultural heritage. Through our historical library full of original manuscripts, first editions and rare books, our archives of over one-half million historic photographs, our lectures, tours and symposia, and our quarterly publications, the Society makes the legacy of our past available to all Californians.

When you become a member of the California Historical Society, you join with many others who have made the study of our history a vital and rewarding part of their lives. And, more importantly, your membership supports the many programs and functions that have been developed by the Society to illuminate our past towards a brighter future for all Californians.

## MEMBER BENEFITS

- ◆ **PUBLICATIONS:** Receive *California History*, a quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922. Featuring articles by leading scholars and writers, *California History* examines the continuing dialogue between the past and the present. The journal includes essays, historic photographs, book reviews, and a checklist of recently published materials relating to California history. Also receive *California Chronicle*, a quarterly newsletter highlighting CHS activities and personalities. The newsletter keeps members up-to-date on programs, events and exhibits offered by CHS and other historical groups throughout the state.
- ◆ **PROGRAMS AND EXHIBITS:** Attend lectures and symposia by respected historians and other professionals on issues of both historic and contemporary importance. Receive special invitations to openings of historic exhibitions throughout California. Visit historic sites for both tours and events.
- ◆ **LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES:** Visit and use the extensive collections of photographs, books and manuscripts at the North Baker Library in San Francisco and the photographic collections at the University of Southern California.
- ◆ **DISCOUNTS AND FREE ADMISSIONS:** Receive discounts averaging 10%-20% on selected historical publications. Enjoy free admission to the North Baker Library in San Francisco and historic El Molino Viejo in San Marino, including invitations to the annual Holiday Open House in both locations.
- ◆ **TO JOIN OR MAKE A GIFT,** simply fill out the attached envelope and mail it with your payment today!



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the State Historical Society. With regional offices in San Francisco and San Marino, the Society collects, preserves, and interprets information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the public.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

#### OFFICERS

George Basye, Esq., Sacramento  
*President*  
Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D., Los Angeles  
*Vice President*  
David J. Clark, Esq., Larkspur  
*Treasurer*  
Marshall S. Sanders, San Francisco  
*Secretary*  
Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley, San Francisco  
*Assistant Secretary*  
David B. Hudnut, Tiburon  
*Regional Vice President*  
George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles  
*Regional Vice President*  
Elizabeth Bertillion Smart, Sacramento  
*Regional Vice President*

#### BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D., Eureka  
Constance Crowley Bowles, San Francisco  
Arthur Coleman, M.D., San Francisco  
Robert Corrigan, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Suzanne Crocker-White, Ph.D., San Mateo  
Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D., El Cerrito  
Robert T. Devlin, San Francisco  
Linda S. Dickason, Los Angeles  
Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., Berkeley  
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco  
Seymour Greben, Novato  
Harlan Hague, Ph.D., Stockton  
Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento  
Diana La Verne Holland, El Cajon  
Eric P. Hvolboll, Esq., Santa Barbara  
Andrew G. Jameson, Ph.D., San Francisco  
William C. Johnston, Pasadena  
Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D., San Francisco  
Gary Kurutz, Sacramento  
R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D., Berkeley  
Ian Mackinlay, FAIA, Orinda  
Milton Marks, III, San Francisco  
Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Berkeley  
Kathleen McLaughlin, Martinez  
Arthur Mejia, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Shirley Ann Moore, Ph.D., Oakland  
Maggie Pexton Murray, Los Angeles  
Andrew T. Nadell, M.D., San Francisco  
Norman Neuerburg, Ph.D., Los Angeles

Annegret Ogden, Berkeley  
Allen M. Okamoto, San Francisco  
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Claremont  
Hanna Regev, San Francisco  
Marna Schnabel, Los Angeles  
Ralph Scurfield, Sacramento  
Barbara Solomon, San Francisco  
Kevin Starr, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco  
James C. Williams, Ph.D., Gilroy  
Mrs. John C. Williams, San Francisco  
(Ex-officio)  
Herbert Yee, D.D.S., Sacramento

#### EMERITI

Louis Heilbron, San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*  
J.S. Holliday, Ph.D., Carmel  
*Executive Director Emeritus*  
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*

#### STAFF

Michael McCone, *Executive Director*  
Corinne Abbott, *Curator*  
Theresa Bennett, *Accountant*  
Judith Deaton, *Director of Operations*  
Margaret Eley, *El Molino Viejo Director*  
Kay Feallock, *Programs and Publications Manager*  
Donna Fiscus, *Development Officer*  
Michael Harvey, *Chief Librarian*  
Cheryl Kolinen Hylton, *Director of Development*  
George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*  
Paul Kennedy, *El Molino Viejo Caretaker*  
Robert MacKimmie, *Curatorial Director of Photography*  
Abigay Perez, *Custodian*  
Sandra Reinhardt, *Director of Finance (Contractor)*  
Ann Marie Thurmond, *Database Manager*

#### PROGRAM/SERVICES COMMITTEE

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D.  
Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley

Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D.  
Joseph Engbeck, Jr., Co-chair  
Kay Feallock, Staff  
Donna Fiscus, Staff  
Charles A. Fracchia  
Harlan Hague, Ph.D.  
Cheryl Kolinen Hylton, Staff  
Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D.  
Barbara Lekisch (Non-trustee)  
R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D.  
Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Co-chair  
Kathleen McLaughlin  
Shirley Moore, Ph.D.  
Richard Orsi, Ph.D. (Non-trustee)  
Edith Piness, Ph.D.  
James C. Williams, Ph.D.

#### CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly ©1991 by CHS

\$25.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle*.

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS  
AND NORTH BAKER LIBRARY  
2099 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco, California 94109  
(415) 567-1848  
FAX (415) 567-2394

EL MOLINO VIEJO  
1120 Old Mill Road  
San Marino, California 91108  
(818) 449-5450

Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Richard J. Orsi, Editor, *California History*, Department of History, California State University, Hayward, Hayward, CA 94542. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109.

LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897  
Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.  
Publication number 084180



BEST QUALITY

GRAPEFRUIT

# PACIFIC EXPORTER

BRAND



SUNSET PRODUCE CO.

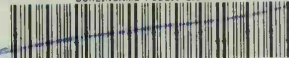
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.  
U.S.A.

*The Golden Gate  
of San Francisco*

PRODUCE OF U.S.A.

WINTER 1991/92

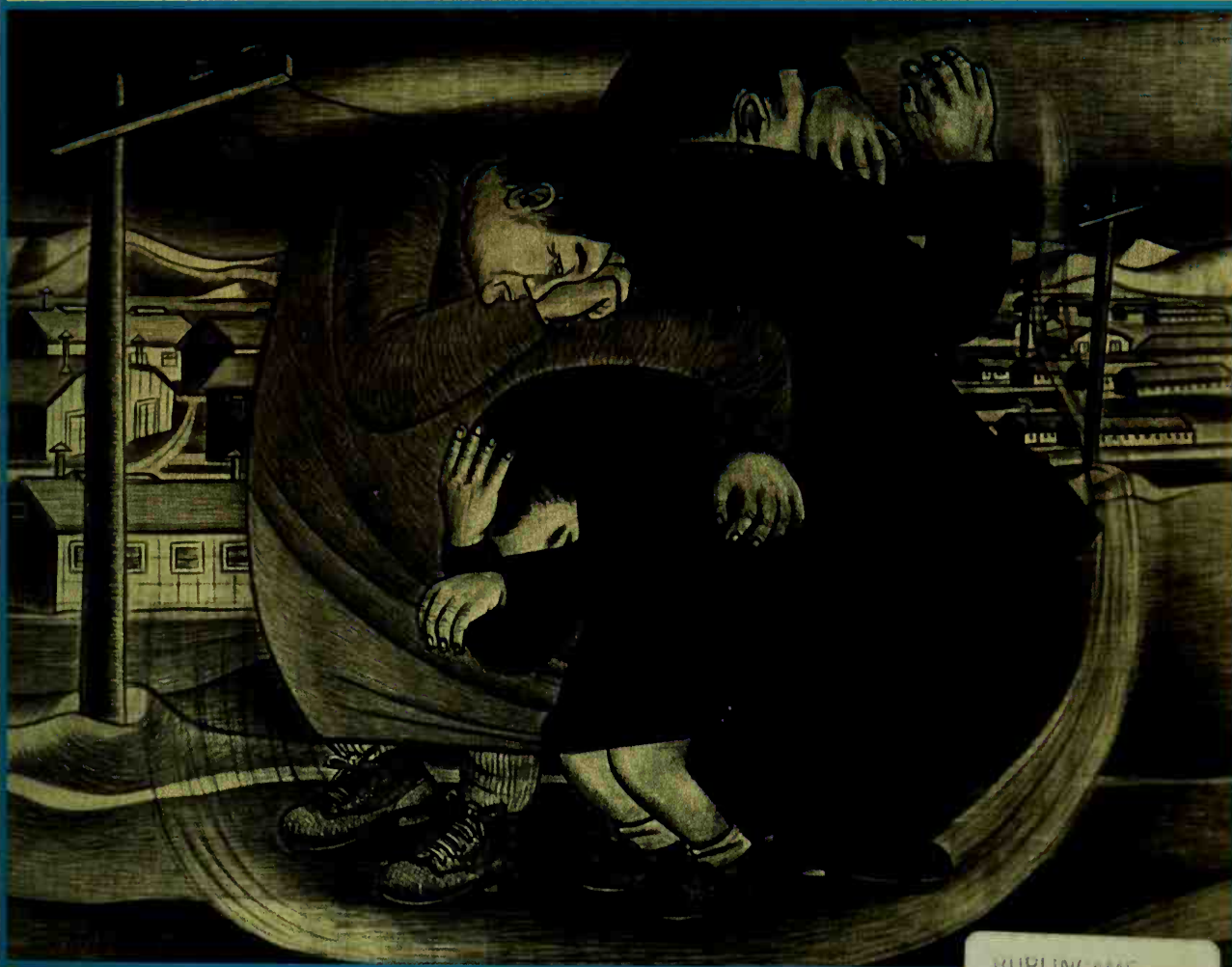
BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9042 03582091 6

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

copy 2



BURLINGAME

SEP 2 1992 ✓

LIBRARY



## Milestones in California History— Executive Order #9066 (Feb. 19, 1942)



"Moving In," (Topaz, Utah, 1942), tempera, by Miné Okubo. Japanese American artist Miné Okubo, whose work is featured here and on both covers of this issue, was commissioned in the 1930s by the Federal Arts Project to do mosaic murals in Oakland, and she was at Fort Ord Army base when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941. Although she was an American citizen, she was evacuated to a concentration camp at Topaz, Utah, where she drew and painted hundreds of scenes of camp life, boldly depicting the turmoil and despair that would leave a mark on internees' lives for years afterward. Miss Okubo's own illustrated, often wry, account of internment, *Citizen 13360*, was first published in 1946. Following her release from the camp, she began a career in commercial and fine art that has won national recognition. Most recently, in 1991, she was one of five outstanding artists honored by the National Women's Caucus for Art. Born in Riverside, California, Miss Okubo has for many years made her home in New York. Collection of Miné Okubo.

Although it mentioned neither California nor any ethnic group, Executive Order #9066 was the instrument whereby 120,000 Japanese Americans—including 90,000 Californians, two-thirds of them native sons and daughters—were removed from their homes, separated from much of their property, and incarcerated in ten desolate concentration camps, officially called "relocation centers." Two of the camps, Manzanar and Tule Lake, were in California, as were twelve of the preliminary holding pens, called "assembly centers."

Although the stated rationale was "military necessity" and the recommendation to promulgate Order #9066 came from Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, it is now clear that it was political pressure, much of it from California, that was crucial in shaping the decision that Franklin Roosevelt agreed to in the bitter spring of 1942. Japan had struck effectively at Pearl Harbor and Imperial Japanese forces were, in the words of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, "running wild" in the western Pacific and Southeast Asia. Californians high and low were sure that their turn would soon come, and some, like Attorney General Earl Warren, believed that the state faced "an invisible deadline for sabotage." Governor Culbert Olson, whom Warren would unseat in November 1942, had proposed confining California's Japanese in the state's interior, but letting them out on a daily basis to do necessary agricultural labor. The state's press and radio poured forth streams of racially-biased propaganda urging that something be done with the state's Japanese. Most Californians—including those of Chinese, Filipino, and Korean ancestry—were clearly in favor of drastic action, and early in 1942 the state's entire congressional

delegation—along with the delegations from Oregon and Washington—began to lobby the federal government to do "something" about the Japanese Americans in their midst.

Most of this furor was inspired by patriotic panic seasoned by California's long anti-Asian tradition and inter-ethnic animosity. Many California agriculturalists and their organizations shared these motives but also hoped to profit from the removal of their rivals and, in some instances, were able to take over their lands.

Outside of the Japanese American community, only a smattering of California religious leaders, a few trade unionists and one or two editors opposed removing the Japanese Americans. Not only in 1942—but for years afterwards—the vast majority of Californians felt that the government had done the right thing. And, as late as December 1944, so did two-thirds of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Few now hold that view. Most Californians—and most Americans—seem to approve the recent federal apology for an admitted wrong and the award of \$20,000 tax free to each survivor of America's concentration camps as a form of redress. It is important that we preserve a truthful sense of our history and learn lessons from it. Executive Order #9066—and its consequences—are a grim reminder of how undemocratically a democracy can react in a time of crisis.

ROGER DANIELS  
Professor of History  
University of Cincinnati

# THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXX No. 4

Winter 1991/92

MICHAEL McCONE  
*Executive Director*

RICHARD J. ORSI  
*Editor*

MARLENE SMITH-  
BARANZINI  
*Associate Editor*

JAMES J. RAWLS  
*Reviews Editor*

CHARLES N.  
JOHNSON  
*Checklist Editor*

THE ARTHUR H.  
CLARK COMPANY  
*Design/Production*

*Editorial Consultants*  
GORDON M. BAKKEN  
JACQUELINE BARNHART  
LONNIE G. BUNCH III  
LARRY E. BURGESS  
ROBERT W. CHERNY  
RICHARD W. ETULAIN  
JAMES N. GREGORY  
JUDSON A. GRENIER  
RICHARD GRISWOLD  
DEL CASTILLO  
ROBERT V. HINE  
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI  
DAVID HORNBEC  
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK  
PAUL J. KARLSTROM  
HARRY KELSEY  
HIM MARK LAI  
RUDOLPH M. LAPP  
LAWRENCE B. LEE  
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG  
SANDY LYDON  
CLEMENT MEIGHAN  
SALLY M. MILLER  
IRENE MORAN  
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS  
LEONARD PITT  
MICHAEL SMITH

*Editorial Assistants*  
Margit Aarons, Corinne Abbott,  
Michael Campbell, Pamela Challinor,  
Kay Feallock, Sharon Hemenway,  
George Johnson, E.R. Kallus,  
Eddie Loretto



352



366



378

338 Traces of the Pioneers:  
Photographing the Overland Trail  
*by Greg MacGregor*

352 "The Jumping Off Place of the World":  
California and the Transformation  
of Thomas O. Larkin  
*by Harlan Hague*

366 Executive Order 9066 and Italian  
Americans: The San Francisco Story  
*by Rose D. Scherini*

378 Fawn Brodie's Richard Nixon—The  
Making of a Controversial Biography  
*by Newell G. Bringham*

392 The Kingsley Art Club: One Hundred  
Years of Support for the Arts  
*by Kay Feallock*

396 The CHS Southern California Historical  
Collection: New Location and New  
Opportunities for Historic Research  
*by Marlene Smith-Baranzini*

407 Reviews

419 California Checklist

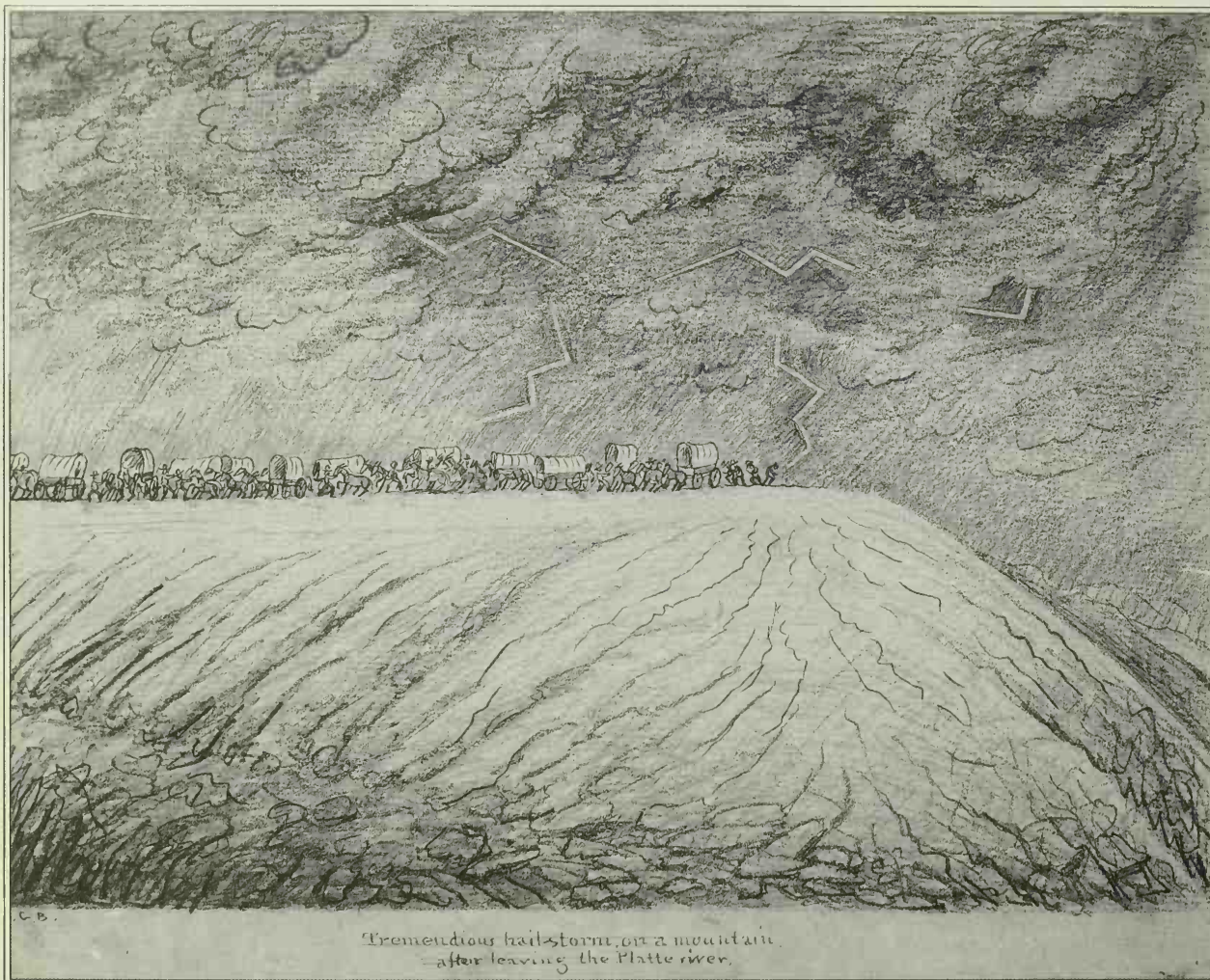
423 Notes

429 Yearly Contents/Index

*California History*  
is published with the  
cooperation and support of  
California State University, Hayward

*California History* is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897





One of the most perceptive commentators on the epic Overland Trail experience was William Swain, a California-bound forty-niner from New York, whose vivid letters and diary were published in the acclaimed *The World Rushed In* (1981), by J. S. Holliday. Swain's diary entry for June 20, 1849, described a particularly terrifying storm that pelted his wagon train on the trail in Nebraska with goose-egg sized hail: "The teams, unacquainted with such punishment inflicted by an unseen hand and frightened and writhing with the pain inflicted. . . , bellowed and reared and sprang from its fury, wheeling their heads from the storm. The drivers, seeing the teams and wagons wheeling, sprang forward to guide the teams in turning and thus saved the train from destruction. The bellowing of the cattle, the shouting of the teamsters and others, the crack of breaking [wagon] tongues, the crash of upsetting wagons, the rattling of wheels urged on by the teams maddened by the strokes of the storm, the groans and strong curses of the men, the vivid flashes of lightning, and the crack of thunder, all mingled with the tumultuous noise of the hail striking upon the earth, formed a moment of terrific suspense. . . ." J. Goldsborough Bruff, captain of a nearby wagon company, recorded the same storm in a drawing, reproduced above from the Bruff collection at the Huntington Library in San Marino. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

---

---

# Traces of the Pioneers: Photographing the Overland Trail

by Greg MacGregor

## THE OVERLAND TRAIL: HISTORY AND OVERVIEW

The California/Oregon Trail is that two-thousand-mile-long trace across the country by which an estimated 300,000 to 500,000 emigrants traveled to settle California and Oregon between 1841 and 1869. Most migration along it ended when the first transcontinental railroad, which generally paralleled the route, was completed in 1869. The trail began in several "jumping off places" (Independence or St. Joseph, Missouri, or Council Bluffs, Iowa), converged quickly, and then followed one river system after another until it terminated in either the Sacramento Valley, California, or the Willamette Valley of Oregon. The California and Oregon trails were one and the same (along with the Mormon Trail) for much of the way up to a point just north of the Great Salt Lake, where the California travelers split southwest to cross Nevada along the Humboldt River. The Oregon Trail continued westward along the Snake River.

The emigrants were diligent record-keepers. Subject to the nineteenth century's fascination with the written word, they kept accurate diaries of the miles driven daily, routes, campsites, illnesses, deaths, notable events, encounters with Indians and other travelers, and their reactions to what many considered an epic journey. Consequently, historians have had little trouble piecing together a description of the migration. Details of this historic journey have been chronicled by many historians. For these rich accounts, interested readers are referred to such classics as George Stewart's *The California Trail* (1962), Merrill Mattes's *The Great Platte River Road* (1969), John D. Unruh's *The Plains Across* (1979), and J.S. Holliday's *The World Rushed In* (1981). These complete works were compiled in part from the hundreds of published and unpublished diaries and tens of thousands of letters left by the overland migrants.

The crossing usually took five or six months by

wagon, with the pioneers traveling between ten and fifteen miles per day. The overlanders timed their departure from the Middle West for early April or May, just after the spring thaw, when there was usually enough grass on the prairies for the draft animals to eat. They could tarry little, however, for they had to cross the rugged Sierra Nevada before the first snow fell in late October or early November. For the entire way, the Overland Trail followed major and minor river systems—a necessity for the draft animals. It began along the Big Blue River in Kansas and then switched to the gateway to the Rocky Mountain West, the Platte and North Platte rivers. This gently-uphill path along the riverway headed in a nearly straight line across Nebraska and half of Wyoming. In Wyoming, travelers shifted to the Sweetwater, which can be followed almost to the Continental Divide. This historic point, at the south end of the Wind River mountain range, called South Pass, is almost flat grassland, even though it is at 7,000-foot altitude. So wide and gentle is South Pass that most emigrants, and even today's travelers, cannot detect its summit across the crest of the Rocky Mountains.

Once across the pass, travelers encountered truly desert terrain for the first time. This high desert section of the trail headed southwest, crossing the Big Sandy and Green rivers and following the Blacks Fork River into Fort Bridger, Wyoming. At this point, the California- and Oregon-bound settlers continued on the main trail northwestward, while the Mormon contingent headed due west down the nearest canyon into the Salt Lake Valley. Few California travelers followed this latter, seemingly straightforward, path toward Nevada, since it required crossing the southern end of the Great Salt Lake, a waterless ninety-mile stretch of sand, alkali, and blistering sun. The ill-fated Donner Party of 1846, along with some over-eager Gold Rushers



on foot or muleback, however, did try this route, but most followed instead the well-trod trail north from Fort Bridger and around the top of the Great Salt Lake.

By diverting north, some 150 miles in the wrong direction, California travelers could take advantage of yet another river system, up the Bear Valley and around the northern end of the Wasatch Mountains of Utah, an easy way off the high desert plateau that eventually connected with the Snake River near present-day Pocatello, Idaho. Migrants headed for Oregon could continue along the Snake all the way to the Pacific Northwest. California-bound emigrants considered this "detour" northward into Idaho to be a delay and a nuisance, and at least two "cutoffs" were available to the foolish or impatient. In the end they rarely saved any time.

About thirty miles west of Pocatello, at an insignificant spot of land where the Raft River (now dry) meets the Snake, the California trail diverged southwestward to join the Humboldt River near Wells, Nevada. Though cursed by all, this barely flowing pool of brackish water, 20 feet wide, 6 inches deep and 350 miles long, was what made crossing Nevada possible. The water was barely drinkable, there were no fish, and the banks contained choking dust. In addition, while the overlanders were encamped at night, Paiute Indians, to augment their food supply, drove off or shot arrows into the draft animals, so they would have to be abandoned. The one saving feature of the Humboldt was that it headed on a diagonal toward Sacramento, crossing almost the entire state of Nevada before disappearing into the ground at a marshy sink near present-day Lovelock.

Beyond the Humboldt, for the first time in seventeen hundred miles of travel, the pioneers had no river system to follow. They had a choice of two forty-mile desert crossings, one joining the Carson and the other the Truckee River, either of which could be ascended into the Sierra Nevada of California. The drama of this last parched crossing, when people, animals, and supplies were exhausted, was told and retold in every overlander's recollections. The loss of human life, livestock, and property was epic. Accounts tell of so many dead oxen that one could walk from body to body for miles and never touch the ground. For years after, junk dealers from Reno scavenged this section to collect the abandoned iron for resale. Some isolated sections of the trail still contain debris left by panicked migrants of a century and a half ago.

The overlanders' final obstacle was the precipitous east face of the Sierra. The first wagon to accomplish the ascent was in 1844, in the Stevens Party, who had, like most after them, entered the Sierra up the Truckee River. The feat did, however, take two travel seasons, and the wagon had to be hauled over the top in pieces and then reassembled. This pass, now known as Donner Pass, was soon abandoned for an easier route, about one mile south along the same ridge and through present-day Sugar Bowl ski resort.

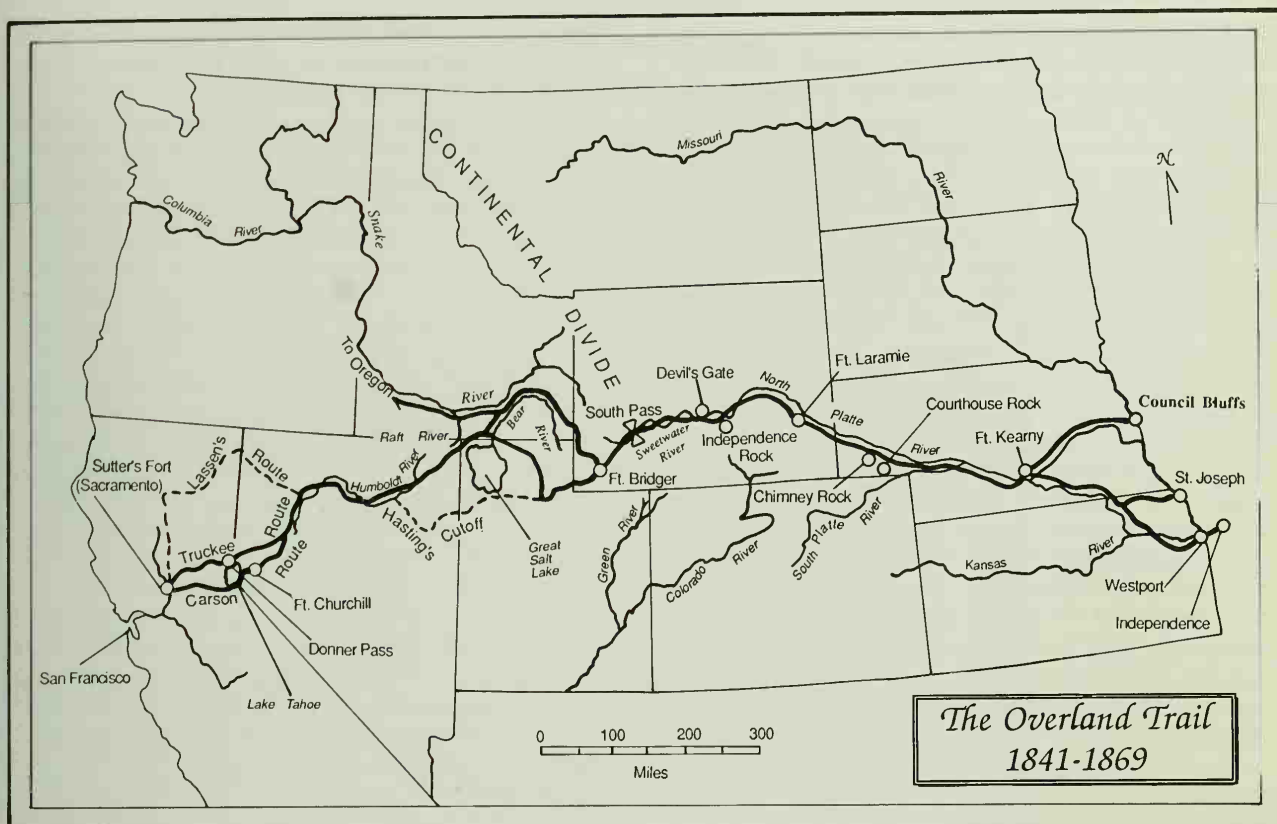
Although some pioneers, especially during the Gold Rush, returned to their eastern homes via the Overland Trail, the overwhelming bulk of travelers moved from east to west. Had they traveled in the opposite direction, the most difficult sections would have been encountered first, when enthusiasm and animals were fresh. When all is considered, most emigrants made it through to the "promised land," even though many perished or were forced to turn back. It is estimated that, averaged over the entire length of the trail, one person died for every hundred yards (most deaths resulted from cholera). On the other hand, nearly one-half million people survived the wearisome journey to begin their lives in the West.

#### PHOTOGRAPHING THE OVERLAND TRAIL

For the past fifteen years I have been traveling and photographing in the Great Basin area, that thousand-mile stretch of land—remote to most Californians—that lies between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. It takes its name from the fact that the region acts as a giant water sink. Its rivers never make it to the ocean and instead terminate in inland lakes, such as the Great Salt Lake, or just soak into the ground and disappear into huge marshes.

While driving the region's highways between widely-separated destinations, I have often wondered where the road I was traveling would penetrate that far distant, yet approaching, mountain range. You have a lot of time to ponder such matters, since the visibility there can exceed one hundred miles. Almost always my guess is wrong, for just as the road seems headed for a sheer wall, the river I am following makes a surprise turn and courses through a previously invisible passage, dragging the road with it.

My thoughts eventually turned to wondering who discovered the first passageways into the Far West. How did they ever find even a remotely efficient route across a continent whose mountain



Map by Christopher Lukinbeal.

ranges are always perpendicular to the direction of travel? Once, while cresting a pass in eastern Nevada on an exceptionally clear day, I counted nine mountain ranges between me and California. Later, consulting a satellite relief map, I discovered there were actually twelve (I just couldn't see the complete 350 miles across Nevada that day). Despite this uncooperative geography, a relatively flat and nearly straight-line route, some two thousand miles long, was indeed found by those early trappers and settlers. My curiosity was alive.

It took about one year to locate that original trail. No one I talked with at first knew about the amateur groups, such as Trails West or the Oregon-California Trail Association, who for the past decade or longer have been mapping, marking, and keeping alive the folklore and history of the emigrant trails. A library search of national organizations turned up nothing. Undaunted, I began by examining republished emigrant diaries, along with their crude maps,

and attempting to piece together the route by relocating camps and other sites, based upon the original verbal descriptions. This simply did not work; it was too easy to miss a location by one hundred yards because land features have been altered and the sagebrush was high enough to obscure my vision in some areas.

Two useful sources finally materialized. A guide book to the trail, initially missed by my research, told how to find the trail and follow it, mostly by using paved roads and the family automobile. Second, I discovered that on the detailed maps of the U.S. Geological Survey there is, indeed, a small dirt track labeled "Emigrant Trail." Finding the correct quadrangle and being able actually to drive it in a car were separate matters, however. Nonetheless, my photographic work could now begin.

The problems unique to photography in desert areas were not unfamiliar to me, but some new ones did emerge. Previously, I had used landscape



as a background for the *real* subject, either a person or a relic of abandoned technology. Now, the subject was to be the land itself and, when present, that trace on the surface known as the "emigrant trail." My new methodology required me to follow the track and make photographs, no matter how visually boring the landscape might be. One must remember that early travelers were not interested in crossing the country by taking the most scenic route; in fact, the flatter the land, the easier the going for the pioneers. I also found the lack of vertical lines in desert photo compositions particularly annoying. This was most often encountered in those very remote areas where the trail is not disturbed by civilization, or even trees. Just to add interest and scale to the graphics of the photograph, I soon began to focus on those places where the historic trail intersected with artifacts of contemporary society. Eventually, it became my approach to photograph these intersections for the ideas they presented—the ironies when historic and contemporary uses are compared—as well as for their graphic potential. After all, you can only make so many photographs of a pair of ruts going off into infinity through a flat sagebrush desert.

The romantic interpretation of landscape, so often found in both paintings and photographs of the West, has never interested me, and I do not photograph it so. I do not see landscape as a holy place or symbol for God, and it certainly was not treated that way by the pioneers. The land was used to scratch out a living on a large or small scale by whatever scheme people could invent, as it had been for centuries. In arid climates the evidence of these efforts is slow to heal, and it became obvious to me that the scars of the trail, and that of the new highways that overlay or paralleled it, would be a more potent record and perhaps a truer statement of the meaning and current condition of the Overland Trail.

My methodology was not to make a photograph unless I was standing directly in the ruts of the trail or looking straight at where they used to be. It was very tempting to wander one hundred feet off to capture a spectacular image, but I resisted. The maps of the trail are very specific, and I followed them whether they led under concrete or asphalt, through cities, or under water. Even when the historic track was invisible, I often found a granite trail site marker erected by the local historical society or the Daughters of the American Revolution. Small towns remember their history, and the placing of these markers is surprisingly accurate.

Someone, it seems, has always been interested in this trail and marked it with everything from wooden signs to bronze plaques.

I found that the best way to make photographs was to work the trail in sections. Five days of concentrated work was all I could manage without a break; the brain saturates. Some days I could travel two hundred miles, other days only fifty, because I stopped to talk to a rancher about the section through his property. The conversation often led to a personalized tour, a kind gesture, willingly accepted, but at the cost of hours.

Many times, the traces of the old trail give out, and it becomes passable only on bicycle, which I resorted to more than once, especially when a ranching fence without a gate crossed the track. Other times the trail just ends. In these cases, I backtracked out to the main highway and began another probe at some distance farther west. I also learned to venture across property marked "no trespassing" and to go through latched, but unlocked, gates. Since cattle were often in or near the viewfinder of the camera, my biggest job was to convince ranchers that I was not an advance-man for sophisticated cattle rustlers who needed photographs of their future booty.

The Overland Trail now passes through Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management land, factory and corporate yards, private ranches, and small and large cities, and it is much of the time under concrete highway. Most restricted sites, however, were made accessible after I explained the nature of my project. The most difficult access was encountered when the trail passed through Indian reservations, such as that of the Shoshone-Bannock tribe in Fort Hall, Idaho. Perhaps these Native Americans still remember the consequences of letting the first white man pass through their country. CHS

---

*Greg MacGregor, professor of art and photography, is chairman of the art department at California State University, Hayward. He has been photographing western landscapes for the past twenty years using a wide variety of approaches in a fine art context. This is his first documentary project.*

---

# A PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTFOLIO OF THE OVERLAND TRAIL

---

by Greg MacGregor

---



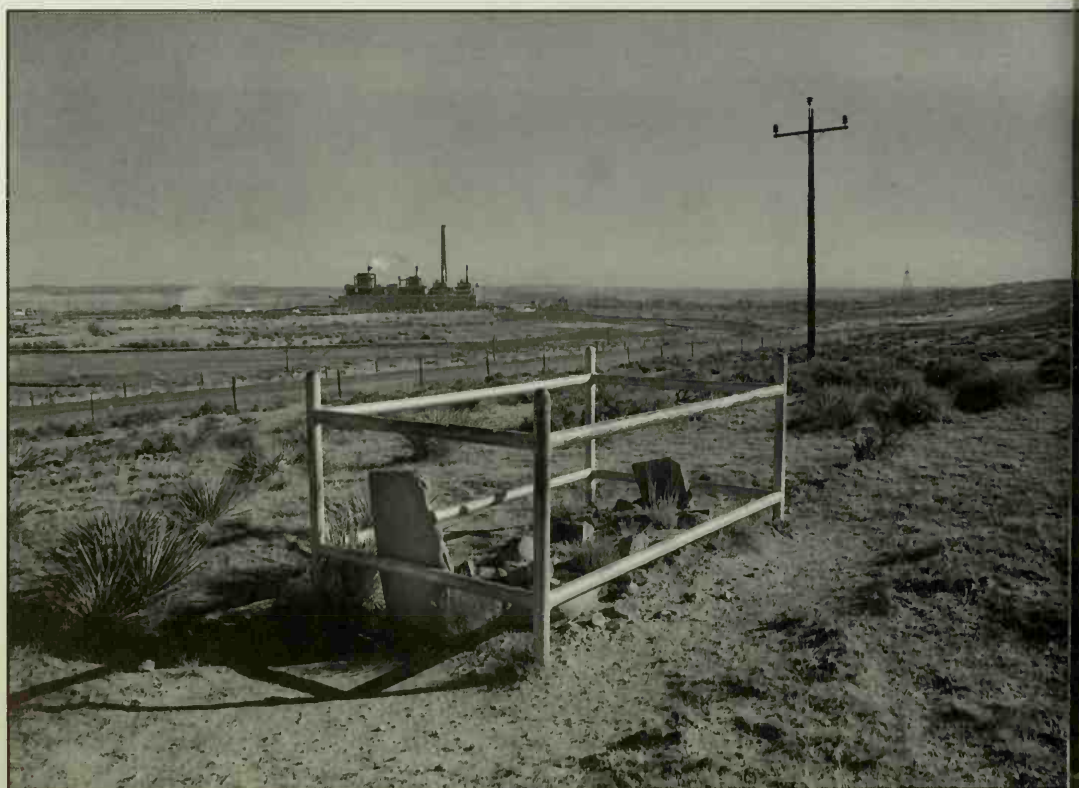
[Top] Ruts ascending the Platte River at California Crossing, Brule, Nebraska. Bearing some of the few original trail ruts left in Nebraska, this land was recently purchased by the Oregon California Trails Association (OCTA) in order to preserve them. Farming has destroyed all but a few hundred yards of trail in Nebraska.

[Below] Approaching Chimney Rock, Nebraska. The most noted landmark on the Oregon Trail, Chimney Rock could be seen by the emigrants for at least a day before they reached it. Emigrants climbed its base and carved initials into the soft clay and sandstone, although none survive today. The rock's total height from the base to top is 300 feet, making it seem a bizarre landform to travelers accustomed to the flat midwestern landscape.





[Top] Trail ruts near Guernsey, Wyoming, are about six feet deep at their maximum, cut into sandstone. They attest to the emigrants' preferred method of ascending hills: straight up the slope line. The trail was not graded to be level, as contemporary roads are, and any attempt to ascend hills gently along their contours would have caused wagons to tip over sideways. [Below] A.H. Unthank's grave near Glenrock, Wyoming. Alva Unthank is believed to have died of cholera or dysentery. The date on the headstone is July 2, 1850. One week earlier, he had carved his initials on Register Cliff, where they are still visible. Remarkably, the headstone and footstone have not been vandalized or stolen, even though the grave is close to a county highway (visible in the background), which was laid down on top of the old trail.





[Top] From the top of Independence Rock, Wyoming, looking east along the Overland Trail. Independence Rock is a granite, turtle-shaped rock, 200 feet high and one-fourth a mile long. Its name reflects its importance as a milestone along the trail. If travelers reached it by July 4th, they knew they were on schedule to reach California before the Sierra snows began. The entire surface of this rock is peppered with graffiti, which shows clearly today despite the passage of 150 years. At this spot, emigrants picked up the Sweetwater River, which they ascended to the Continental Divide. [Below] Markers at the Continental Divide, Wyoming. South Pass, through the divide, was discovered in 1812 by trappers heading east from Astoria, Oregon. The land is almost flat here, and the original trail was five or six ruts wide. The large marker in the foreground was carved and placed by Ezra Meeker in 1906. He had traveled west as an emigrant fifty-six years earlier and made this return trip with a mule-drawn wagon to promote and popularize the trail. The distant marker, placed in 1916, reads "Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, Elizabeth Spalding. First white women to cross this pass, July 4, 1836."

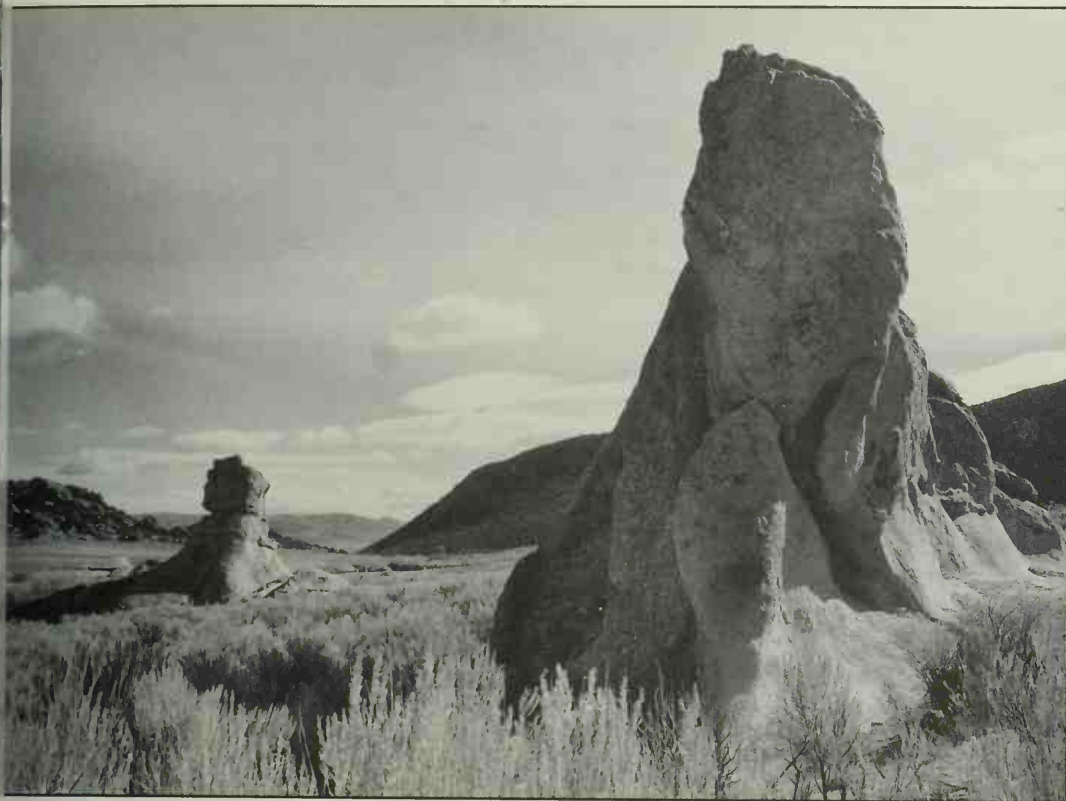




[Top] Trail site through the Bear River valley, near Cokeville, Wyoming. Emigrants followed the Bear River northwest, clearing the north end of the Wasatch mountain range in Utah, and then south until it ultimately drained into the Great Salt Lake. At that point they abandoned the river for an overland track that eventually joined the Snake River. California travelers saw this stretch of the trail as "going in the wrong direction," but it did provide a gentle downhill slope from the high desert plateau, and a route around the Wasatch range.

[Bottom] View from a pioneer cabin, looking toward Elba Pass, Idaho. Telephone poles mark the trail route.





[Top] Granite monoliths in City of Rocks campground, Idaho. This was the emigrants' favorite campground because of the spectacular scenery provided by hundreds of rocks such as these. Travelers gave rocks such names as "Napoleon's Castle" and "City Hotel." A great deal of graffiti and name carving covers the monoliths. The trail enters this area through the low spot in the center of picture. [Bottom] Hastings Cutoff, Magma, Utah, looking east. Trail guide and promoter Lansford Hastings claimed this southern route around the Great Salt Lake to be a faster way to California and published a book extolling its advantages. He never took a wagon across it, but nonetheless convinced the Donner-Reed Party of 1846 to use it. The route went straight through the Wasatch range (seen in the background) and then south of the Great Salt Lake across the salt flats, an 80-mile waterless desert. The route next took a severe detour south to circumnavigate the Ruby Mountains before finally joining the main trail near present-day Elko, Nevada. The Donner Party lost two months' travel time by following this route, but the cutoff was used later by impatient gold seekers traveling faster on foot or horseback. A wagon route around the south end of the Great Salt Lake, however, was never feasible in the pioneer period.





[Top] View of the Humboldt River, Nevada, 100 miles from the source. The Humboldt was followed for about 350 miles. Never much wider than in the photo, its average depth was six inches. The route was cursed by all for its choking dust, alkali water, and hostile Indians. The Overland Trail followed both sides of the river for most of the Nevada crossing. Farming in subsequent decades has obliterated all but a few traces of the wagons on the river's banks. [Bottom] Rocks placed at Salt Creek Crossing, 40-Mile Desert, Nevada. These rocks were placed here by emigrants, who stood on them and helped turn by hand the wagon wheels, which often bogged down in the sticky mud at this crossing. The water in Salt Creek was undrinkable.





[Top] Burned wagon remains, 40-Mile Desert, Carson Route, Nevada. Burning wagons were a common sight at night in this section. For reasons we can only speculate about, when livestock died on this route, emigrants burned their wagons and destroyed any food they could not carry out.

[Bottom] Ruts leaving Parren Flat, Carson Route, 40-Mile Desert, Nevada. These ruts are in the heart of the Carson Route desert, where wagons spread out to avoid the dust. The fate of this section of trail is currently the subject of a dispute over whether or not the federal Bureau of Land Management should allow a Utah corporation to flood the area with water and create a salt evaporation pond.

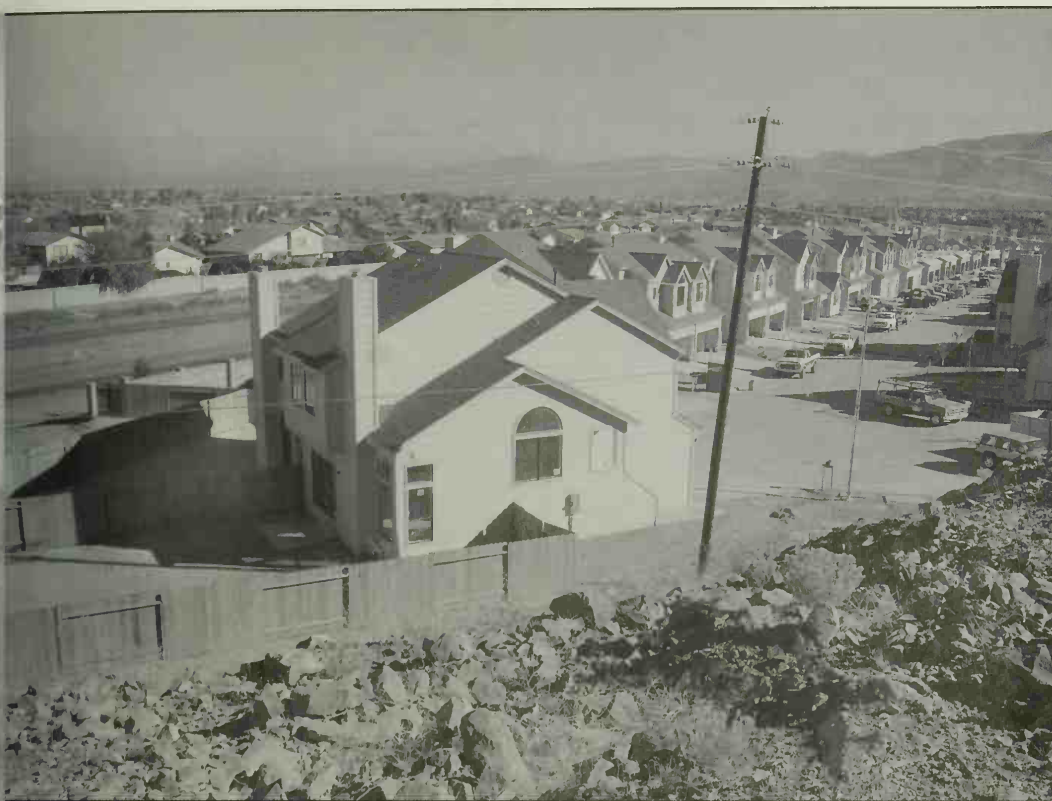




[Top] Night crossing, 40-Mile Desert. Interstate 80, between Lovelock and Wadsworth, closely follows this route. It took emigrants twenty-four hours to cross this desert, and most thought it best to start in the evening just before sunset to avoid the intense heat. Nevada desert crossings would have been easier if the emigrants' livestock had not been weakened by the poor grass and alkali water along the 300-mile long Humboldt River. [Bottom]

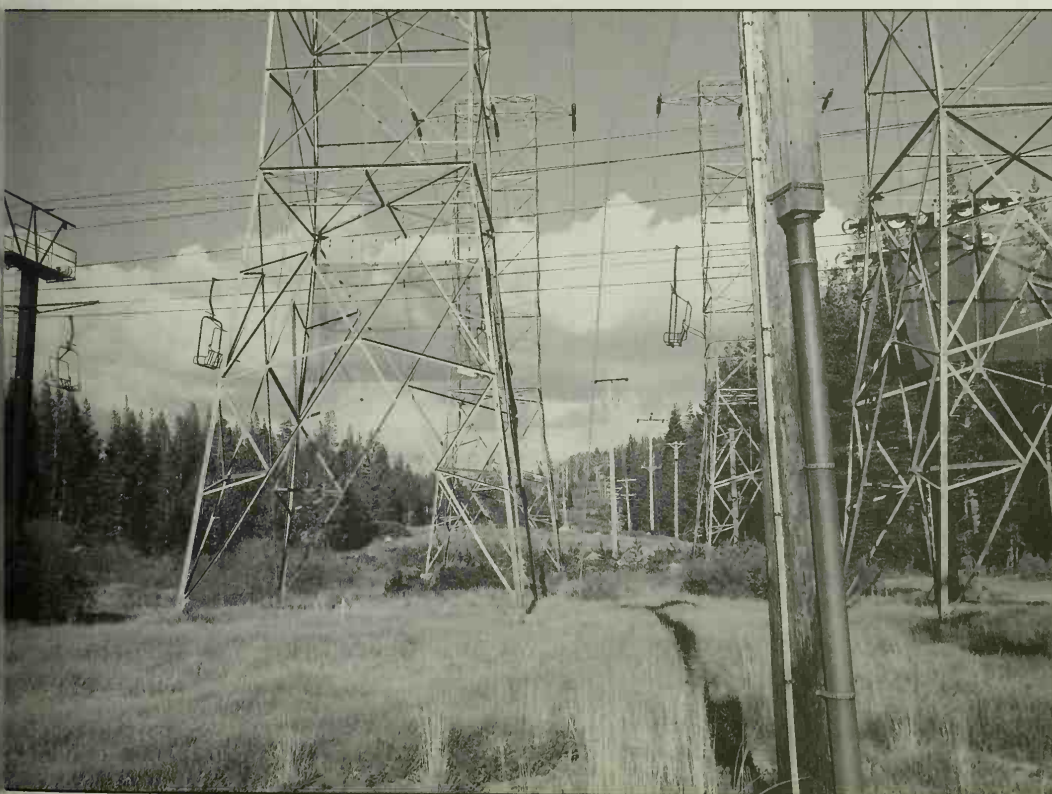
Approaching Hidden Valley Elementary School, Reno, Nevada. Truckee Meadows (present-day Reno) was a vast swamp of marsh grass and eight to fifteen drainage sloughs, such as the one shown here. Too deep to permit fording, the sloughs required a detour south along the base of Vista Hills to an alternate crossing of the Truckee River.



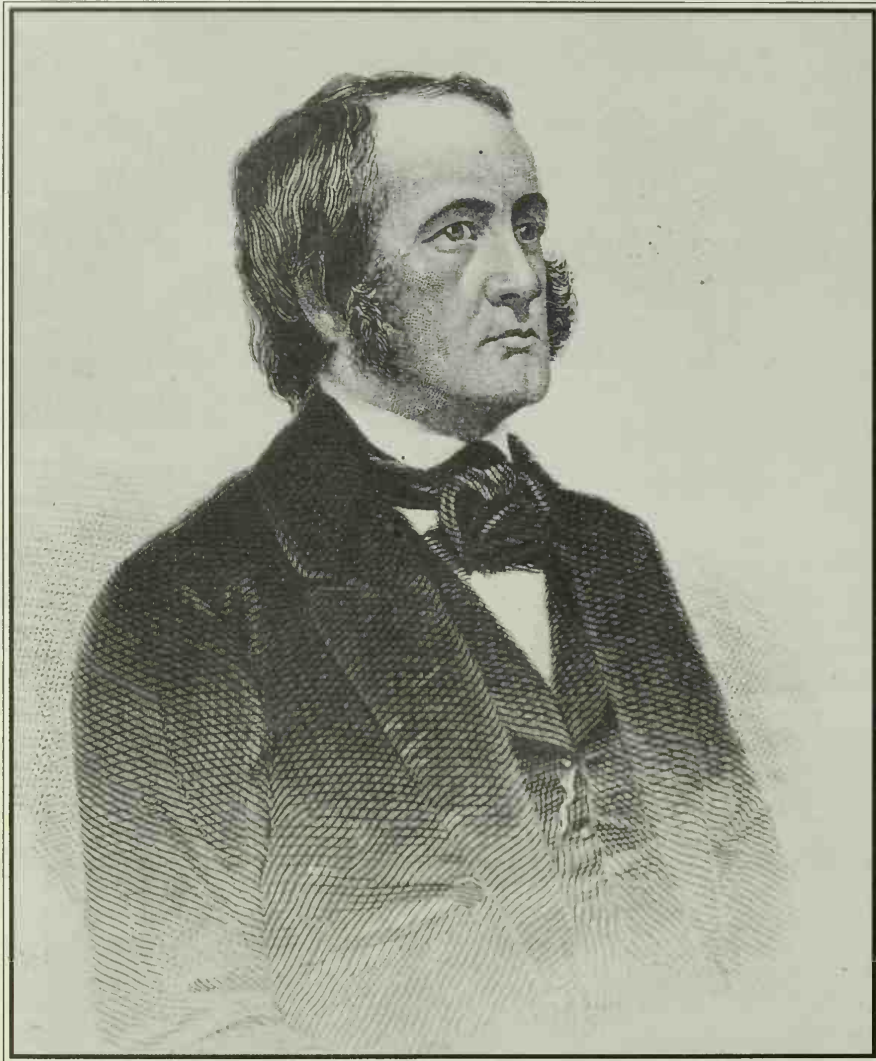


[Top] View from Rattlesnake Mountain of Truckee Meadows campsite, Short Ranch, Reno, Nevada. This former campsite, located in the center of this picture, was a resting spot with good gas and water. The Donner Party camped here just before it ascended the Sierra to the Truckee area, where half of its members perished in the winter of 1846-1847. The housing development that covers this site today is called "Donner Spring."

[Bottom] Intersection of trail, powerlines, and chairlift, Sugar Bowl Ski Resort, California. This view looks east and directly uphill toward Donner Pass, about one-half mile away. Much of the original trail through the Truckee-Donner Pass area has been disfigured or obliterated altogether by reservoirs, logging, road-building, real-estate subdivisions, and recreation businesses.







The career of native New Englander Thomas Oliver Larkin (1802-1858), one of the revered founding pioneers of American California, coincided with many important transitions in the province. In 1832, he emigrated from the East Coast of the United States to what was then an isolated and largely undeveloped Mexican California. Establishing a diverse merchant business in the provincial capital, Monterey, he played an important role in the expansion of the hide and tallow trade, and other new commercial awakenings on the Pacific Coast. Secretly appointed by the American government to work internally toward a peaceful acquisition of California by the United States, Larkin was later caught up in the conflict between the Spanish-speaking *californios* and the invading Americans during the Mexican War. Following the successful American conquest in 1846, Larkin threw himself into rural and urban land speculation, and taking advantage of the population growth and economic development brought by the Gold Rush, emerged by the early 1850s as one of the wealthiest and most influential of Californians. No other nineteenth-century figure as much reflected the major currents of the state's history. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

# "The Jumping Off Place of the World":

## CALIFORNIA AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THOMAS O. LARKIN

by  
*Harlan Hague*

Thomas O. Larkin was an ambitious young man. In 1831, he decided at age twenty-eight that he had frittered away enough time and now must look to the future. He considered his options. His first choice was to marry a rich cousin and settle down on a comfortable farm near Boston. The second choice was to secure a postal appointment in Washington with the help of his cousin and stepbrother, Ebenezer Larkin Childs, who was a minor official at the Post Office. The third option, and one that Larkin did not care much for at all, was to go to Monterey, in Mexican California, to work for John B.R. Cooper, a merchant and sea captain and Larkin's half brother.

More than anything else, Larkin wanted to be rich. He would not marry the wealthy cousin unless he could find "Some small love for her," as he said, and one can assume that he would work hard to find that small love. But the match did not materialize. And the Post Office job did not come through. That left California.

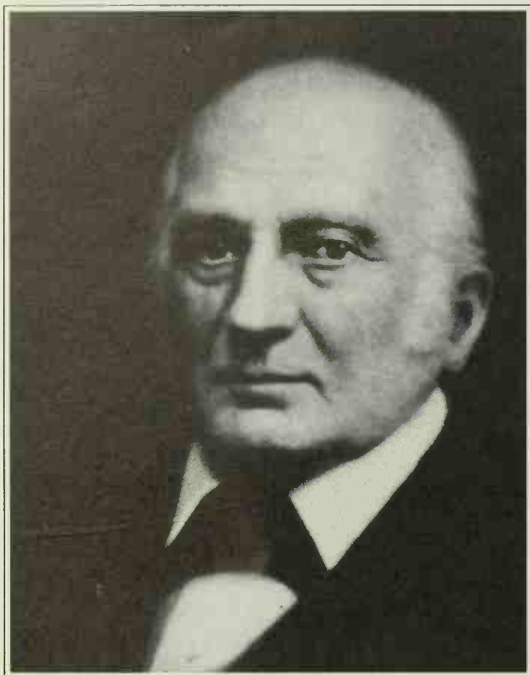
Cooper had not actually offered a position to Larkin. The sea captain had asked Samuel Childs, stepbrother and cousin of Larkin, to come to Monterey as his clerk. Childs declined, and the offer was passed around among the extended family. The prospect did not appeal to Larkin. California seemed to him "the jumping off place of the world," and he worried that he would have to forget English, learn Spanish, and live among Mexicans, whom he had always despised.<sup>1</sup> But there seemed no other options left open to him. He was a bit desperate. After leaving his Massachusetts home in 1821, he had spent ten years in North Carolina in various business ventures. Mostly, he learned how not to conduct business. Now, he decided that he would brace himself and take a chance.

Much has been made in the literature about how Larkin's experience in California differed from the other Americans living there. That is, he remained an American citizen, he remained Protestant, and he married an American woman. All true, but Larkin had not planned it that way. Larkin was driven by a hunger for wealth. He had every intention of doing exactly what Cooper and other Americans had done on arriving in California: marry a local Mexican beauty, become a Catholic and a citizen, and through family connections find his fortune. He was not completely mercenary; he would marry, he said, "providing I had any (say a little) love for the Lady, and the Lady had loot enough for me. A little of the former and much of the latter [and] I'm a married man."<sup>2</sup>

All this changed when he met Rachel. Or did it change when she became pregnant? Larkin and Rachel Hobson Holmes arrived in California on the same ship in 1832. Rachel was coming to join her husband, who was a sea captain. A shipboard romance probably bloomed. When the historian John A. Hawgood in the 1960s first discovered the existence of the illegitimate child and told Alice Larkin Toulmin, Larkin's granddaughter, she said: "Oh well, it must have been a very long voyage in those days and I suppose there was little else to do."<sup>3</sup> During Rachel's pregnancy, while both she and Larkin were living at Cooper's house, she learned providentially that her husband had died.

The news did not immediately produce a marriage. The child was born in January 1833, and Larkin and Rachel were married the following June. There are any number of explanations for Larkin's decision to marry: he was conscience-stricken; or he was in love with Rachel after all; or he had learned that the death of Captain Holmes had left Rachel a tidy sum, over which Larkin would have





Merchant and sea captain John B. R. Cooper, Larkin's half-brother, lured Thomas to California in 1832 by offering him a position in his business in Santa Barbara. *Courtesy Amelie Elkinton and the State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation. Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, CSU, Hayward.*

complete control; or, since they wished to marry in a Protestant ceremony, they had to await an opportunity.

There is an interesting sidelight on this last point. They were married on an American ship lying off Santa Barbara by the American consul to Honolulu. Twelve years later, in response to Larkin's question—Larkin was himself a consul by then—the United States State Department informed him that consuls had no authority to perform marriages.<sup>4</sup> By that date, the Larkins had parented eight more children.

Little Isabel, the first child born in California to American citizens, died in July, approximately one month after the marriage of her parents. She was buried, as she had been baptized, at the Santa Barbara mission.

Larkin was in his element in California. The economy was based on cattle, and almost the entire Hispanic community was involved in it in some fashion. Other business activities were left largely to naturalized Mexicans or foreigners. With Rachel's inheritance, Larkin began his climb to success as an entrepreneur. He engaged in any venture that would make a profit. Within the first two or three years of his arrival, he was involved in debt collection, he had a wheat mill, and he engaged in lumbering and ranching. In 1834, he opened his first store in Monterey.

Before the end of that same year, Larkin had begun construction of his house. He was a close budgeter, but the actual construction expenses were always greater than his estimates. He even budgeted the cost of the rum punch that he served his workers at the roof-raising celebration. The actual cost of the rum was *twice* his estimate. The cost of the house itself is recorded on his books as \$4,105. After adding nearby outbuildings, the cost rose to about \$5,000.<sup>5</sup>



Rachel Larkin, as she appeared in the late 1850s. The image was reproduced from the *Hesperian Magazine* of May 1859. *Courtesy California State Library.*

The Larkins moved into their new home sometime after June 1835, probably not until 1836. It was a fine house, the first two-story building in Monterey, and just right for the entertaining for which Larkin became famous. Any visitor of note enjoyed Larkin's hospitality. The journals and letters of travelers in the 1830s and 1840s are filled with comment about his open-handedness. For example, an American naval officer told about a visit to Larkin's house in 1844:

According to previous invitation, we met at two o'clock in the afternoon at the house of our consul, and found there an assemblage of the citizens of the place, ladies and gentlemen, Mexican and Californian. General and la Señora Micheltoreno [Micheltorena], were of the party. . . . Dancing commenced immediately, and, in the

various combinations of quadrilles, contradances, and waltzes, was kept up until nine o'clock at night. . . . We were not the only foreigners present; as Her British Majesty's ship *Modeste*, having just come into the port, we had the pleasure of their company.<sup>6</sup>

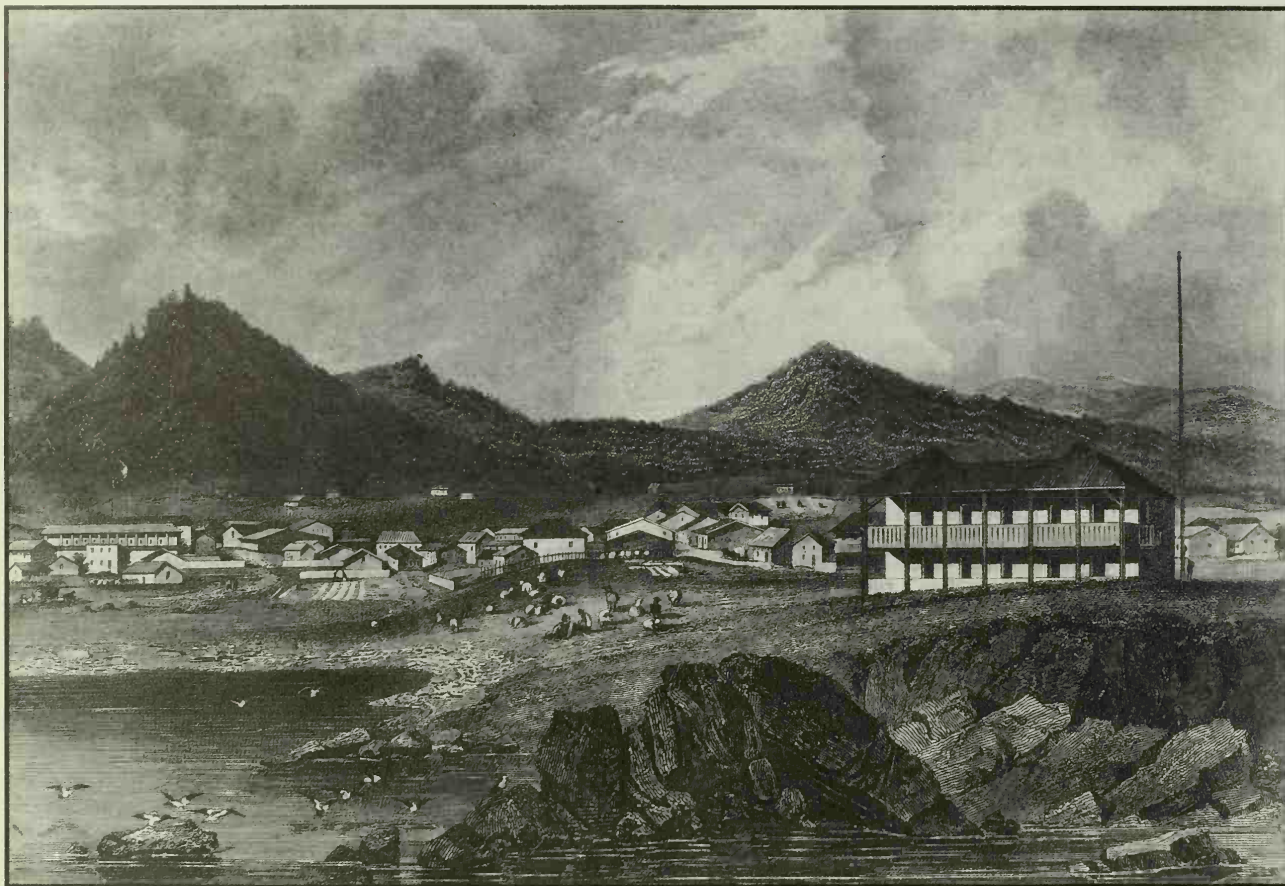
Larkin loved a good party and spent huge sums on them. He also enjoyed the company and conversation of interesting people. Entertaining also was good for business. Those of little influence or profit potential were rarely seen at Larkin's table.

Larkin's store was located in the house. He was among the first local merchants in California to service the growing *ranchero* class. Secularization of the missions had released vast tracts of land that were now in private hands. Few *rancheros* were actually wealthy, but they could afford to buy



Thomas and Rachel Larkin's landmark house in Monterey, completed in the mid-1830s and shown here in this late nineteenth-century photograph, was itself an important stimulus toward the Americanization of California culture. Although built of local wood and adobe materials, the house introduced many features of traditional American architecture that differed sharply from Hispanic colonial buildings, including symmetrical floorplan, two-story construction with a central internal staircase, the wrap-around double veranda, wood shingle roof, heating by fireplace, and wood-sash windows. The new "Monterey Colonial" style quickly became the rage in the late 1830s and 1840s, and other foreign immigrants and some of the *californios* themselves built replicas of Larkin's house in northern and southern California. *Courtesy California State Library.*





Monterey, as it appeared in the 1840s, drawn from a vantage point near the location of present-day Cannery Row. CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.

manufactured goods available only from outside California. The hide ships and whalers that usually brought these goods on the outbound passage from New England sold directly to the *rancheros*, even establishing resident agents on the coast. Buying from the ships always was a festive occasion, dear to the hearts of *californios*, but it was inconvenient.

A local store, with a constant supply of goods, solved a great number of problems. The *rancheros* could now bring hides to pay for goods when it was convenient, not when the ships were loading on the coast. Ships could sell directly to local merchants and not have to send agents ashore to beat about the countryside for hide sellers and goods

buyers. Merchants also extended credit to *rancheros*, something ship captains often were reluctant to do. Larkin was in the right place, the capital of California and the leading town in the north, at the right time.

Larkin's attitudes toward *californios* began to change. He did a brisk, profitable business, supplying California governments from time to time. He traded up and down the coast, with both expatriate and Hispanic merchants and soon began to count a number of good friends among *californios*. He was on close personal terms with Micheltorena, who was both a debtor and a friend.

His attitudes toward California also changed. This "jumping off place of the world" began to have a hold on him. Beginning in 1843, Larkin wrote regularly to eastern newspapers, singing

the praises of his adopted home. In this smiling land, the forests were full of game, the bays were broad, and the streams teemed with fish. "Solomon, in all his glory," he told the readers of the *New York Herald*, "was not more happy than a Californian."<sup>7</sup>

He liked California so much that he wished it to become American. He feared, however, that it might fall under the control of France or Britain. Some *californios* indeed favored seeking European protection from the tyranny and neglect of Mexico. Others, notably Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, favored an association with the United States. It was this attitude that Larkin tried to nourish among Californians. As a merchant and, after 1844, as United States consul, he did not seek and never advocated an American conquest of the Mexican province. He favored instead an association of California with the United States at the initiation of the *californios* themselves. He might have succeeded if the politicians in Washington had been more patient.

As relations between the United States and Mexico worsened in the mid-1840s, President James K. Polk added to Larkin's consular duties by appointing him his secret agent in California. Larkin was flattered and pleased with the new charge because he now had official encouragement to do exactly what he had been doing unofficially for years: try to persuade the *californios* that their best interests lay with the United States, not with Mexico.

Larkin received word of the appointment on April 17, 1846. Times were troubled in California that spring. Army Captain John C. Frémont had arrived in the province in January with a party of about sixty heavily-armed mountain men. When Mexican authorities questioned the intrusion, Frémont and Consul Larkin explained that the party was simply surveying. Frémont was granted permission to gather supplies at Monterey, after which he was to leave California. The captain instead marched his force to the coast near Santa Cruz. When *californio* authorities learned of the unauthorized trek, they ordered the Americans to leave the province immediately. Frémont considered the order a personal affront and barricaded his force atop Gavilan Peak near Monterey.

On reflection, and at Larkin's urging, Frémont withdrew quietly, but his belligerency had raised the specter of an American invasion.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, Americans who had emigrated overland and set-

tled in the Sacramento Valley, largely without the required passports, feared expulsion by Monterey authorities. *Californios*, on the other hand, feared violence on the part of those same overlanders. Tensions were growing.

Yet, the dark times were fraught with possibilities. A *junta* convened by General José Castro, the military commandant, had met in late March to discuss California's precarious situation. Meetings were held in Castro's house and, as evidence of the warm relationship between *californio* authorities and Larkin, at Larkin's house. *Junta* members pondered whether California should seek protection from a foreign power, particularly Britain or France. Some advocated a declaration of independence from Mexico. If that were done, the next logical step, Larkin hoped, would be a move for an association with the United States. Vallejo and others indeed spoke in favor of looking to the United States for protection. The meeting broke up with no firm conclusion.<sup>9</sup>

Within weeks, it appeared that Larkin had succeeded after all. At the *junta*, Castro had declared for the annexation of California by Catholic France. Afterwards, when he had time to reflect on events, he had a change of heart. He showed Larkin a plan for declaring California independent from Mexico as soon as a sufficient number of immigrants had entered the province to ensure success, probably by 1847 or 1848. He asked Larkin for his approval, and Larkin readily gave it. It was everything that Larkin had worked for.

**T**he Bear Flag affair, a challenge to *californio* authority initiated in June 1846 by American settlers in the interior valleys, burst the bubble. Larkin was devastated. He feared that all the good will that he had built up over the years was lost. As consul, he tried to get an explanation from the Bear Flaggers about their intentions, and at the same time to soothe the fears of the *californios*. But events were soon to overtake his campaign for a peaceful union.

In late June, Californians learned that war between the United States and Mexico had erupted on the disputed Rio Grande. The war over Texas soon became the conquest of California, and American naval forces arrived shortly. Larkin was caught up in the conflict from the beginning. He advised commodores John D. Sloat and Robert F. Stockton,

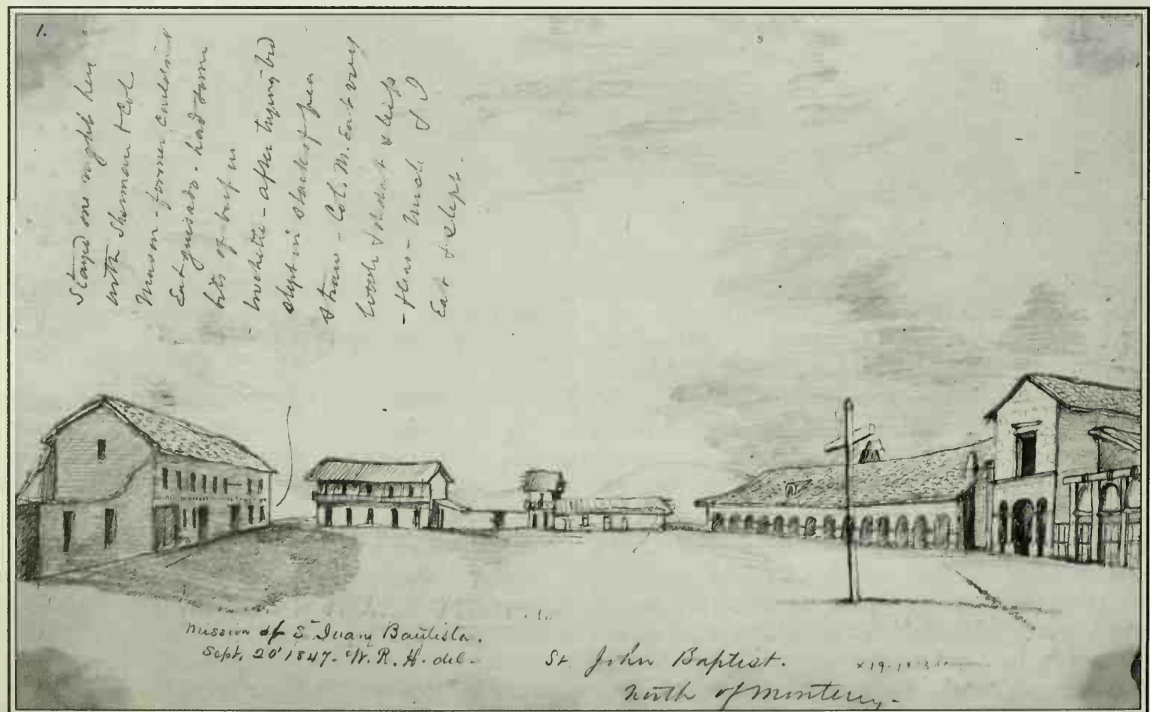


successive fleet commanders, and acted as an intermediary between the American officers and *californio* leaders. He hoped that the change of sovereignty could be accomplished with the quiet acceptance, if not approval, of the *californios*. This hope was dashed by the unnecessarily belligerent tone of a proclamation issued by Stockton in Monterey on July 29 and the severe treatment of Los Angeles residents in September by Lieutenant Gillespie, whom Stockton had placed in command there. Gillespie's action precipitated an uprising by townsmen, and resistance to American rule spread into the countryside. California was once again at war.

It was this last action that would bring Larkin personally into the conflict. He had heard rumors from the beginning of the conquest that he might be taken hostage by the *californios*. After all, as

consul, he was the leading American civil authority in the province. By implication, he must be responsible for what was happening. Responsible or not, he could be useful to the *californios* if they needed to recover prisoners held by the Americans. Larkin accepted the possibility of capture philosophically. "I do not care whether I am made Prisoner or not providing I sleep in a good Bed, under cover, and have tea or coffee before I start in the morning and during the day."<sup>10</sup> But Larkin discounted the rumors; the *californios* were his friends and would not harm him.

Perhaps not, but they would hold him. Larkin earlier had sent Rachel and their children to the relative safety of San Francisco, away from the intrigue and volatility of Monterey. In mid-November, he received a letter from Rachel, telling of the serious illness of their daughter, Sophia Adeline. Larkin



Mission San Juan Bautista, site of an 1846 Mexican War battle witnessed by Thomas O. Larkin while he was a prisoner of the *californios*, as drawn by William Rich Hutton on September 20, 1847. A clerk in the American military force that was occupying Mexican California, Hutton made numerous drawings throughout California during his six-year stay. The Huntington Library currently holds ninety-five of his drawings, including twenty done of settings in the Monterey area. Courtesy Huntington Library.



Contemporary illustration of John C. Frémont riding at the head of the American military column that entered Monterey during the Mexican War. Behind Frémont rode his Indian scouts, followed by the rest of the invading army. CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.

left immediately for San Francisco, making no secret of his departure. He was captured on the road by a *californio* force. The leader of the party was Manuel Castro, the prefect of Monterey and an old acquaintance.

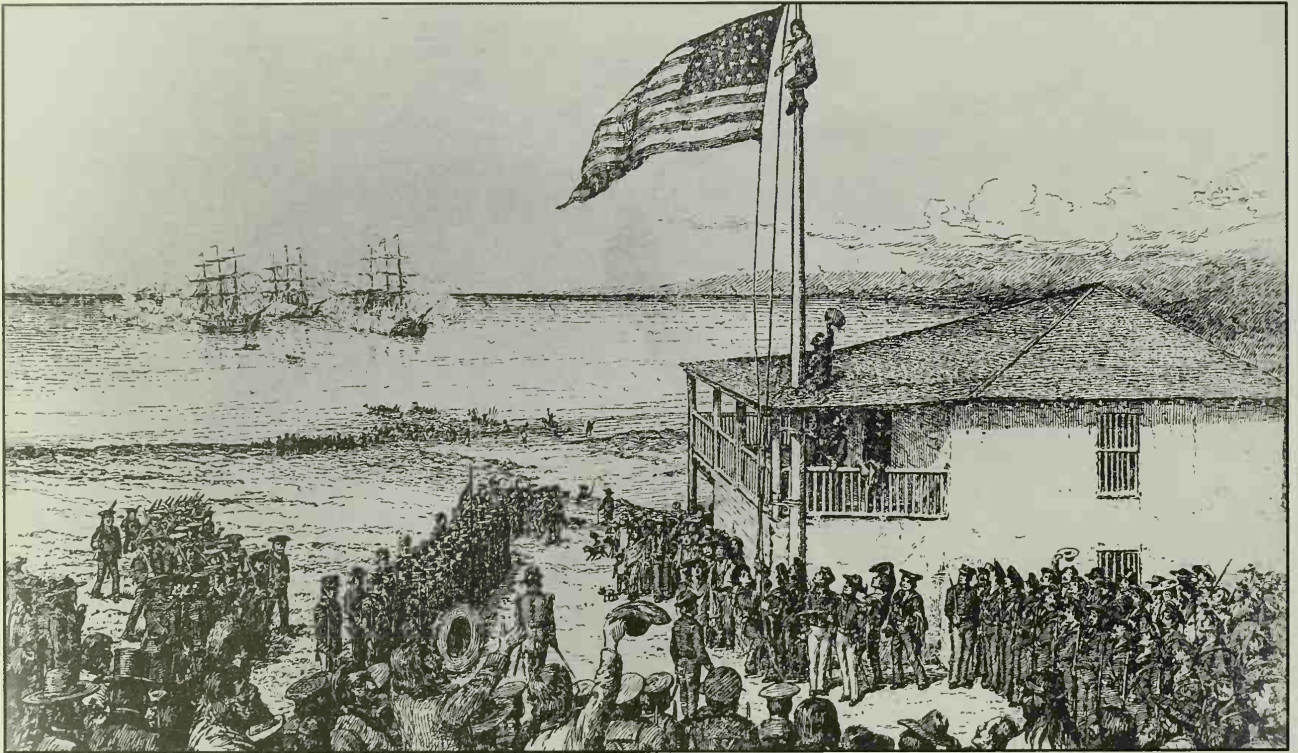
A sharp skirmish was fought the next day between the *californios* and a party of American volunteers who had gathered at Mission San Juan Bautista. The Americans had learned of Larkin's capture and had been on the lookout for the hostile force. As prisoner of the *californios*, Larkin was spectator to the battle, and it deeply troubled him. On one side were his countrymen, on the other men whom he had come to know and respect: business associates, neighbors, friends. A defeat by either side, he told Rachel later, "appeared sad and disagreeable to me."<sup>11</sup>

The battle ended in a draw, but Castro gave up the fight for the north and withdrew southward, taking his hostage with him. Larkin was closely

guarded and cared for during the journey. The leader of his escort was Francisco Rico, whom Larkin knew from Monterey. Larkin considered him a straightforward, honorable man. Larkin's captors might expect to win some advantage eventually with their hostage, and they did not dare let any harm come to him while they were responsible for him. They took care that his horse did not slip during night rides. If there was only one bed or one piece of bread, it was his.

Indeed, the members of the escort were so attentive during the journey southward, it is unclear whether Rico or Larkin was in control. Several members, concluding that this war was not for them, told Larkin that they would help him escape and promised to ride back north with him. Larkin declined. On another occasion, Larkin noticed that most of the escort had fallen behind, and only four men rode with him and Rico. Larkin remarked to Rico that three of the four would help Larkin shoot





With the capture of Monterey by the invading American land and naval forces, The Stars-and-Stripes was raised ceremoniously over the Monterey Customs House on July 7, 1846. From a contemporary illustration. CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.

Rico in the back, and that it was an open question whether the fourth man would support Rico or Larkin. Rico thanked him and said that in the future he would be more careful.<sup>12</sup>

Larkin was lodged briefly in Santa Barbara as an honored guest of Dr. Nicholas Den, a naturalized Mexican of Irish origin. He was soon taken to Los Angeles, where he was more guest than prisoner of General José María Flores, leader of *californio* forces in the south, who had regained control of Los Angeles. Larkin was given the best room in Government House. Local citizens sent furniture and meals, and Señora Flores served him tea and bread four times a day. This last must have particularly pleased Larkin; he loved his tea. General Flores apologized for not having certain English books that Larkin requested. Larkin was finding his

captivity bearable and, in conversations with his captors, learned something of their cause. He admitted in a letter to Rachel that "both North & South have been prolific in falsehoods of late."<sup>13</sup>

As American forces converged on Los Angeles from north and south, Larkin feared for his life, not so much from official violence, but from an accident while being moved or at the hands of an aggrieved citizen. His fears appeared justified when General Flores summoned him to his defensive position southeast of Los Angeles. Larkin delayed, thinking he was being sent to Mexico. By the time he arrived, the *californios* had lost the Battle of San Gabriel and the war.

Flores took considerable pains to explain to Larkin why he had held him prisoner and why he had taken command of the patriot forces. Some

common soldiers who recognized Larkin asked him to help their families now that the war was over. The general gathered a half-dozen officers, with himself as leader, and escorted Larkin, now a free man, to his lodgings.<sup>14</sup>

Upon his return to Monterey in February 1847, Larkin published an open letter in the *Monterey Californian*, expressing his thanks for kindnesses he had received during his captivity. Among those specifically named were some of his captors, notably General and Señora Flores.<sup>15</sup>

For the next few years, Larkin devoted himself primarily to becoming rich in the new American province of California. His official positions had terminated, though he continued to act as Navy Agent for a time. He bought and sold building lots in Monterey, San Francisco, Vallejo, Sacramento, and elsewhere. He bought large tracts of land on the Sacramento River and north of San Francisco Bay. Some he had surveyed, subdivided, and sold piecemeal. Others he stocked with cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs. The Boga Rancho, on the Feather River just south of today's Oroville, was thought to be so rich in gold that Larkin eventually offered it on the London market for \$1 million. He was the chief founder and promoter, along with Robert Baylor Semple, of the town of Benicia. He invested in railroads and a quicksilver mine and sent trading ships to China and Mexico. He was rich, powerful, and influential. In 1849, he was a respected member of the state Constitutional Convention that met in Monterey.

Yet, all was not well with Larkin. The pace he had set for himself was beginning to tell on him. He was working too hard. His frequent trips and extended stays in San Francisco were exhausting. He wrote to a friend:

My head whirls with speculation; my hair grows grey by the excessive working of my brain, and ambition. . . . I leave next week for my Monterey home and would give 500 ounces of gold to chase out of my brain for a year or two every idea of trade or speculation.<sup>16</sup>

As he increasingly transferred his interests to bustling San Francisco, Monterey proved a refuge to him, and he found peace there. "May California be the best country in the world and Monterey the best part of California, is my prayer," he wrote once to Jacob Leese.<sup>17</sup>

Larkin had loved Monterey well enough, but his world was the world of business, and San Francisco was now the place to be. In January 1850, he traded his house and other Monterey properties to Jacob Leese for some San Francisco properties. Although Larkin's specific reasons for disposing of his house are uncertain, what is known for sure is that he planned to move permanently from Monterey.

A trip to the East had been on his mind for some time. As early as 1842, he had planned such a voyage. For the next eight years, he announced periodically that he wanted to return East. He said that he wanted to own some land there, especially in Massachusetts, his boyhood home. In 1847, he began to invest in eastern railroads and other stocks. He was also concerned about his two sons, Oliver and Frederic, who were attending eastern schools.

Larkin's early plans for a visit to the East suggested a visit of a few months only. By 1850, he intended a longer residence. In February, shortly before leaving San Francisco, he gave an agent a batch of promissory notes, the last falling due in thirty months. He instructed the agent to send the payments to him in New York. In the same month, he backed out of a partnership arrangement that he had proposed only the month before. The disappointed associate wrote to a friend that Larkin "says he dont want to make any more property in California."<sup>18</sup> The associate concluded that Larkin was homesick.

Thomas and Rachel, with three of their children, Francis, Caroline, and Alfred, arrived in New York in April 1850. The Larkins rented a comfortable suite at the fashionable Irving House, a popular gathering place for Californians. They entertained lavishly and lived in luxury that could only be dreamed of in California. Within two months of his arrival in the East, Larkin wrote to an old Monterey friend, Pablo de la Guerra, that he planned to buy a house in New York.

The letter to de la Guerra includes a hint of the turmoil that would distress Larkin for the next three years. After telling about the excitement and glitter of New York, he turned to beg friend Pablo for California news. "No doubt business will next year take me back to the land of adoption[?]. The place of my name & fame and fortune will also call





Thomas Larkin's friend and correspondent, Pablo de la Guerra (1819-1874), was a member of a prominent *californio* family from Santa Barbara. He also owned the Rancho El Nicasio in Marin County. CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.

me back to see old friends."<sup>19</sup> Only three months after leaving California, Larkin was homesick.

In November, the Larkins purchased an eighteen-room house on a good street. They repaired, painted, and furnished until they had, in the word of a friend, "a palacia." The fourth floor was largely occupied by servants. Larkin's New York house soon had the same reputation for hospitality as his Monterey home. His household bills were enormous.

Comfortably settled, Larkin investigated business opportunities. He soon began buying and selling building lots and rental houses. He traveled to Washington and also worked through agents to pursue his claims against the government for services and supplies furnished to American forces in California during the war. He pressed for approval of his California land titles and worked for passage of laws favorable to California. He attempted to accelerate California's admission to statehood,

notably by presenting a watch chain made of California placer gold to Henry Clay. Clay assured him that all was going well.<sup>20</sup>

Larkin had anticipated early that he would have to return to California to look after his interests there. The first trip was in early 1851, less than a year after arriving in the East. He had written ahead to tell Cooper that he would come to Monterey "where I really believe my old Paisanos will be all glad to see me, as I shall to see them."<sup>21</sup>

As much as he looked forward to seeing his old friends, he was not at the time planning a permanent return to California. Just three days before leaving the East, he wrote a will, directing that, in the event of his death, his executor sell his California properties and invest the proceeds in the East for the benefit of Rachel and their children.

During the six-month sojourn in California, Larkin tended to his business affairs, which must have seemed particularly troublesome after his comparatively carefree interlude in the East. He listened to growing problems about squatters on his lands. Semple, his partner in the Benicia venture, criticized him severely for what he called Larkin's indifference to the interests of the fledgling town. A disastrous fire burned some of his most valuable San Francisco properties. Before leaving the coast, Larkin gave a broad power of attorney to an agent to handle his affairs, but no authority to purchase property or reinvest proceeds from sales. It appears that he was planning to wind down his California business.

Larkin returned to New York in November 1851, but he was back in California the following May. He brought Frederic this time, placing him with Leese—who was now living in Larkin's former home—Cooper, and other friends in Monterey, where he expected his son would enjoy himself, build up his strength, and regain his Spanish. It was a happy interlude for Frederic, a return to the California of his childhood.

Larkin then plunged into business, which was now more promising. A survey of the Boga Rancho confirmed the presence of placer deposits. He sold half of another property, the Jimeno Rancho in Colusa County, for a substantial profit. Some of the squatters on his lands, resigned that Washington was going to confirm Larkin's land titles, were writing to ask for leases or purchase terms.

Larkin left San Francisco in a different frame of

About 1850, in the boom days of the Gold Rush, Thomas O. Larkin sat for a photograph with friends and business associates, some of whom were also prosperous leaders. Seated from left to right are Jacob P. Leese, Larkin, and William D. M. Howard. Standing from left to right are Talbot H. Green (or perhaps Samuel J. Hensley) and Sam Brannan. *Courtesy the Bancroft Library.*



mind from the last departure. Before leaving, he revoked the broad power of attorney that he had given the agent the previous year. There is a strong hint that Larkin indeed had decided before leaving California that his next sojourn in the East would be short. Correspondence with a friend suggests that Larkin was coming to New York to dispose of his eastern properties, and to say a final farewell to the East. That done, wrote his friend, Larkin planned to take Rachel and the children and "pitch your tent for life, amidst the golden sands of the more congenial soil of the West."<sup>22</sup>

Whatever his state of mind on returning to New York in the fall of 1852, Larkin became increasingly disenchanted there. He was particularly distressed by the repeated bouts of illness that had tormented the family since their coming in 1850. While traveling in the East, Larkin himself had been so ill of erysipelas, an acute skin disease, that the family had despaired of his recovering. He called for newspapers every hour, read them upside down, sent telegrams to scores of friends, and repeatedly rose

from his bed, dressed and announced that he was off for New York. By the time he began to recover, Rachel, who had helped doctor him, collapsed. It was two months before Larkin was himself again. In the meantime, the newspapers had announced his death, much to the dismay of his friends in California. They would not know the truth for many months.

Rachel and the children were often ill, Caroline once at the point of death. The illnesses often resulted in friction between Thomas and Rachel. Larkin repeatedly wanted to remove temporarily to South Carolina to avoid the cold and damp of New York, but Rachel refused, and Larkin then blamed her for the family's suffering.

Larkin finally decided, if he had not already done so, to return permanently to California. He instructed his agents to sell his New York house and lots and rental properties. He vowed that he would move as quickly as the house was sold. The prospect of being without a home in the city was decidedly satisfying to Larkin. The house held too



many memories of serious illness in these brief three years.

Larkin's disenchantment with the East was matched by a newly-found enthusiasm for California. To Faxon Dean Atherton, an old California friend now in Chile, Larkin wrote that the new American state was "progressive under go ahead Yankees and a thousand horse power." The region's gold, grain fields, free institutions, temperate and healthy climate, he said, would make it one of the most populous and richest states in the country. "[C]an the hand of man trace out anything its equal in former days, can he dream of, can he imagine any corresponding circumstance in all time to come." He urged Atherton to do the same as he, move back to California. "You and I were of that country. Our eyes were turned towards it in admiration and in my part in gratitude. My children were from there. They and yours will soon be. . . ." <sup>23</sup> To another correspondent, he pointed out that his children were the first born in California to an American mother, and that his brother had married into the Vallejo family. Larkin was beginning to discover California anew and to see his own place in California history more clearly than before.

Larkin looked forward to being once again with his old paisanos. He remembered the admonition from Jacob Leese, who had urged him to return to the coast, for "a long life in California a living on 'Carne, Frejoles y Papas' . . . is much more pleasanter than a short life caused by . . . pumpkin pies, plumb puddings &c &c and then dy with the collery morbus. . ." "Come back and grow rich in the new state, Leese told him. "Here you wil be a lyon and there you wil hav to be as cunning as a fox." <sup>24</sup> Larkin would have been flattered by his election, without his knowledge, as a director to railroad companies in Monterey, San Jose, and Marysville. He learned that some settlers on one of his ranchos, petitioning for a local post office, planned to call it "Larkin." California, temperate of climate and temperament, land of unlimited opportunity, also honored him. He would go home.

Settled back in San Francisco in May 1853, Larkin plunged again into land speculation and managing his ranchos. The family was much healthier, and he saw his old friends regularly. Rachel was not completely content with

the move, for she missed New York. Yet, she was favorably impressed with the changes in San Francisco during their three years' absence. The Larkins placed their two youngest children in good local schools and soon built a fine house. Larkin was rich, an Episcopalian, and a Whig.

By the mid-1850s, Larkin, comfortable, well-established, respected, began to look back. He started addressing his sons as "Frederico" and "Francisco" and included Spanish phrases in his letters. He called his daughter "Carolina" once again. Alfred Robinson was now "Don Alfredo." He wrote to John Gilroy, the first foreigner to settle in California, to ask him to describe the early days in detail. Larkin compiled a list of 285 men and women of United States or British origin who lived in California before 1840. <sup>25</sup> He wrote to the Society of California Pioneers as its former president to urge a new category of membership. This "First Class" of membership, he said, should include those who lived in California before July 7, 1846, the date of California's final separation from Mexico. "Those who contributed to bring about the events of that day," he said, "are those who are especially entitled to honor at your hands." <sup>26</sup>

The date stirred bittersweet memories for Larkin. To old friend and paisano, Abel Stearns, he confessed to an uneasiness with the modern age. "I begin to yearn after the times prior to July 1846," he wrote, "and all their honest pleasures and the flesh pots of those days. Halcyon days they were. We shall not enjoy there [sic] like again." <sup>27</sup> CHS

See notes beginning on page 422.

Dr. Harlan Hague is the author, with David J. Langum, of *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California*. The biography was awarded the *Caroline Bancroft History Prize* for 1990. Hague is editing a volume of unpublished Larkin letters and writing a biography of Stephen Watts Kearny.



Constructed by Thomas O. Larkin in the 1840s, the Pacific House also displays elements of the Monterey Colonial style of architecture. After the conquest of Monterey, the building served as military headquarters for occupying American forces. Now restored, the Pacific House contains the principal museum of Monterey State Historic Park, which protects and interprets numerous historic buildings in the Hispanic and American capital of old California. *Photo by editorial staff.*





Fort Missoula, an old military post in Montana, was refurbished in early 1941 to hold Axis nationals who might be detained in this country in the advent of war between their countries and the United States. Beginning in mid-December 1941, just after the declaration of war, some immigrant aliens, primarily Italians alleged to be dangerous to national security, were interned here. By the end of January 1942, the camp held 1,400 Italian nationals and about 250 immigrant aliens. All Italians were released after Italy's surrender to the Allied forces in September 1943. *Courtesy Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, University of Montana.*

---

---

# EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 AND ITALIAN AMERICANS: The San Francisco Story

*by Rose D. Scherini*

In 1982, the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) recommended that redress payments be made to all Japanese Americans who had been relocated forty years earlier during World War II. The commission found that the relocation, authorized by Executive Order 9066, was "not justified by military necessity." In the wake of the commission's findings and a federal court decision invalidating convictions of Japanese Americans who refused to be relocated, Congress in 1988 ordered that redress payments be made to Japanese Americans who had been wrongfully removed during the war. A single chapter in the commission's 350-page report dealt with the internment of German Americans, with some references to Italian Americans. Now, almost fifty years after the event, most Americans still do not know that several thousand Italian and German Americans, some of them U.S. citizens, were declared "dangerous," and they were ordered to move from coastal states or were interned in military camps.<sup>1</sup>

Historians have only recently begun to tell the story of these other internments. Similar to the Japanese experience, the lives of Italians and Germans were disrupted—they lost their jobs and their homes. Both citizens and aliens were affected. Many families were separated. Because only certain Italian (and German) Americans were singled out as dangerous to military security, they were stigmatized as individuals.<sup>2</sup>

Executive Order 9066, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, authorized the secretary of war to "designate military areas from which any or all persons may be excluded," thus allowing the removal of both citizens and aliens. This marked the first time in U.S. history that such action was taken. Earlier legislation—the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and the Alien Enemies Act of 1918 and 1940—did not apply to naturalized citizens. Government memoranda

suggest that 9066 was designed to evacuate even U.S.-born Japanese Americans, but was not meant to apply to other enemy aliens. However, it became the basis for excluding other naturalized citizens. These exclusions took place despite considerable controversy within the government over the executive order's intent and application. Italian Americans in the San Francisco area were affected by this exclusion policy during World War II. Historical precedents and ancient prejudices, moreover, led to these actions. New evidence suggests that these individuals were not "dangerous" persons, and that decisions made to intern or exclude them were invalid.<sup>3</sup>

When the country entered the war against Japan, Germany, and Italy, the government automatically classified as "enemy aliens" all immigrants from those countries who were not yet naturalized citizens. They were subject to apprehension based on statutes enacted in World War I upon a precedent dating from the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. At the beginning of World War II, two thousand Italian and German enemy aliens, referred to in this article as "internees," were interned. In 1940, there were six hundred thousand Italian aliens in the country, including fifty-two thousand in California. Immigrants at that time could become U.S. citizens after six years' residence in the country; at other times, the waiting period has been as long as thirteen years. Among Italian and German Americans who were already naturalized citizens before the war, two hundred and fifty-four, about fifteen to twenty percent of whom were Italian, were designated as dangerous and were ordered to move out of coastal states. In this article they are referred to as "exclusees." Although the exact number of non-Japanese who were interned or excluded is not clear in government records, more than 2,000 individuals were removed.

This account of what happened to Italian Americans from the San Francisco area is based on



This building at 801 Silver Avenue in San Francisco, later occupied by Simpson College, was an immigrant detention facility in the 1940s. As Italians and other "enemy aliens" were arrested on and after December 7, 1941, they were held, often in handcuffs, at this center. From here, they were transferred by train under armed guard to inland internment camps. *Courtesy Stephen Fox, Humboldt State University.*



interviews with excludées; family members of internees and excludées; FBI files (obtained through the Freedom of Information Act); wartime records in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; newspaper accounts; and publications on the Japanese American relocation.<sup>4</sup>

What happened to Italian Americans when the United States entered WWII had historical precedence dating back before WWI. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, this government already had in place a contingency plan to detain dangerous or potentially dangerous civilians in case of national emergency. Since 1936, at the direction of President Roosevelt, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the offices of Army and Naval intelligence had been compiling custodial detention lists that named members of Nazi and Fascist groups, Shinto Buddhist priests, and others. Similar lists had been compiled just before World War I, when 4,000 German aliens were interned. Therefore, on the night of December 7, several hundred Japanese, German, and Italian Americans whose names were on these lists were apprehended nationwide on orders of the attorney general in Washington. Within two months, 3,000 resident aliens, including about 260

Italians, were interned. Some reports about these arrests appeared in San Francisco and New York newspapers, but the war in the Pacific overshadowed most other news.<sup>5</sup>

One internee described his experience in a letter to a relative many years later:

I was the first one arrested in San Jose the night of the attack on Pearl Harbor. At 11 p.m. three policemen came to the front door and two at the back. They told me that, by order of President Roosevelt, I must go with them. They didn't even give me time to go to my room and put on my shoes. I was wearing slippers. They took me to prison . . . and finally to Missoula, Montana, on the train, over the snow, still with slippers on my feet, the temperature at 17 below and no coat or heavy clothes!!<sup>6</sup>

Neither the arrestees nor their families were given any reason for the arrests, nor were they informed of what would follow. Aliens apprehended in the San Francisco area were held in a temporary detention center on Silver Avenue in the city (recently the site of Simpson Bible College), then taken to an Immigration Service facility at Sharp Park (now in the town of Pacifica), and eventually transported under guard by train to Fort Missoula, Montana. There, an old military fort had already been

refurbished and expanded to hold about one thousand Italian nationals, primarily merchant mariners whose ships had been impounded in Atlantic ports in the spring of 1941.<sup>7</sup>

For several years, I have been investigating the story behind the arrests and internments of Italian Americans in the Bay Area. I have learned that most, if not all, of these "dangerous" aliens were, in fact, loyal persons whose associations and pre-war relations with Italy were based on *emotional*, not political, ties. They were responsible members of their community. Many had children born here, and would never have done anything to harm this country. The FBI reports that I have seen contain many incorrect facts or misinterpretations of innocent actions that were clearly legitimate before the war. For example, an employee of the Italian Consulate in San Francisco, with a U.S.-born child and a naturalized wife, was reported for requesting dates of arrival of all Italian ships. This was part of his job, which had ended in June 1941, when the consulate closed. A writer for the Italian-language newspaper *L'Italia*, which had been openly pro-Mussolini before United States entry into the war, was apparently suspect because of his alleged pro-Fascist writings. He was a drama critic. An announcer for a local Italian-language radio program was similarly suspect for alleged "fascist remarks." He was a known anti-Fascist with a sardonic wit.<sup>8</sup> Soon after the apprehensions of the "dangerous" enemy aliens, restrictions were imposed on *all* enemy aliens and, later, for selected naturalized citizens. Over the next two months, a series of regulations for enemy aliens was issued by the Department of Justice and by the Army's Western Defense Command. The first restriction on all enemy aliens was a ban on ownership of guns, cameras, and short-wave radios. Then curfew and travel restrictions were imposed: enemy aliens had to be in their homes between the hours of 8:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M., and were allowed to travel no more than five miles away. Moreover, they were required to register as "enemy aliens" and to carry photo identity cards. Large groups of Italian Americans in the San Francisco area, especially fishermen, restaurant workers, and janitors, lost their employment because of the curfew and travel restrictions. The worst blow came with the order that enemy aliens residing in designated zones along the coast and around military bases had to move out of those areas. Thousands, many

elderly, had to move away from their homes, sometimes only to the next block, often to another city or county.<sup>9</sup>

Executive Order 9066, enacted in mid-February 1942, then resulted in the wholesale evacuation of all Japanese Americans in military areas designated by the Western Defense Command. After the Japanese relocation was completed, consideration was given to evacuating the German and Italian American populations. However, because of the difficulties in removing several million aliens, the political implications of such actions, and the impact their internment might have on the country's morale, the only additional step taken against any non-Japanese was the Individual Exclusion Program, affecting foreign-born, naturalized U.S. citizens. Two hundred fifty-four persons were excluded nation-wide. In California, only twenty-four Italian Americans, primarily in San Francisco, received exclusion orders, although many more were called before hearing boards.<sup>10</sup>

The Individual Exclusion Program was initiated by the Western Defense Command, headed by Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt, whose concerns about a Japanese invasion—based not on intelligence but on racism and rumors—promoted the evacuation of *all* Japanese. DeWitt also advocated wholesale removal of the Italian and German populations, but was not supported by Washington. In 1940, Italian Americans constituted the largest foreign ethnic group in the United States and German Americans were the second largest. So, instead of evacuating these groups, the Army used the exclusion program to remove only those persons allegedly dangerous to military security.<sup>11</sup>

The exclusion process worked like this: using pre-war detention lists of suspect persons and organizations and other information, the combined intelligence agencies recommended that specified "potentially dangerous" persons be considered for exclusion, and a hearing was set by the Civil Affairs Division of the Army's Wartime Civil Control Administration.<sup>12</sup>

The selected men and women received notices reading as follows:

You are hereby notified that a Board of Officers has been appointed by the Commanding General . . . to consider the question whether military necessity requires the issuance of an order excluding you from certain military areas. . . . You are further notified that on [a date one week ahead] this Board





*L'Italia*, the major Italian-language newspaper in northern California during the first half of this century, had its offices in San Francisco on Columbus Avenue, the heart of the Italian American neighborhood in North Beach. Several of the newspaper's staff were excluded or interned in 1941 and 1942. Ettore Patrizi, editor and publisher for fifty-nine years, is shown in his office in 1917. He was served with an exclusion order in 1942, when he was seventy-seven years old. Courtesy Andrew M. Canepa. Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, CSU, Hayward.



will be convened. . . . You may be accompanied by counsel . . . but he will not be heard by the Board nor be permitted to examine witnesses. . . .<sup>13</sup>

There is little documentation of what took place in these exclusion hearings; the records of hearings were destroyed. According to government reports and eyewitness accounts, the hearings lasted twenty to thirty minutes; the accused were

not given the reasons for the proposed exclusion; they could not testify on their own behalf, except to answer questions posed by the army officers, though character witnesses were allowed to make statements. Within a month after the hearing, the FBI served the exclusion orders giving the individuals only ten days to decide where to go, to settle their affairs, and to move from all restricted

coastal and military areas. Several of the San Francisco Italians went to Reno, the nearest city with prospects of employment, and others to Chicago, Salt Lake City, Denver, and St. Louis. Thereafter, they were required to report regularly to local FBI offices.<sup>14</sup>

Soon after some excludées had moved to Reno, there were discussions among some Army officers in the Civil Affairs Division as to the advisability of allowing these "dangerous" persons to relocate in Reno. One officer wrote in a memo that Reno "had the reputation of being the hideout for the criminal element of the entire country" and was near vital railways, highway bridges, and a naval ammunition dump. Another officer responded that if Reno were added to the prohibited zones, Chicago and St. Louis should also be included, since they were "underworld pockmarks." The decision was made that unless the prohibited areas remained limited to the coastal states, this could become a never-ending process; that military installations were already well guarded; and that FBI surveillance of excludées should intercept any espionage activities. (This, of course, would also have been true if these men and women had been allowed to remain in their own homes.)<sup>15</sup>

Some excludées were also investigated for denaturalization, i.e., rescission of status as United States citizens. None of the persons in my study were denaturalized, however, although most were considered for this action. The Justice Department's requirements for initiation of denaturalization proceedings included producing evidence of (1) "specific statements, writings or acts . . . reflecting disloyalty to the U.S., allegiance to and connection with Axis countries or lack of attention to the principles of the Constitution of the U.S. . . . evidence of such facts occurring *after* the declaration of war or soon after the date of naturalization would have great probative value"; (2) organizational activities of a subversive nature; and (3) financial transactions with Axis countries. In view of the fact that many excludées were never denaturalized, one might conclude that the evidence used to exclude them did not contain such serious acts of disloyalty.<sup>16</sup>

On Columbus Day, October 12, 1942, just weeks before the congressional elections, a surprise announcement was made by the Attorney General: Italian immigrant aliens were no longer subject to curfew and travel regulations. Apparently this was an acknowledgment that Italian Americans

had acted responsibly in the war effort and that the federal government had determined they did not endanger the war effort. It was also related to the expectation of Italy's early surrender and the consequent need for support of Italian Americans in the occupation of Italy. This was especially critical because Italian Americans were the largest ethnic group of foreign descent in the army. The changed general status of Italian American aliens, however, did not apply to individual internees or excludées.<sup>17</sup>

Who were these "dangerous" Italian Americans? As individuals, they had little in common except membership in certain ethnic organizations or employment within the Italian American community. It was a small group: in the West only twenty-four Italian Americans were excluded and perhaps one hundred were interned. Most of them had emigrated after World War I and were veterans of that war in Italy. Many belonged to the Federation of Italian War Veterans of the U.S.A. (also known as the Italian Legion), which was affiliated with a parent organization in Italy, *Associazione di Ex-Combattenti*, and on the list of suspect organizations.<sup>18</sup>

I collected data on twenty-eight men and four women. Of these, nineteen were excluded, thirteen interned. Government agency records have been located for twenty-six of them; nine FBI files have been obtained. All subjects are now deceased. I held interviews with two excludées themselves and six family members of excludées and internees. Some relatives refuse to talk about this episode in their families' lives; they are angry and feel it still as a stigma. Others are eager to talk in order to set the record straight; they hope that making this story public will help prevent such actions in the future.

When WWII began, the men and women in this study were employed in various occupations: banker, journalist, radio announcer, attorney, teacher, janitor, and small business owner. Many were local community leaders, active in Sons of Italy, the Italian Language School in San Francisco, and the Italian Chamber of Commerce. Many of these organizations were listed by the government as suspect, apparently because they received financing from the Italian Consulate, or, on the other hand, sent funds to Italy for various causes or in some other way indicated they supported





Membership card of the Fascist League of North America. The Fascist League was on the FBI list of suspect organizations. Although it disbanded in 1929, its former members continued to be listed as potentially dangerous in FBI reports of the 1940s, without any notation that the league no longer existed. *Courtesy Andrew M. Canepa. Photo reproduction by Instruction Media Center, CSU, Hayward.*

the Fascist government of Italy. Eight men were reported on intelligence lists as members of the National Fascist Party in the United States or the Fascist League of North America, both of which had disbanded in 1929. Others named on the intelligence lists, however, were ordinary people who led quiet lives and participated in ethnic organizations primarily for recreational purposes. Most of the Italians in my study had United States-born children; some had non-Italian spouses. To the best of my knowledge, none had a police record. The apparently ordinary background of internees and excludées raises the question of why these particular individuals were singled out as being potentially "dangerous." There was in 1940, after all, a population of 12,000 Italian immigrant aliens in San Francisco alone, and 52,000 in the state.<sup>19</sup>

The answer lies in part in two other pieces of legislation enacted by Congress just before the

war. The first was the Alien Registration Act, known as the Smith Act, passed in June 1940, requiring all aliens to register, provide information about their membership in organizations, and report any changes in their residence. As a result, the government was inundated with information on resident aliens, making it difficult to distinguish clearly among individuals, a problem compounded when the war broke out and enemy aliens were required to re-register and carry photo identity cards. Then Congress passed the Voorhis Act in October 1941, which required that organizations "subject to foreign control" register with the attorney general. Soliciting or accepting foreign contributions, or "affiliation with a foreign government," was considered "subject to foreign control."<sup>20</sup>

Another event that led to the later exclusions of specific individuals took place in spring 1942 when the state legislature's Un-American Activities Committee, known as the Tenney Committee, held hearings in San Francisco. The committee's mission included investigating organizations whose members belonged to the Communist Party, Fascist groups, the Nazi Bund, or any other group "dominated or controlled by a foreign power that might affect the State's preparation for national defense." Most, perhaps all, of the Italian Americans later excluded from San Francisco, had either been subpoenaed by the committee or named as Fascists by other witnesses, providing later federal investigators with a convenient, if untested, list of "dangerous" persons in this ethnic group.<sup>21</sup>

An understanding of what happened at the Tenney Committee's hearings requires some knowledge of the politics of San Francisco's Italian American community. Like other Americans, Italian immigrants in the 1930s focused on their own economic problems, and they were more interested in Roosevelt than in Mussolini. In San Francisco, a small but influential group of active pro-Fascists was represented in the Italian-language newspaper *L'Italia*, and an even smaller group of outspoken anti-Fascists, in *Il Corriere del Popolo*. At the Tenney hearings, Carmelo Zito, *Corriere's* socialist editor, testified that *L'Italia* and its editor-publisher, Ettore Patrizi, were Fascists who received financing from the Italian Consulate. Zito also named other individuals and organizations as supporters of Fascism in Italy prior to United States entry into the war.<sup>22</sup>

The testimony at these hearings reflected disagreement in the local Italian community over Fascist ideas, statements, and writings during the 1930s, but not subversive activities, espionage, or sabotage. Nevertheless, the committee reported that, while it had "barely scratched the surface of subversive activities in California," its conclusion was that the "Italian Fascist Movement in California" was directed from San Francisco by three persons: *L'Italia's* publisher, Ettore Patrizi, and two prominent attorneys, Sylvester Andriano and Renzo Turco. All three were later excluded by the Army, presumably on the basis of this testimony, as well as their membership in suspect organizations.<sup>23</sup>

Ettore Patrizi was seventy-seven years old at the time and in ill health. A United States citizen since 1899, he was married to a second-generation Italian American, a patron of the opera, a respected community leader, and, prior to U.S. entry into the war, openly pro-Mussolini. Patrizi moved to Reno in October 1942, but due to bad health, he was allowed to return to San Francisco a year later.<sup>24</sup>

Sylvester Andriano, another so-called Fascist leader, was an attorney and former member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, former library commissioner, and ironically, at the time of his

exclusion hearing, a police commissioner and chairman of a draft board. He had, however, held leadership positions in at least two suspect groups: the Italian Language School and the Italian Chamber of Commerce. Also, the Italian Consulate was one of his clients. Moreover, federal intelligence agencies listed him as a member of the German-American Bund (this seems unlikely) and as a member of the Italian War Veterans (impossible, since he was in the United States during World War I). He had emigrated with his parents in 1901 when he was 11 years old, became a citizen in 1912, and received a law degree in 1915. Almost twenty years after his exclusion, Andriano was named "alumnus of the year" by St. Mary's College, in Moraga, California. His participation in the Italian Chamber of Commerce was mentioned as one of his achievements.<sup>25</sup>

Renzo Turco, the other attorney named in the Tenney report, was also a highly respected community leader and founder of *Il Cenacolo*, a men's business and professional club that still meets in San Francisco. He had already received a law degree in Italy when he emigrated in 1920. He became a naturalized citizen in 1926 and obtained a second law degree at the University of California, Berkeley.



Sylvester Andriano, fourth from left, is shown at the first meeting of the San Francisco Police Commission, to which he was appointed in 1937 by Mayor Angelo Rossi (far left). Others at the meeting were commission president J. Ward Maillard, Commissioner Frank C. Sykes, Police Chief William Quinn, and Deputy Police Chief Charles Skelly. Courtesy History Room, San Francisco Public Library.

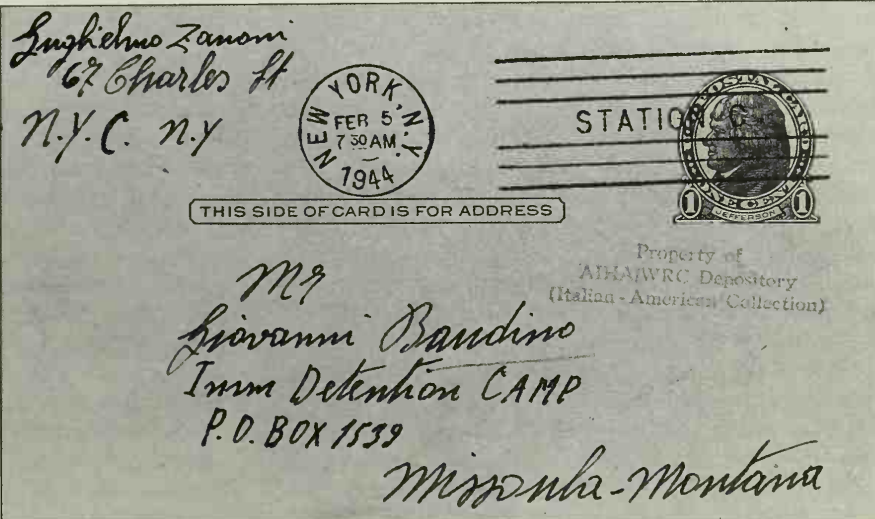




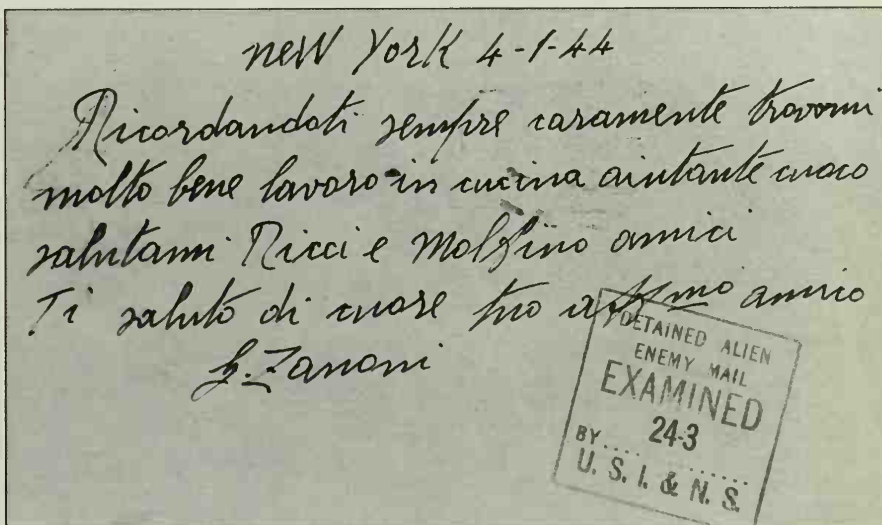
Renzo Turco, named in 1942 by the California Legislature's Un-American Activities Committee as one of the "leaders" of the "Fascist movement" in the state, was an international lawyer. Active and highly visible in San Francisco's Italian American community, he was a charter member of the local Italian American War Veterans chapter, and the founder of *Il Cenacolo*, a businessmen's weekly luncheon organization that still meets in North Beach. In this photo, taken about 1930, Renzo (second from left) is shown as an amateur actor in an Italian theater group. *Courtesy Andrew M. Canepa.*

Active in suspect organizations, Turco was listed as a member of the Fascist League of North America in the 1920s. When interviewed thirty years after his exclusion, he still did not know the basis for his exclusion. He described what happened when he moved to Chicago: he reported to the FBI, as instructed—they had not heard of him! He could not find a job—probably because he was required to inform prospective employers of his "dangerous alien" status—until a letter of recommendation from a San Francisco judge got him a position at the Internal Revenue Service.<sup>26</sup>

Other men and women were deemed "dangerous" apparently only because they held membership in the Italian War Veterans or its women's auxiliary. Government documents describe the organization as "subject to . . . Rome and in close contact with all Italian Consulates and other Fascist organizations in this country, . . . and many of its members held membership cards in the Fascist Party." Other Italian American societies were also openly pro-Mussolini, and it is not clear why the IWV was singled out. Perhaps it was because the organization had collected funds for widows



This 1944 postcard, sent to an inmate of the Missoula, Montana, detention camp, contains the following greeting: "Always remembering you dearly. I'm very well. I work in the kitchen as a cook's helper. Say hello to my friends Ricci and Molfino. Heartfelt greetings. Your affectionate friend, G.[uglielmo] Zanoni." Like all mail sent to or by inmates, this card was read by a censor. Courtesy American Italian Historical Association Archives, Italian-American Collection, San Francisco Archives, San Francisco Public Library. Translation by Andrew M. Canepa. Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, CSU, Hayward.



and orphans of the 1935 Italo-Ethiopian War. In North Beach (then the Italian district), older residents remember collection baskets in shops where women donated gold wedding rings "to help Italy." In 1940, the IWW was still sending money to Italy. The organization marched in Fourth of July parades, and was well known to the American Legion, whose members informed on ethnic groups for the FBI during that era.<sup>27</sup>

Although general pro-Mussolini statements by Italian Americans were interpreted by intelligence agencies as anti-United States, those opinions were

expressed in a time when Mussolini was a relatively popular figure in this country, even among many non-Italians. Mussolini's autobiography ran in the widely-circulated *Saturday Evening Post* and its May 5, 1928, cover pictured him striding along a beach. A 1934 Cole Porter hit song with the line "You're the tops, You are Mussolini" was changed only after Italy invaded Ethiopia the following year. Even some FBI reports concluded that "readiness to defend all things Italian is often interpreted as pro-Fascist by certain groups" and that "whatever pro-Fascist movement had existed collapsed



completely when the United States became an active participant in the war."<sup>28</sup>

Finally, what contributed to the indiscriminate internments and exclusions of certain ethnic groups on the West Coast was what appeared to be an imminent threat of Japanese invasion. Try to recall, or reconstruct, what it must have been like in the months after Pearl Harbor. Japan was winning the war in the Pacific. People along the coast feared bombing or invasion; there was some Japanese submarine shelling. Pressure mounted to evacuate the Japanese American population, and, in case of invasion, the Army also considered Germans and Italians a danger. While the Justice Department opposed actions against citizens, and the public voiced almost no sentiment against German and Italian Americans, in the first anxious and confused months of the war the Army was allowed final say even over citizens' rights.<sup>29</sup>

What conclusions can be drawn from this wartime episode? Most basically, it illustrates a persistent misunderstanding of immigrants that has existed in this country, in 1798 with the Alien and Sedition Acts, during World War I and World War II, and still pervades national thinking even today—witness the conflicts over bilingual education and the drive to make English the official language in California and several other states. The misunderstanding is that immigrants' attachment to their homeland, their desire for their children to know the ancestral language, and their maintenance of family traditions are evidence of a rejection of the American way of life. Rather, these are natural manifestations of coping mechanisms, whose purpose is to cushion the cultural shock that Italian and other immigrants since the seventeenth century have experienced in their transition to a new language and country. Social anthropologists



Enemy nationals and immigrant aliens arriving at the Missoula, Montana, internment camp, ca. 1942. *Courtesy Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, University of Montana.*

and immigrants' children know that immigrants do not instantly become American. It is normal and necessary for immigrants to belong for a while to two cultures; it takes new generations, born here, to complete the transition. The Italian American writer, Jerre Mangione, quotes an immigrant relative's reaction to his classification as "enemy alien": "Don't those imbeciles in Washington understand that to have American-born children is to become an American for the rest of your life?"<sup>30</sup>

Although a relatively small number of Italian Americans were interned or excluded—compared to the 110,000 Japanese Americans—individual families and the North Beach community suffered greatly from this experience. For the families, there was a stigma attached to being singled out as "dangerous to national security." Some family members still won't talk about it. For the community, the exile of many of its leaders, and the undermining of the organizations contributed to the eventual disintegration of this ethnic enclave.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, can this happen again in the United States, even after the enactment of legislation awarding financial redress to the Japanese Americans? Unfortunately, it can. Ancient attitudes toward foreigners still prevail; legislation permitting emergency detention of aliens is still on the books; and detention lists may still be compiled. Even though the attorney general directed in 1943 that such lists be abolished and that classification of persons as dangerous "in the abstract" was invalid, later FBI records reveal that such classification continues.<sup>32</sup>

Evidence of the persistent mistrust of immigrants' loyalties is still found in government policy, as shown in three examples of numerous similar occurrences. The first, a 1946 memo to the attorney general advised that in case of "sudden difficulty with Russia," the government could, on the basis

of current statutes, apprehend "not only all nationals of the USSR," but also "all persons who are now or have at any time in the past been members of the Communist Party or of any party, organization, faction or group which advocates the overthrow of the government of the U.S. or adherence to the policies and programs of its enemies." The second illustration comes from the 1981 testimony of John J. McCloy before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. McCloy had been assistant secretary of war during World War II and later held a number of important governmental posts. When asked if he thought evacuation of civilians should ever be carried out again, McCloy said that he could envision a situation such as conflict with Cuba when we should "move out all those Cubans in Florida." It is sobering to realize that in the early 1980s, a recent American governmental leader believed that anti-Castro Cubans in Florida should be evacuated in case of conflict with Castro's Cuba. Third, and even more recently, American involvement in the Iraq-Kuwait war of 1990 and 1991, with the threat of retaliatory sabotage directed at the United States, caused many groups and individuals to call for the detention of Arab Americans.<sup>33</sup>

CHS

See notes beginning on page 422.

*Rose Scherini is an educational anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, and is now retired from that university, where she was a researcher in the Office of Student Research. She is the author of The Italian American Community of San Francisco: A Descriptive Study, and several articles about the ethnic institutions of San Francisco's Italian community. She has been independently researching the WWII internments and exclusions of Italian Americans.*





Historian Fawn Brodie, the author of the controversial biography of Richard Nixon, relaxes at her home in Los Angeles. *Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.*

---

# FAWN BRODIE'S RICHARD NIXON

## The Making of a Controversial Biography

---

by Newell G. Bringhurst

---

An essay on Richard Nixon in relationship to the controversial biographer Fawn M. Brodie seems appropriate and timely for several reasons. First, a great deal of attention, of late, has been paid to the actions and activities of the former president. Nixon's recent role in advising President Bush on his China policy in the wake of the Tiananmen Square Massacre caused somewhat of a stir and captured newspaper headlines. Secondly, significant publicity accompanied the recent opening of the Richard Nixon Presidential Library in Yorba Linda. This facility contains not only the usual historical documents and artifacts, but also what one official has described as "Disneyland-style exhibits" with "interactive multimedia," which means that visitors are able to question the former president and get an answer from his own lips—through the miracle of video. He even comments about the Watergate affair, which brought down his presidency.<sup>1</sup> A third factor stimulating increased interest in Nixon is that the ex-president himself has maintained a conspicuous literary profile through the authorship of seven books since leaving the presidency in 1974—his most recent, *In the Arena: A Memoir of Victory, Defeat and Renewal*, published in April 1990.<sup>2</sup> In addition, a number of distinguished scholars, following the lead of Professor Brodie, have recently produced significant book-length studies on the former president. These include Herbert S. Parmet, Stanley I. Kutler, Roger Morris, and Stephen E. Ambrose. The latter's second volume of a projected multivolume biography carries Nixon's life and career up to 1972. Tom Wicker's, *One of Us: Richard Nixon and the American Dream*, published in March 1991, is the most recent addition.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, on a local level, citizens of California, especially of San Jose and the Santa Clara Valley, have an additional reason for taking note of Richard Nixon. Last year, 1990, marked the twentieth anniversary of Richard Nixon's controversial, violent campaign visit to San Jose—an event that took place in late October 1970 and attracted national

attention. At that time, then-President Nixon had been campaigning hard throughout the United States for Republican candidates running in the 1970 mid-term elections. After speaking to a Republican rally at the San Jose Municipal Auditorium, and as he was leaving, the President was confronted by more than a thousand anti-Nixon, anti-Vietnam-War demonstrators. These individuals, a good portion of whom were San Jose State University students, began chanting "One, two, three, four—we don't want your f—ing [expletive deleted] war." In response Nixon unexpectedly jumped up on the hood of his limousine and calmly flipped the hostile masses a peace sign with both hands.<sup>4</sup> According to Nixon: "I could not resist showing them [the crowd] how little respect I had for their juvenile and mindless ranting. . . . I gave them the V-sign that had become my political trademark." At the time, Nixon had allegedly remarked to an aide: "That's what they hate to see." The effect was electric. "Suddenly rocks and vegetables were flying everywhere." In Nixon's own words, "within seconds" I was inside the car and Secret Service agents were following emergency evacuation procedures."<sup>5</sup>

There is controversy concerning Nixon's actions and, indeed, motives relative to this incident. Certain writers feel that Nixon deliberately provoked the San Jose crowd into violent behavior in order to produce a sympathetic backlash for political gain. Thus the San Jose incident, according to this view, was essentially a replay of earlier incidents of violent crowd behavior experienced in Latin America during the time he was vice president in the 1950s. Among those viewing the San Jose incident in this light was Fawn M. Brodie, who in her critical and controversial 1981 biography, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character*, noted that: "Nixon had learned in Latin America that to stand up against stoning was political good fortune. It was also proof to the populace that 'the Yankee has balls.' The opportunities for encouraging repetition he found irresistible."<sup>6</sup>



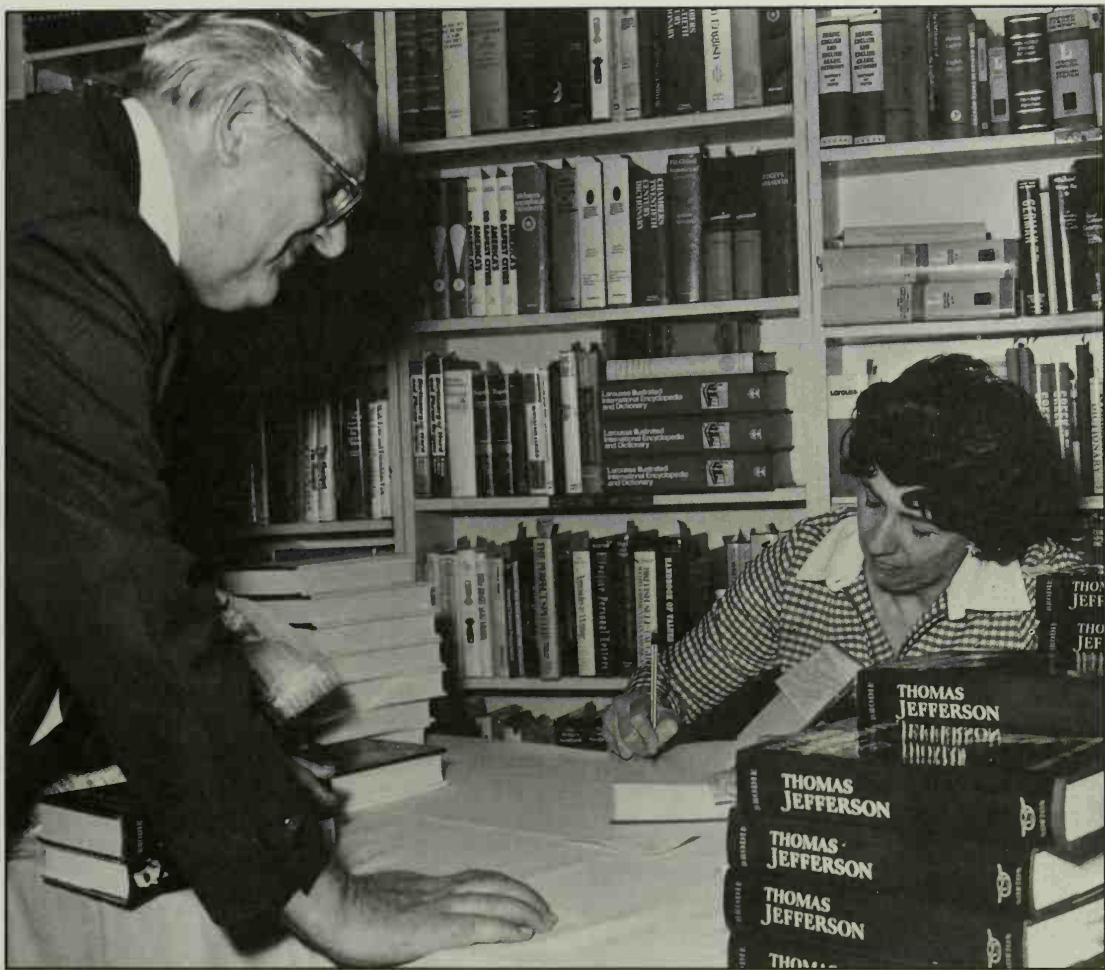


Richard Nixon pictured on a more peaceful campaign trip during his bid for a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1950. Courtesy Eisenhower Library.

Indeed, Fawn M. Brodie herself, like the former president she chronicled, was drawn into controversy and conflict. In contrast to Nixon, however, Brodie's conflicts occurred in the literary rather than the political realm, primarily as the result of her five provocative biographies. The first, a biography of the founder of Mormonism Joseph Smith, was published in 1945. Entitled *No Man Knows My History*, this book sent shockwaves throughout the Mormon community because Brodie, a native of Huntsville, Utah, and from a prominent, devout Mormon family, judged Smith to be a "fraud" and "impostor." In Brodie's own words: "I was convinced before I ever began writing that Joseph Smith was not a true Prophet."<sup>7</sup> Brodie's bringing forth of *No Man Knows My History* led directly to her excommunication from the Mormon Church as a heretic. Although not as strong, controversy continued in the wake of Brodie's second biography, *Thaddeus Stevens: The Scourge of the South*, published in 1959. In this work about the Republican congressional leader of Radical Reconstruction, Brodie promoted the "Revisionist view" at a

time when the "traditionalists" held sway concerning this turbulent period immediately following the Civil War. The "revisionists" saw Stevens and other Reconstruction leaders as advocates of positive reform, as reflected in their promotion of social, political, and economic changes in the South. By contrast the "traditionalists," the so-called "Dunning School" of Reconstruction writers, had viewed Stevens and others in a harsh, extremely negative light—as destroyers of the South who were motivated by narrow, selfish, political considerations.<sup>8</sup> Brodie's third biography, *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton*, published in 1967, generated perhaps the least controversy of any of her biographies, even though the subject was far from dull. Burton himself, a nineteenth-century British explorer and anthropologist, had an intense curiosity in the varied (some would say deviant) sexual customs of diverse peoples throughout the world. Like Brodie, Burton "scoffed at all forms of religious superstition." In Burton's case, it did not matter whether it was, in Brodie's words, "the fetishism of the Fan cannibals or the death ceremonies of his own Church of England."<sup>9</sup>

In her fourth biography, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, completed in 1974, Brodie again provoked intense controversy. This was primarily



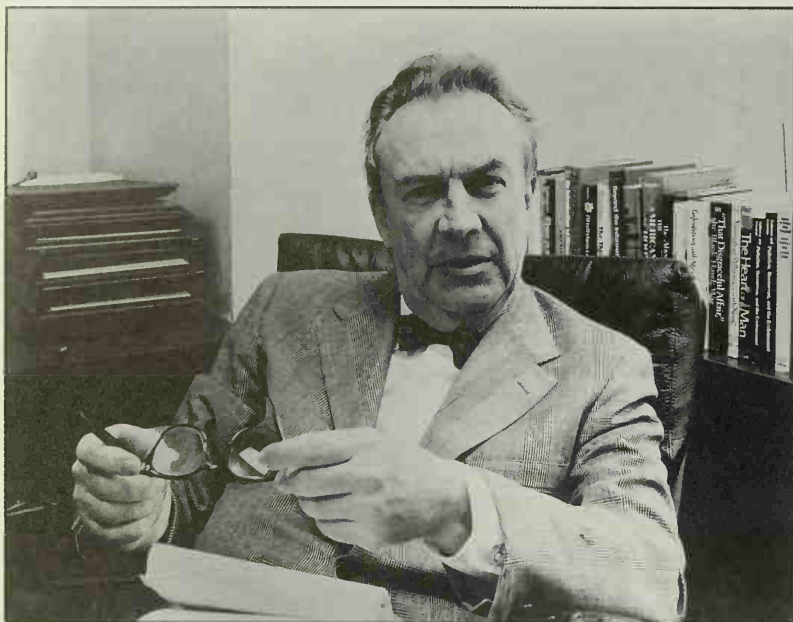
Fawn Brodie created as much conflict with her biographies as Richard Nixon did with his form of politics. She is pictured here signing one of her most well-known, controversial, and profitable biographies. *Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.*

due to her assertion that our third president carried on a long-term sexual relationship with one of his black slaves, namely Sally Hemmings, by whom he fathered a number of illegitimate, mulatto children. A number of distinguished historians within the Jeffersonian establishment were outraged in much the same way that their counterparts within the Utah Mormon community had been outraged at Brodie's Joseph Smith biography some thirty years earlier. Dumas Malone, the dean of Jefferson scholars, characterized Brodie's biography as "dirty graffiti on the statue of Jefferson," while another writer likened it to "a sparrow pecking on the

Statue of Liberty."<sup>10</sup> Despite all of this controversy (or perhaps because of it), Brodie's *Thomas Jefferson* was both the best-known and financially most successful of all her works. It appeared on the *New York Times* best-seller list for a total of thirteen weeks and earned for its author over \$215,000 in royalties.

Immediately following the completion of the *Thomas Jefferson* biography, Brodie turned to her fifth and final biographical subject, Richard Nixon. In October 1974, just two months after Nixon's resignation from the presidency, Brodie wrote to George Brockway, her good friend and editor-in-chief at W. W. Norton, announcing her intentions:





Fawn Brodie's publisher, the late George Brockaway, of W. W. Norton and Company, New York. Courtesy W. W. Norton & Co., Publishers.

"I am toying with the idea of doing a book on Nixon." She then ominously observed: "I feel on the one hand that this man, who has destroyed most of his friends, may well destroy his biographers." Having strong reservations about this project, both Brockway and Fawn's husband Bernard Brodie, a distinguished scholar and writer in his own right, initially tried to dissuade her. But Fawn persisted, becoming obsessed with the idea for such a biography. "I find myself unable to do research [on] anyone" except Nixon, she confessed. She then sketched out the broad outline of what would evolve into a good part of her basic thesis: "His 'sainted' mother was, I think, as much responsible for his predilection for lying as [was] his punishing father."<sup>11</sup>

Fawn Brodie's intense interest in Richard Nixon was stimulated by several factors. First, as a professor of history at UCLA, she had been teaching a course in political biography, in which one of her lectures dealt with Richard Nixon. At the time, Nixon was under fire in the Watergate investigation. In preparing this lecture Brodie found herself asking basic questions about Nixon's character and personality—questions that had not previously been answered to her satisfaction. These questions, in her own words, "multiplied like ripples in a stream," and before she knew it, she had a

booksize project on her hands."<sup>12</sup> Brodie was also stimulated by a second motive stemming from her response to the appearance in 1978 of *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. In Brodie's own words, "I felt that the record ought to be told straight. As it is now, the Nixon memoirs should be read with a concordance, pointing out what's half-truth, what is error, and what is truth." She then carefully added that while her biography would not be "a concordance in any sense . . . it will provide a useful corrective to the memoirs."<sup>13</sup>

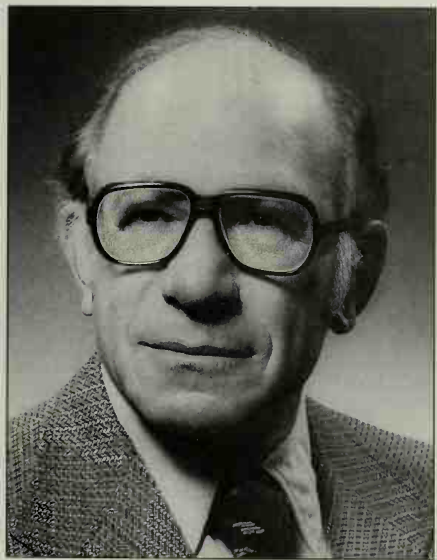
Brodie's interest in Nixon was encouraged by a third factor, her personal identification with the ex-president. Ironically, this was very much evident despite her intense personal dislike for the man. She saw clear parallels between her own early life and that of Nixon's. Brodie stated: "All my books have been written about someone who has been long dead save this one—here I am reliving my own life—Nixon was born in a small Quaker town in California in 1913 and I was born in a small Mormon town in Utah in 1915, [and] we were both debaters" in college. "We both 'went East to school,' he to Duke and I to the Univ. of Chicago—and in both cases [the experience] changed our lives—mine for the better—I never went home again." By contrast, Brodie continued, Nixon returned home "to Whittier, which he hated, to the practice

of law—which he did badly—and corruptly.” He “looked to politics for his liberation—the train back east—he lied and defamed to win his liberation.” Brodie indicated that she had won her own liberation by marrying a man who “taught me how to be honest.” She pointed to her own return “to the West—to California specifically,” when she was ready to face what she described as “the fleshpots of Egypt”—an image of the Golden State impressed upon her as a Mormon youngster growing up in Utah.<sup>14</sup>

Stimulated by these motives, Fawn Brodie pushed ahead with her biography in the mid-1970s. In doing her research, Brodie consulted not only the voluminous written materials available on Nixon, but she also carefully utilized information from a valuable collection of some four hundred oral interviews of various individuals who were acquainted with Nixon, as contained in the Oral History Collection at California State University, Fullerton. Also, Brodie herself conducted one-hundred-fifty additional interviews, which took her all over the United States during the six-year period from 1975

through 1980. Among the most noteworthy individuals she interviewed were one-time Nixon presidential counsel John Dean, former California Governor Edmund G. “Pat” Brown, one-time California lieutenant governor and former presidential cabinet member Robert Finch, former congressman Jerry Voorhis, whom Nixon defeated in his first political contest in 1946, and Nixon’s first girl friend, Ola Welch Jobe.<sup>15</sup> One of her interviews that had a noteworthy human interest angle to it was that of Roy Cohn (one-time aide to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy), who was undergoing treatment in a New York hospital at the time he was interviewed. After interviewing him, Brodie reported to George Brockway that Cohn had a “sinister look [that] he has never outgrown” and then went on: “He seemed to be covered with oil or grease . . . and I had the feeling that he had recently been fished out of the East River, like a[n] old slimy eel.” She then confessed: “But that is being . . . nasty,” admitting that Cohn had given her “a fairly decent interview . . . indicating an active dislike for Nixon which may mean a good quote or two.”<sup>16</sup>

Brodie, however, was much less successful in securing an interview with Richard Nixon himself. Writing directly to the former president in January 1978, she took care to describe her “serious work” on what she hoped would “be a compassionate and accurate study, if not of your whole life, at least of your early years.” Then Brodie directly appealed to the former president. Noting the difficulties that she was having in resolving “the numerous contradictions” about Nixon’s “early years,” she asked: “Could you find time to give me even an hour, just to resolve some of the major problems?”<sup>17</sup> Nixon refused. Indeed, he apparently never responded at all to Brodie’s original letter. Brodie was similarly unsuccessful in interviewing Henry Kissinger, even though both she and her husband knew the former national security advisor and secretary of state on a first-name basis and, in fact, had entertained him in their Pacific Palisades home. In a February 1978 letter, Brodie posed a number of penetrating questions that she wished to pursue in a possible interview.<sup>18</sup> Kissinger, however, absolutely refused, putting Brodie off with a short, curt reply that pointed to “the present spate of revelations [about Nixon that] only reinforces my aversion to discussing things like this,” concluding “I would be delighted to see both of you again, but let’s find something else to talk about.”<sup>19</sup>



Fawn Brodie’s beloved husband and friend, Bernard, was a scholar and a writer in his own right. *Courtesy Department of Political Science, UCLA.*



Despite her difficulties in securing interviews with certain key people such as Kissinger and the former president himself, Brodie pushed ahead with her biography. By August 1977, she was into the actual writing, and two months later in October she submitted a typescript draft of the first ten chapters to George Brockway, her editor at W. W. Norton. In describing the basic structure of her work, Brodie indicated that she was not "writing a conventional birth to death biography," but one that "does a lot of bouncing back and forth from childhood to the presidency."<sup>20</sup> "The emphasis is on connections and interrelationships," she continued.

I am trying to get at the genesis of his lying, his manipulation, and what William Safire calls his

"deep, dark rage." I have found material that illuminates the beginnings of his lying, and his trickery. I think I understand better now his problems with gift-giving, with informers, and with welfare "bums." There is some evidence that throws light on his uncertainty about his masculinity.

Brodie then looked ahead at what she hoped to do in her subsequent chapters:

I hope to explore the major paradoxes of his life as they continue from his childhood through the presidency and into the exile years. Among other things, I hope to explain is how it happened that a good Quaker boy ended up decorating the Oval Office with 307 battle flags, proclaimed "Amnesty, Never!" [for draft Vietnam resisters], and ordered more bombs dropped than any man in history.<sup>21</sup>



Richard Nixon is pictured above at a private swearing-in ceremony beginning his second term as vice president. Looking on from right to left are President Eisenhower, Maime Eisenhower, and Pat Nixon. At the far left stands former California governor Earl Warren, then the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. *Courtesy Eisenhower Library.*

She then concluded: "This book is likely to be a big one, as you once recommended. You may remember telling that if I must do this book let it be so big and so conclusive that anyone reading it will never have to read about the son-of-a-bitch again. That's presently my ambition . . ." <sup>22</sup>

George Brockway and his staff at W. W. Norton were sufficiently impressed with what she had written to offer her a contract providing for a \$75,000 advance. This she promptly signed in November. <sup>23</sup> By this time she was concentrating her full energies on the Nixon biography, having taken an early retirement from UCLA in the spring of 1977. Also she was addressing various professional audiences concerning her work. In the fall of 1977 Brodie lectured on "Nixon, the Child in the Man" to the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and then delivered this same address in October to the Western History Association meeting in Portland, Oregon. Moreover, at long last, she secured approval for her work from her husband Bernard. In announcing this to Brockway, she explained, "Bernard is now beginning to think that my writing the book may make sense after all. His disapproval has been very difficult for me to live with." <sup>24</sup>

Fawn's personal triumph, however, was short-lived, for in late November Bernard Brodie was diagnosed with a malignancy of the sinus and lymph glands. In writing to Brockway, Fawn Brodie described her husband's need for radiation treatments, indicating that work on the Nixon volume had come to a temporary halt. "I am frantic with anxiety and unable to think of anything else" other than Bernard's condition. <sup>25</sup> She then added, "I will get back to Nixon after the first of the year." Then, quoting her ailing husband, she concluded "that son of a bitch can wait." <sup>26</sup> Initially, Bernard responded to chemotherapy treatment, and his condition seemed to improve during the first part of 1978. And Fawn, in turn, returned to her research and writing. However, by June, Bernard's lymphoma had returned. In writing Brockway, Fawn reported that she was "playing nurse—resenting it—but not doing too badly." Although her interviewing "had to be stopped for the time being," she continued to write, noting that "in some kind of unimaginably, ironic fashion, working with Nixon has been very therapeutic for me through the continuing crisis of illness." <sup>27</sup> By August, however, Bernard's condition had worsened to the point that he required hospitalization, and in Fawn's

words "there was no real hope for a decent remission." He died in late November. <sup>28</sup> In responding to this loss, Fawn noted that, although she had "mourned his death in advance," it was "no real preparation for his loss" and "the loneliness already . . . is as evil as I feared it would be." She then predicted the likely impact of this traumatic event on her work: "I will never write as well without him, or with as much zest." <sup>29</sup>

However, Brodie took care to assure Brockway that she would resume work on "the Nixon book in earnest, taking up where [she] had abandoned it in August." <sup>30</sup> Thus, by April 1979 she was able to report that "the book is moving," but "not at the momentum I should like." "I still suffer from malaise and depression, and have to fight them constantly." <sup>31</sup> Brodie pushed ahead, however, and by August had written and submitted to Brockway chapters eleven through twenty-three, bringing the total manuscript to 525 pages. In describing what was written, the author confessed that she was "astonished at how different" the book was developing from what she had "initially envisaged." "The material has shaped the writing far more than I expected," she reported. "I had expected to concentrate on the emotional life and do a rather spare, but well documented psychobiography. Instead I have told everything in detail, including much about the men who shaped his life," including Hiss, Chambers, McCarthy, Eisenhower, Stevenson, and Truman. Looking ahead, she expected to write six more chapters, concluding with John F. Kennedy's assassination and Nixon's decision to return to politics despite his 1962 defeat for the California governorship. It is worth noting that implicit in Brodie's August letter was her intention eventually to research and write a second volume bringing the story of Richard Nixon up to the present. <sup>31</sup> But she also indicated that such a volume would not be immediately forthcoming, due to the delay surrounding the release of Nixon's presidential tapes and papers. <sup>32</sup>

During the first part of 1980, Brodie continued to slowly push ahead on the final chapters, submitting two of these to Brockway in March. At the same time she confessed that she had hoped to have more chapters completed by this time, but had been delayed by unexpected difficulties with the recently-completed chapters, which had taken "an interminable time to write." <sup>33</sup> By September, however, Brodie had to deal with a much more





Richard Nixon was determined not to be an obscure vice-president. Since President Eisenhower did not care for partisan politics, Nixon was able to stay active in the public eye by speaking and campaigning nationally. *Courtesy Eisenhower Library.*

critical situation. She was diagnosed with carcinoma, which had invaded the lungs, the lymph glands in the neck, and the bones. She confessed that the prognosis was not good, explaining that "I have not been promised a long life unless God is more compassionate than I have been in recent years led to believe." She then reflected on the relationship of this gloomy diagnosis to her work on Nixon: "I have thought many times" in the wake of this terrible disclosure "of the irony of the fact that one important theme in my book is the importance in Nixon's life of 'Death as an ally.'" Brodie added that "if he loses his best biographer to death before I can write volume two, the terrible pact he must sometime have made with the devil still holds." She then noted that Nixon's first two biographers had committed suicide. And then she recalled that her husband had once told her that she "was not mean enough to write about Nixon." But, according to Fawn, "I did not have to be mean. The evil in his life, at least as an adult, leaps out of my every chapter."<sup>34</sup> In the immediate aftermath of her diagnosis, she cryptically told a family friend: "I had fully expected to outlive Nixon. Maybe I still will. But the bastard has the odds."<sup>35</sup>

Despite acute discomfort experienced while going through chemotherapy, Brodie continued to labor on the manuscript, revising the early

chapters and pushing ahead with the writing of the final chapters. By November 25 she had written and submitted the final chapter to Brockway.<sup>36</sup> However, there was still the need to revise various sections of the manuscript. In early December Brodie expressed her intention to get the final revised manuscript off to Brockway "by the first of the year." She then asked Brockway: "Do you have any idea when it [the manuscript] will be published? Summer? Fall? Late Spring?" Indicating "a sense of urgency," she confessed that the "one terrible thing about this illness is that one becomes so totally preoccupied with one's self" and that "there are times when I fall into depression." But then, she indicated that at "other times I feel very optimistic about recovery." There were possibilities of a new cancer technique, "now respectable—in which one's blood is taken out and heated and returned heated to circulate in the body." However, she indicated that she would stick with more conventional techniques "for now." She expressed optimism that she would "be glad for signs of remission" and that her lungs were actually "much improved."<sup>37</sup>

Such optimism was short-lived, however, and by the end of December, Brodie's condition had worsened to the point that she required hospitalization. On January 15, 1981, Fawn McKay Brodie

died at the age of 65. In accordance with her wishes, her remains were cremated and the ashes scattered over the Santa Monica mountains she loved near Pacific Palisades, where she had spent the last thirty years of her life. Finally, some three months later, in April 1981, the book upon which Brodie had labored so long and so hard for over six years, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character*, was published by W. W. Norton.

Fawn Brodie's biography of Richard Nixon, in the words of Professor Ingrid Winther Scobie "climaxed a series of controversial psychobiographies written over the author's long career."<sup>38</sup> Controversy is clearly evident in both the form and content of Brodie's *Richard Nixon*. Brodie originally intended to deal with Richard Nixon's life and activities up through Watergate and his resignation from the presidency. But when Brodie realized that her time was limited due to her illness, combined with her awareness that access to the then-unavailable Nixon tapes and papers was essential for a thorough study, she ended her study with Nixon's pre-presidential years—giving the book a sense of incompleteness. The biography, however, does contain many allusions to the presidential period.

Also controversial is the basic interpretative focus of Brodie's biography, revolving around the book's subtitle, "The Shaping of His Character." Several factors influenced the formation of what Brodie termed Nixon's "warped character" or personality. These included, first, what Brodie saw as Nixon's tendency toward excessive, almost pathological, lying. In Brodie's words, "[Nixon] had no emotional investment in the truth."<sup>39</sup> A second formative factor on Nixon's personality, according to Brodie, was the theme of death, in particular "fratricide"—that is, the death of brothers. In Nixon's case, the deaths of two sets of brothers provided him opportunities for personal advancement. The deaths of two of Nixon's brothers, Arthur and then Harold "brought [young] Nixon some advantages," but at the same time caused "the inevitable survivor's guilt." Later, the deaths of the Kennedy brothers, first John and then Robert, helped facilitate Nixon's successful election to the presidency in 1968. "For Nixon," Brodie maintained, "the shortest distance between two points [was] four corpses."<sup>40</sup> A third, related theme—his ability to survive or persevere—was in Brodie's

words "the most consistent, the most remarkable, of all aspects of Nixon's life."<sup>41</sup> Brodie also detected a fourth theme, Nixon's failure, or "warping," in his capacity for love, reflected in what she perceived to be Nixon's unhappy marriage. According to Brodie, Nixon's failure to love had its origins in his difficult relationships, as a youth, with both parents—an angry, brutal father and a "castrating mother," who quietly but persistently pointed out her son's shortcomings and at the same time encouraged repressive, self-controlled behavior. A fifth theme involved Nixon's "delight in punishment." According to Brodie, this was manifested in Nixon's handling of the Alger Hiss case, which "hardened his conviction that destructive attack was the certain way to victory."<sup>42</sup> This tendency to punish was the product of Nixon's "deep dark rage" and was also reflected in his "terrible temper."<sup>43</sup> More serious, according to Brodie, all of the above five character flaws were interwoven with a sixth—Nixon's failure to acquire a sense of his own identity. This so-called "identity crisis" caused Nixon, in turn, to create a "grandiose fantasy life" for himself.<sup>44</sup>

Brodie's controversial, generally gloomy, portrait of our thirty-seventh president was clearly influenced by her own life, particularly, as this essay has suggested, the trials of her last years. Brodie's emphasis on the theme of death as a pervasive influence was certainly evident in her own particular situation. During the period that Brodie was working on the biography, the author was confronted with the death of her husband and ultimately forced to face her own impending death. In more general terms, Brodie's act in writing such a highly critical analysis reflected the time period of the late 1970s. Indeed, this period, immediately following Watergate, was a time during which the disgraced ex-president was held in particularly low esteem. Such a negative presentation of Nixon, moreover, is not surprising, given Brodie's own political orientation as a liberal Democrat.

But there is another possible reason for Brodie's generally harsh treatment. This lies in Brodie's own, sometimes troubled, childhood relationship with her own parents, particularly her father, an upbringing that in certain respects paralleled that which Brodie detected in Nixon's childhood.<sup>45</sup> Like Nixon, Brodie had particular difficulty in relating to her own father, a conservative Republican, very active in Utah politics, and who was away from home a great deal of the time during which young





Pictured here are Vice-President Nixon and former president Herbert Hoover on November 11, 1955, meeting Ike after his recovery from a heart attack. Nixon handled Ike's three major illnesses with self-control and good-judgement. *Courtesy Eisenhower Library.*

Fawn was growing up. It is possible that Brodie in painting a generally unfavorable portrait of another conservative Republican—Richard Nixon, was projecting certain hostile feelings—feelings that had never been resolved during the lifetime of Thomas E. McKay—Brodie's father.

Given the controversial nature of Brodie's *Richard Nixon*, it is not surprising that the reviews were mixed. Lloyd Shearer wrote a very favorable review in *Parade* magazine characterizing it as Brodie's "magnum opus" and "a compelling, revealing scholarly biography."<sup>46</sup> Likewise, *Publishers Weekly* asserted: "It is difficult to overpraise Brodie's psychological biography of Richard Nixon, so assiduous is her research and so stylish her writing."<sup>47</sup> In this same spirit, John J. Fitzpatrick writing in *The Journal of American History* characterized Brodie's biography as "the best available account of Nixon's personal life and character," noting that other

scholars would "be indebted to Brodie not only for having begun the difficult task but also because she has framed important questions about [Nixon's] life that require our answers."<sup>48</sup>

Other reviewers, however, were more critical in their assessments. Robert Lekachman writing in *The Nation* conceded that Brodie's arguments seemed "plausible enough, though hardly novel, and open to criticism." He noted that "similar circumstances evoke very different human responses. Hordes of boys grow up sadly in families with violent fathers and castrating mothers. They don't all turn into Richard Nixons."<sup>49</sup> Writing in a similar vein through the pages of *The New Republic*, Godfrey Hodgson, an expert on the American presidency, characterized Brodie's *Richard Nixon* "a fine biography," written "honestly and well." But then he criticized Brodie's "analysis" as "somehow a bit too pat," noting that not every individual with similarly

troubled childhood experiences "suffer irremediable character damage as a result." He then went on to question Brodie's basic psychoanalytic approach and, indeed, her motives. Noting that "Psychoanalysis . . . was developed as a tool of therapy," he cautioned:

In historical biography, surely, we are in danger of having the insights of psychotherapy used as a tool for character destruction, certainly for libel, potentially for revenge. Why with the greatest possible respect for her work, should we take it on Mrs. Brodie's word that her motives for pulling Nixon's character to pieces are purer than his motives when he destroyed the political reputations of Helen Douglas or Alger Hiss?<sup>50</sup>

Likewise, Peter Loewenberg, Brodie's former UCLA colleague and fellow psychohistorian expressed mixed feelings concerning the biography's basic approach. On the one hand, he characterized the biography, a work "of great power and persuasiveness" in evaluating the "character of the President." But then Loewenberg took issue:

Her emphasis on the theme of Nixon the liar from boyhood to maturity, from parental home to the White House, is essentially static and while powerful is unbalanced in its neglect of Nixon's many ego strengths and adaptations in a long political career.<sup>51</sup>

From Brodie's former home state of Utah, the reviews were also mixed. Writing in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Jack Goodman noted that "as a psycho-biographer [Brodie] was at her worst when probing . . . Nixon's strained relations with his wife, or when relating the gossip concerning his relationship with his best friend . . . Bebe Rebozo." Goodman concluded that Brodie's "book is not the definitive biography of a complex (and accomplishing) human being."<sup>52</sup> Davis Bitton, writing in *The Sunstone Review*—a liberal Utah Mormon publication—was bothered by Brodie's liberal use of speculative statements, noting that "such words and phrases as 'perhaps,' 'may have,' 'may explain' [and] 'we don't not know if' should not be mistaken for solid evidence." He did conclude that Brodie's "inquisitive mind combines with innovation in the use of unlikely pieces of evidence and enormous diligence in research to give the reader plenty to think about."<sup>53</sup>

Richard S. Kirkendall, himself a well-known political biographer, evaluated Brodie's work through

---

President Nixon is shown here, giving a speech at the Women's Press Club dinner on July 8, 1970. Courtesy Eisenhower Library.





the pages of the *American Historical Review*, pointing to what he saw as the incomplete nature of her *Richard Nixon*. He noted that it contained "material for a biography [but was] not a biography, itself." It was rather "a series of [short] essays" seeking "only to define Nixon's character," which nevertheless "supply valuable insights."<sup>54</sup> Even more critical was political scientist J. Philipp Rosenberg, expressing himself in the *Political Science Quarterly*: "The real problem with this book is that the author's dislike for Nixon shows through her claim of objectivity, particularly in her use of 'loaded' terms." "It is too bad that Brodie lets her feelings interfere with her objectivity." He then concluded:

After finishing the Nixon book, I have an urge to demand that psychobiographers be barred from writing about people they dislike. While this would create a huge gap in the literature, it would do wonders for the reputation of psychobiography.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps mirroring such mixed responses, the biography was a disappointment in terms of total sales. In contrast to Brodie's previous work, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate Biography*, which had sold briskly, landing on the *New York Times* best-seller list for a total of thirteen weeks, *Richard Nixon* only sold some 23,000 copies, considerably short of its first printing run.<sup>56</sup> In fact, it was remaindered with the excess copies picked up, rebound as paperbacks, and marketed by Harvard University Press beginning in 1983.<sup>57</sup>

Fawn Brodie's biography of Nixon, after one decade, seems "dated" in light of more recent scholarship that has emerged in the seventeen years since his resignation amidst scandal. In contrast to the generally critical "traditionalist" evaluation of our thirty-seventh president, evident in Brodie's work, most recent scholars have generally adopted a more balanced "revisionist" view of Richard Nixon and his varied activities. While conceding the flawed aspects of Nixon's actions and personality, writers such as Stephen Ambrose and Roger Morris, both

in the midst of producing multi-volume biographies, have taken note of the ex-president's abilities and accomplishments.<sup>58</sup> Godfrey Hodgson has summarized the nature of the "revisionist" view:

A new consensus is forming. Richard Nixon, it suggests, was a deeply flawed individual, but an able President; too savage for his own good in the partisan wars of domestic politics, but, in spite of everything, in the front rank of Presidents for his understanding and management of foreign policy.<sup>59</sup>

Most recently, liberal newspaper columnist Tom Wicker, in *One of Us: Richard Nixon and the American Dream*, has gone one step further by arguing that Nixon, in his pursuit of domestic goals, was more enlightened and much more closely tuned to what the American consensus wanted than has been previously acknowledged.<sup>60</sup>

In conclusion it should be noted that the emergence of such "revisionist" scholarship has not negated the impact of Fawn Brodie's own pioneering work.<sup>61</sup> In this spirit, Roger Morris, while pointing out that he "did not share most of Fawn Brodie's conclusions, or her approach to politics and history," did concede that "hers is far and away the most impressive intellectual spadework on the subject of Nixon's childhood and youth." In his own study, Morris admitted that he "had drawn gratefully" on Brodie's oral history archives, but "albeit with rather different results."<sup>62</sup> CHS

*See notes beginning on page 424.*

*Instructor of history and political science at the College of the Sequoias, Newell G. Bringhurst has written extensively on western Mormon history and is currently working on biographies of Fawn Brodie and Sam Brannan. His most recent book is Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier. Dr. Bringhurst received the Mormon History Association's 1991 Annual Award for his article, "Fawn Brodie—Her Biographies as Autobiography," Pacific Historical Review, 1990.*



The Nixon family: from left to right, daughters Tricia and Julie, Richard, and Pat. Tricia enjoyed a White House wedding in 1971, while her younger sister Julie married President Eisenhower's grandson David in 1968. Pat was a popular White House hostess. *Courtesy Eisenhower Library.*





At left: Alice (Mrs. Marvin R.) Higgins co-founded the Kingsley Art Club in an effort to bring the arts and culture to Sacramento for her own enjoyment and for that of the community. She left Sacramento shortly afterward, when Governor Markham's term ended and her husband's position as his private secretary terminated. She moved to San Francisco and maintained correspondence with club members. *Courtesy, General Federation of Woman's Clubs and CHS Library, San Francisco.*



At right: Frederika de Laguna, a Sacramento high school teacher, helped found the Kingsley Art Club in 1892. She later moved to southern California, where she became headmistress of Westlake School for Girls. *Courtesy Harvard Westlake School and Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

---

---

# The Kingsley Art Club:

## One Hundred Years of Support for the Arts

*by Kay Feallock*

Nineteen ninety-two marks the centennial of the Kingsley Art Club of Sacramento, which will open its sixty-seventh annual Crocker/Kingsley Exhibition at the Crocker Art Museum in April. A Sacramento institution that is probably the capital's oldest women's club and the oldest art club west of the Mississippi, the Kingsley has played an important role in the development of the arts community in the Sacramento Valley. Its history mirrors that of the women who constitute its membership, reflecting the developments in women's history over the past one hundred years.

The club was founded in 1892 by Alice (Mrs. Marvin) Higgins, wife of Governor Markham's private secretary, and by Miss Frederika de Laguna, a Sacramento high school teacher, for "the study of art in its various branches . . . and . . . the dissemination of artistic sentiment generally in the community." Mrs. Higgins had lived in Los Angeles before coming to Sacramento and enjoyed membership in the Ruskin Art Club, which studied the art of engraving. Finding no such cultural stimulation in Sacramento, she solicited Miss de Laguna's assistance in seeking out suitable ladies for membership in a Sacramento art club of a similar nature. Membership was by invitation only, "open to any lady of good social reputation provided that the membership of the club shall be limited to 50." The club's namesake, Elbridge Kingsley, was a

leading east-coast engraver of the time, who also had been extremely supportive of the activities of the Ruskin Club.

The Kingsley was typical of hundreds of women's clubs that proliferated in the late 1880s for the purpose of education, edification, and fellowship among middle- and upper-class women. In an era when opportunities for advanced education and intellectual stimulation were rare for women, they chose to create their own venues for education and mutual support, usually in the arts, music, or literature. In California, women's clubs were also a way to bring the "civilization and culture" of the East to the rough, new cities and towns of the West. Along those lines, the Kingsley's founders felt that the "dissemination of artistic sentiment" would be beneficial in "thus elevating the tone of society, improving the mind and properly stimulating the imaginative faculty." Reflecting the growth of these organizations, the General Federation of Woman's Clubs was founded in 1890 as a central clearing-house for clubs to share information. The Kingsley Art Club became affiliated with the General Federation in 1893.

The Kingsley's initial focus was on the members' own education and self-improvement. The club met monthly on Wednesday afternoons for tea and a lecture on an art-related topic. Proceedings were monitored by the club critic, who corrected





Ruth Holland (left), chairwoman of the 1975 Kingsley Club exhibition, "Fifty years of Crocker-Kingsley," and Mr. and Mrs. A. Alan Post are seen here viewing Mr. Post's painting *Man with a Hat* (1970), an entry in the art show. *Courtesy The Sacramento Union.*

members' grammatical mistakes. In addition, the Kingsley Club arranged exhibitions of its members' work in local halls, libraries and other public spaces and sometimes sponsored traveling exhibitions by artists from outside Sacramento, many of them women.

The focus and the community influence of the Kingsley Art Club have expanded since its founding. Lectures have covered a wide array of topics, such as British art and architecture, Japanese painting techniques, and French art history. In 1927, the Kingsley began the tradition for which it is most widely known: holding annual invitational exhibitions of Sacramento Valley artists. Until the 1950s,

the Kingsley Exhibition, which is now juried rather than invitational, provided one of the few opportunities in California's Central Valley for new artists to exhibit their work. During the 1950s, the club also established an annual college scholarship for art students, incorporated as a non-profit California corporation with a board of eighteen directors, and opened the Kingsley Exhibition to all northern California artists for the first time.

Typical of any successful and growing organization, the Kingsley Club and its annual exhibition have had their share of conflict. Beginning in the 1950s, art critics and reviewers at various times criticized the increasingly abstract nature of the

---

---

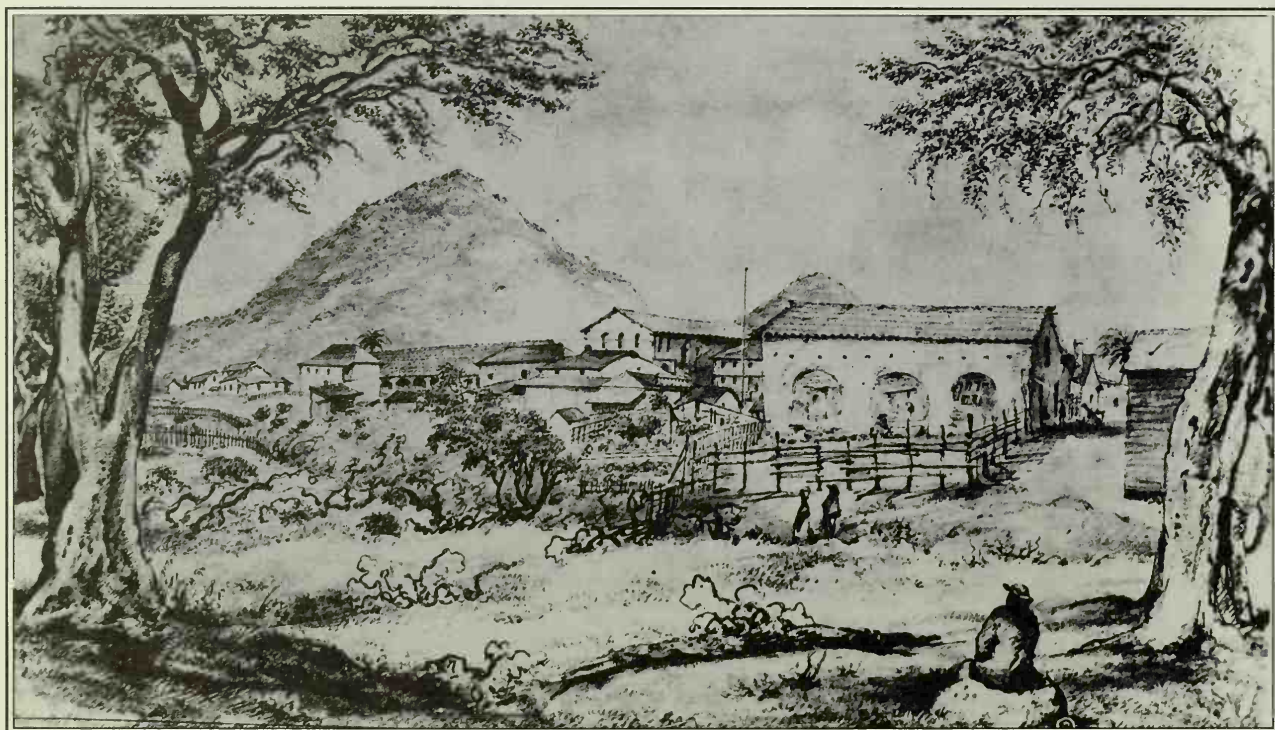
works in the Kingsley Exhibition. The works chosen for the 1966 exhibition, which had more than 1,000 entries, were publicly denounced by the director of the Crocker Museum himself, who called the show a "mere exploitation of novelty." Members of the public commonly criticized the choice of jurors for the exhibitions, as well as the choices of artwork by the jurors. One reviewer called the 1967 show "Pop, Op, Junk, and Funk." The 1971 show was reviewed by a hostile critic as an antagonistic "earblasting rock concert." The increasing influence of the women's movement was reflected in the exhibitions as well, according to one reviewer of the 1976 exhibition, who claimed it had a "large feminist undercurrent." The exhibition of 1978, selected by juror-artist Judy Chicago, created quite an uproar when it was discovered that her selections resulted in a show in which women artists outnumbered men artists by three to one. Nevertheless, the Kingsley Art Club steadfastly supported its jurors and maintained the format of the competition as it continued to select diverse jurors and provide a forum for new art forms.

Today, the Kingsley Art Club consists of a membership of about 300 men and women, and many of its traditions continue: the monthly lectures, exhibitions, and the annual Crocker/Kingsley Exhibition. But its programs and its membership have evolved to reflect changing demographics. The early founders, women whose identification was based on their husbands' status, created the club as an outlet for their desires for education and for a more civilized society on the edge of the wilderness. Today's membership is one of both women and

men from a wide range of social strata, professionals and retired professionals, dedicated to the continued support of the arts in Sacramento and northern California. The club credits its longevity to that dedication, and to its responsiveness to changes in the art world, its membership, and the public. Its influence in the community has been debated, praised, and criticized, but rarely ignored — almost since its inception, every lecture and exhibition has been covered in the pages of the *Sacramento Union* or the *Sacramento Bee*. Although some may debate the nature of its impact, there is no question that from its founding, the Kingsley Art Club has reflected the changing role of women in California society. CHS

*Kay Feallock is program and publications manager for the California Historical Society. She holds a bachelor's degree in history from the University of California, Berkeley, and was a contributing author of Peninsula Portraits: A Pictorial History of San Mateo County (1988).*





Mission San Luis Obispo, sketched by Edward Vischer in 1864. A native of Bavaria, the artist lived in Mexico for fourteen years before moving to San Francisco as a gold-rush merchant. With the encouragement of his wife and a friend who recognized his ability, Vischer began to sketch California scenery and landmarks wherever he went. His collection of mission drawings was published in his book, *Pictorial of California* (1870). CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.

---

---

# The CHS Southern California Historical Collection: New Location and New Opportunities for Historic Research

by Marlene Smith-Baranzini

---

*History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; it illuminates reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance in daily life, and brings us tidings of antiquity.*

—Cicero

---

The California Historical Society's Southern California Historical Collection, recording one hundred years of California history in photographs, documents, and books, is again available for serious research or simple enjoyment.\* Open to the public at the Regional History Center, University of Southern California in Los Angeles, the collection is an intriguing and instructive treasure of nearly 22,000 photographs, several hundred rare and out-of-print books, civic documents, and literally tens of thousands of still-unprocessed negatives. It spans a century of political, social, and cultural change, beginning with views of the missions from the 1860s, by the San Francisco artist Edward Vischer (1809-1879).

The CHS collection at USC centers on the rise of southern California, especially metropolitan Los Angeles city and county, but it includes thousands of images that capture other regions of California and the United States, particularly the southwestern frontier and Mexico. The collection is, in fact, comprised of several important regional collections: the Ticor Collection, the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce Collection, and the Los Angeles Department of Public Works WPA Project Construction Collection. The Ticor Collection includes the C.C. Pierce Collection—containing the original negatives—and the George Wharton James Southwestern Native American Portraits Collection. A smaller collection, the Clinton Bryant

Collection, illustrates rose culture and civic landscape architecture. Heady enough, but additional resources include fire, tract, and tourist maps, promotional pamphlets and brochures, many cartoons of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce files, and several miscellaneous photograph albums. One of these documents the 1910 bombing of the *Los Angeles Times* building, the consequence of a notorious labor dispute and lockout in which several people were killed.

Certainly the heart of the Ticor Collection is the "C.C. Pierce Collection of Rare, Historical and Curious Photographs, Illustrating California, the Pacific Coast and the Southwest." Born in Massachusetts in 1861, Charles Chester Pierce arrived in southern California in the winter of 1886. He remained there during his lifetime, establishing himself as a professional photographer and collector, first in partnership and later on his own. An interest in the growth of rural Los Angeles led to his extensive photodocumentation of changing residential and business neighborhoods and initiated his building of a priceless visual record of regional transformation. For a while, selling these photographs to building owners was his bread and butter.

Pierce also sought and bought the works of other important early photographers, sometimes removing their trademarks and often making his own negatives from their prints. Modern critics question the ethics of this practice, which generally obscures the identity of the original artist. In Pierce's era, however, when photographs were regarded more as commodity than art, eyebrows were seldom raised. Among Pierce's acquisitions was the substantial private collection of his contemporary, George Wharton James. That sharp-featured, lanky Englishman found southern California and the

---

\* My special thanks to Dace Taube for her help during my visit to USC and for assisting with the completion of this article and photograph selections, and to Roy McJunkin, Curator of the California Museum of Photography, University of California at Riverside, for sharing his knowledge of the photographs.





C.C. Pierce, left, reviews photographs in his collection with Frank Graham, a Los Angeles radio commentator. Courtesy UCLA, Special Collection.

Southwest a modern-day Eden, worthy of both his prolific pen and his carefully trained dry-plate camera. James illustrated popular and classic volumes on Ramona, the missions, and southwestern Indians with photographs that document the surge of interest in Mission Revivalist architecture and regional Indian cultures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Pierce purchased some two thousand photographs from James, of which the Southwestern Native American Portraits Collection constitutes a particularly prized ethno-

graphic record. In 1941, five years before his death, Pierce sold his collection to the Ticor Title Insurance Company's Los Angeles subsidiary, Title Insurance and Trust. The insurance company used the collection in promotions and research, and to illustrate a variety of publications.

Longtime CHS members undoubtedly recall the high excitement in late 1977 when Executive Director J.S. Holliday accepted the momentous collection on behalf of the society. In bestowing the collection on CHS, Ticor cited the society's long record of commitment to preserving history and providing opportunities for scholarship and public use. In the summer 1978 issue of *California History*, Gary Kurutz, then director of the historical society's library, reviewed the newly-acquired collection. His review provides important information about subjects in the collection and their creators, especially C.C. Pierce and George Wharton James. CHS acquired the extensive Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce Collection in 1983. It holds great value as a photographic record of the city's promotional activities and development, but it also includes several years of closed-session chamber meeting minutes, of potential significance to urban researchers.

For nearly ten years, CHS housed these collections in its Los Angeles History Center. Roy McJunkin, curator of photography when the History Center closed in 1989, came to know them well as he helped patrons illustrate everything from the imaginative to the prosaic. The collections, he observed, inspired virtually endless research possibilities. For example, the biographical photo montage that opens the 1989 film "Field of Dreams" includes many prints from the collections, and CHS is noted in the final credits at the end of the movie. Hollywood producers often studied vintage prints to create authentic set designs and period history. Legal researchers have used the collections to trace evidence of old plot lines and deed maps, especially for cases in which new development obscured earlier landmarks. Family history brought patrons into the library for genealogy searches and visual records of old neighborhoods. Writers have illustrated many a local history book using the collection, and scholars have found material to consume days, weeks, and even years.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE COLLECTION

To keep it available for research after the history center closed, CHS made arrangements to place its southern California collection on long-term loan to the University of Southern California, where it is housed in the Department of Special Collections of the Library. Librarian Victoria Steele and Library Assistant Dace Taube have worked diligently to improve the organization of the CHS and other special USC collections, making them readily accessible to the public. Historian David L. Clark, curator of the first photo exhibit of the Tidor Collection at the CHS History Center, has developed a computer database program to catalog the photographs and other materials, using the History Database computer program, MARC format field definitions,

and the Library of Congress Subject Headings. The project, slated for completion within three years, will render the collection available by computer modem and accessible to a wide audience of libraries, researchers, and general patrons. Pencil-and-paper traditionalists who prefer hush-voiced library research need not despair: the collection can be visited, viewed, and handled at the USC Library.

The CHS photographs are divided into nine major categories, indexed by subject. The categories are: 1) Los Angeles City Streets, 2) Los Angeles City, 3) Los Angeles County (Outside Los Angeles City), 4) California (Outside Los Angeles County), 5) General Subjects, 6) Indians, 7) Missions, 8) Portraits, and 9) Outside California.



Hotel Belmont, 1st and Belmont streets, Los Angeles. First built as a college in 1884, this hotel was deemed one of the handsomest and most popular in the country. On December 16, 1887, a fire originating in the hotel's tankhouse destroyed the hotel in just two hours. Luckily, there were no fatalities or injuries. Valiant efforts of hotel guests and servants helped save some of the hotel's furnishings and guests' personal belongings. *CHS/Tidor Collection, University of Southern California.*

**1. Los Angeles City Streets 761 images**

These photographs of houses and buildings are predominantly the work of C.C. Pierce, who realized that he had arrived on the brink of the "boom" and set out to document major portions of the city. Indexed alphabetically by street name, and sometimes cross streets, these early views of the city demonstrate its transformation over the years and tell the story of residential development and changing urban architecture.

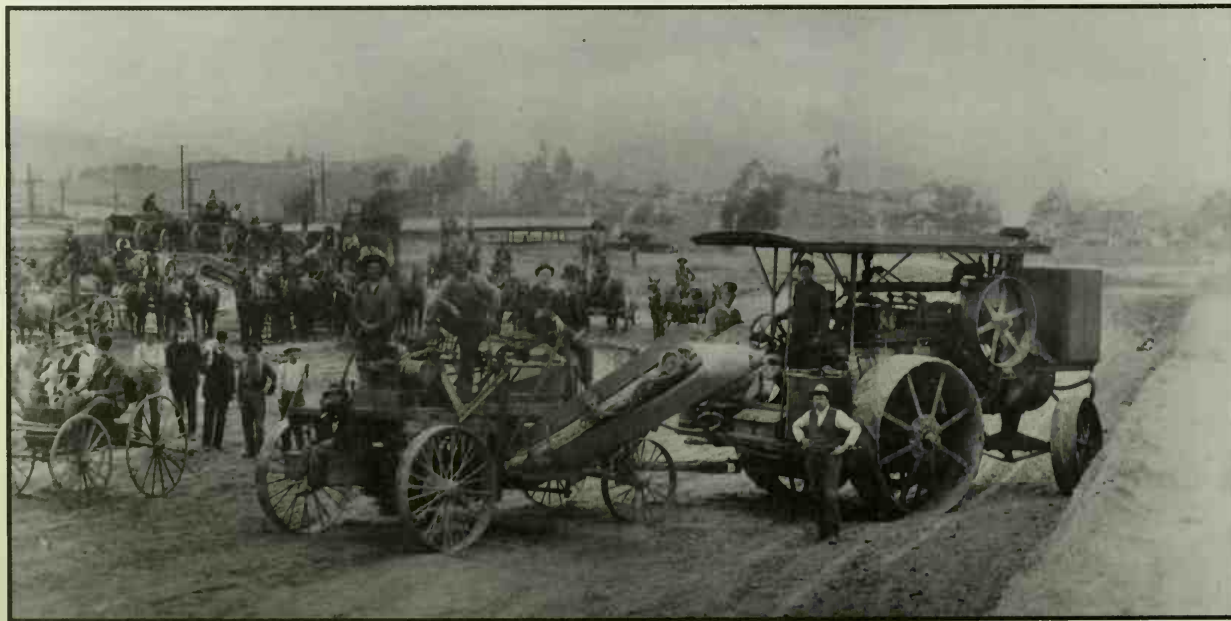
**2. Los Angeles City 4,003 images**

Many images in this group and the Los Angeles City Streets group are from the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce Collection, either taken by the chamber or commissioned, for promotional as well as instructive use. They illustrate the chamber's first twenty years (1890-1910), featuring elaborate boosterism displays that traveled to state fairs and international trade shows. Other city views record municipal development, emphasizing ground transportation, shipping, and aviation. There are, for example, over one hundred images of the Los Angeles harbor. Additional photographs depict

Venice Beach and the rise of Hollywood, and effects of major floods, among other subjects. Within this large part of the CHS collection, subheadings help locate parks, plazas, public buildings, neighborhoods, and schools. The breadth and diversity of Los Angeles, from Century City to Chinatown, is well-documented in these four thousand photographs.

**3. Los Angeles County (Outside Los Angeles City) 1,874 images**

Forty-six Los Angeles County communities are represented in this division of the collection. It contains many views of cities such as Beverly Hills, Long Beach, Pasadena, Santa Monica, and Whittier, and representative scenes from smaller towns, including Azusa, Bellflower, Pomona, and Torrance. The rise of these southern California towns unfolds in a visual record that captures historic architecture, agricultural production, ocean panoramas, and the growth of tourism, commercial development, residential street scenes, and picturesque landmarks such as Mt. Lowe and the Santa Monica Canyon.



An early land excavation site in Rampart Heights, at 3rd, Beverly, and Commonwealth, Los Angeles, 1905. Construction crews and financiers display their modern equipment—both mechanized and horse-drawn—for the photographer. Such land developments have typified the southern California scene for more than a century. *CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.*





One of photographer Charles C. Pierce's works depicting Japanese girls, perhaps at the Bethlehem Japanese Mission School in Los Angeles, about 1900. The CHS/Ticor Collection contains many such photographs that document the rich ethnic and cultural diversity that has always characterized California. *CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.*

#### 4. California (Outside Los Angeles County) 3,021 images

This section of the collection underscores its importance as a source of research about regions other than southern California. These photographs, organized county-by-county, record history around the state, especially before WWII. A large number of these prints are early-twentieth-century illustrations by a single photographer who traveled around the state shooting local landmarks, scenic views, and popular tourist spots. Many of the photographs were reproduced as picture postcards,

enhanced by color retouching. The prints are thought to have been purchased by Pierce in the 1930s, and although their originator remains to be positively identified, the works explain how the collection represents so many places most likely unfamiliar to Pierce personally.

The Alameda County file illustrates the sort of discoveries that abound in these files. Photographs of Pleasanton show the old Sutherland Hotel on Main Street, still operating as the Pleasanton Hotel, and Agostin Bernal's adobe on what is now Foothill Road. A third generation *californio*, Bernal built the home in



Early twentieth-century panoramic view of El Molino Viejo and the San Gabriel Valley. Built about 1816 as a water-powered grain mill for the Mission San Gabriel several miles south, El Molino Viejo is now owned by the city of San Marino and operated by the California Historical Society as its southern California headquarters and as a historic site open to the public. *CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.*

1848, when Pleasanton was a sparsely-populated settlement called *Alisal*. There are views of millionaire "Lucky" Baldwin's residence, and several others with intrinsic value for local historians. For nearly all of California's fifty-eight counties, these files contain rich historical detail.

##### 5. General Subjects 6,752 images

This category is an assortment of "miscellaneous" topics divided into about twenty large groups. Many of the photographs included here illustrate broad topics such as ranching and industry and are easily identifiable by



region or county, but their significance is viewed in terms of general subject matter. Or, sadly, they lack precise identification, a frustration familiar to collectors and keepers of visual records. One category, agriculture, is divided into "crops" and "ranching." Crops, separated by type, include three hundred images of the citrus industry, for example, and thirty that show irrigation methods. There are over one hundred photographs of "animals," from prehistoric species to snails and centipedes(!). The "industry" category contains hundreds of images of historic and modern mineral mining and twentieth-century oil exploration and refinement, but also smaller industries such as soap manufacturing.

Other important categories in the general subjects heading include art (emphasizing an impressive line-up of artists' portraits), botany, engineering, festivals, natural features, and parks. Of the nearly three hundred Grand Canyon National Park photographs here, many are the work of George Wharton James, who explored and documented his sojourns throughout the West. His rare canyon views, taken before the great tourist hotels were completed, illustrate many areas now closed or inaccessible to tourists. Dozens of ground, water, rail, and air transportation photographs—from wagon trains to LAX—document the history of settlement and the growth of industry and infrastructure throughout the state.

#### **6. Indians 1,570 images**

Many George Wharton James photographs also comprise this category, which includes Indians of southern California, the Cahuilla of the Palm Springs region, Apache and Navajo of Arizona, Hopi and Zuni of New Mexico, and many illustrations of Indians of northern California, Oregon, and Nevada. In addition to hundreds of tribal images, he documented tribal agricultural methods, cliff dwellings and pueblos, and cultural traditions. James photographed striking examples of Indian material culture—basketry, pottery, beadwork, and weaving. Inspired by Helen Hunt Jackson's classic novel, *Ramona*, another of James's projects evolved into the careful retracing of the fictional Ramona's steps. This collection includes eighty-two photographs of the settings that, with extensive research, solidified James's own standing as author-and-expert on Ramona country.

#### **7. Missions 1,406 images**

A significant collection representing California's twenty-one missions (along with others in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Mexico), their restoration, and architecture, this group is substantially Pierce's work; some of these photographs are regarded as the most picturesque in the collection. In contrast to many a modern

tourist, travelers of yesteryear rarely owned their own photographic equipment. The industry was young and the hardware unfamiliar. As Pierce documented the missions, his eye on the emerging tourist market, he produced large, high-quality, black-and-white prints to sell as souvenirs. A kaleidoscope of mission architecture, they stand as rare examples of California's early social system. Illustrating a pervasive enchantment with classic Spanish architecture, gracious gardens, and mission bells, this collection also reflects a historical period later characterized by romantic illusion.

#### **8. Portraits 1,024 images**

Drawn mostly from the collections of Pierce and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the portrait collection is a visual who's who of early California. Indexed alphabetically, the portrait collection includes photographs, photographs of oil paintings, etchings, engravings, and lithographs. Among the one thousand portraits in the file are: Juan Bautista de Anza, Charlie Chaplin, Ina Coolbrith, Margaret Collier Graham, Henry E. and Collis P. Huntington, Joaquin Murrieta, Death Valley Scotty, and Brigham Young. Yet, in a wry twist of irony, nowhere in the collection is there an image of C. C. Pierce himself. An additional section here includes general portraits of religious groups, sports teams, civic organizations, and images of people engaged in a variety of occupations.

#### **9. Outside California 1,259 images**

Other areas of the West catalogued here include places George Wharton James toured on his excursions, such as the Grand Canyon, the Painted Desert, Tombstone, and Yuma, Arizona. The combined photographs of Oregon and Colorado alone total over five hundred. Images from around the globe include Europe, Africa, China, New Zealand, Samoa, and others. Of special interest are two hundred photographs of old Mexico, the work of C. B. Waite, an Englishman who lived there briefly in the 1880s and '90s before settling in Los Angeles. A respected photographer, Waite captured scenes of everyday life, especially in Mexico City. Purchased by Pierce, these photographs are regarded as valuable documentation of nineteenth-century Mexican life.

#### **The Book Collection**

The CHS/Ticor Collection library is composed of some one thousand volumes of history, natural history, art, and photography, in rare, classic, and out-of-print editions. Many of these books are no longer widely available but are of particular use to historians. A nearly-complete set of city directories for Los Angeles from 1886 through 1956 is also part of the library, along with many cartons of meeting minutes, documents, and business records.



---

Many images in the CHS/Ticor Collection illustrate the Far West in transition from frontier to settled country. In this C. C. Pierce photograph, Ike Pryor represents the typical garb and grub of the late-nineteenth-century Texas cattleman. CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.



---

### Other USC Special Collections

Researchers who use the CHS collection at the Regional History Center should know about two other important southern California photograph collections they are welcome to use: the Hearst Collection and the Whittington Collection. Descriptions of these important collections are provided by the USC Special Collections Library.

**The Hearst Collection** includes 1.2 million photographs from 1904 to 1961, from the *Herald*, the *Examiner*, and the *Herald Examiner*, along with negatives from 1950 to 1961 from the Hearst newspaper and wire services. In addition, the collection includes bound volumes of original newspapers and an extensive clippings file.

**The Whittington Collection**, with nearly half a million negatives not yet catalogued, is the most recent USC acquisition. The "Dick" Whittington Studio was the largest and finest photography studio in the Los Angeles area from 1925 to 1947.

### USING THE USC REGIONAL HISTORY CENTER

The extensive CHS/Southern California Historical Collection offers a vast and visually spectacular source of material for researchers. Northern Californians who are interested in knowing more about the extent of photographs on specific subjects prior to visiting USC can use the collection's index at the

---

CHS North Baker Library in San Francisco, or they may phone USC at the number below.

The University of Southern California's Regional History Center, 3440 S. Hope Street, Los Angeles, is open Monday through Friday, from 8:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M., by appointment. Written inquiries about the collection are also welcome. One-day computer workshops on historical cataloging and research, with hands-on training, can be arranged for small groups; participants need not be "computer literate." For more information about the photograph collections or to schedule appointments, patrons should call Dace Taube, Library Assistant, at (213) 743-3147. Inquiries may be addressed to her at the

Regional History Center, Dept. of Special Collections, University Library, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0182. CHS

---

*Marlene Smith-Baranzini is the associate editor of California History. A 1989 graduate of the University of San Francisco's Master of Arts in Writing program, she has reviewed books on women's issues and the West for the San Francisco Review of Books, California History, and The Californians. Her current writing projects include a history of the American Revolution for children and the life of Louise Clappe in San Francisco.*



The CHS/Southern California Historical Collection is housed in USC's Regional History Center at the East Library, pictured in this "Dick" Whittington photograph taken shortly after it was completed in 1929. At various times the building has housed a printing business, an armory, and the Civilian Conservation Corps. "Dick" Whittington Collection, University of Southern California.

## THE NEW WEST—and—THE OLD WEST



### "IT'S YOUR MISFORTUNE AND NONE OF MY OWN" *A New History of the American West*

By Richard White

A centerpiece of the new history of the American West, this book presents the causes and changes.

"Without question the most important textbook on the history of the American West since Billington first produced *Westward Expansion* in the 1940s."—William J. Cronon, Yale University.

\$34.95 (Through 12/31/91); \$39.95 (After 12/31/91)

### JOHN CHARLES FREMONT

*Character as Destiny*

By Andrew Rolle

Read about Frémont, the illegitimate son of a French-Canadian music teacher and the run-away wife of a southern Revolutionary War officer, who became an explorer, a Civil War general, the territorial governor of Arizona, America's first Republican candidate for president, and one of California's first two senators.

"Engrossing and rewarding."—Rudolph Binion, Brandeis University.



\$29.95

### CONVERTING THE WEST

*A Biography of Narcissa Whitman*

By Julia Roy Jeffrey

Volume 3 in *The Oklahoma Western Biographies*

In this moving biography, Jeffrey brings the controversial missionary to life.

"It is by far the best book on its subject."—

G. Thomas Edwards, Whiteman College.

\$24.95



### HENRY A. WALLACE'S IRRIGATION FRONTIER

*On the Trail of the Corn Belt Farmer 1909*

Edited and with an introduction by

Richard Lowitt and Judith Fabry

Volume 58 in *The Western Frontier Library*

Wallace's articles are collected and reprinted here for the first time.

"A most impressive book."—Richard S.

Kirkendall, University of Washington.

\$24.95

Write for FREE catalogs. From your bookseller, or

University of Oklahoma Press



Dept. MAF2—1005 Asp Ave.—Norman, OK 73019-0445

Accept: MC/Visa/AE/Checks

NEW FROM THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS

## CAPTAIN A. A. RITCHIE CALIFORNIA PIONEER

An Account of His Life,  
Family and Ranchos

by Dr. Albert Shumate

President Emeritus,  
California Historical Society

87 pages, illustrations, index. Cloth bound with dustjacket.  
Design and production by the Arthur H. Clark Company.

\$15.00 including tax and shipment.

Order from: Society of California Pioneers  
456 McAllister St.  
San Francisco, CA 94102



Edited by James J. Rawls



Chinese American parade participants during La Fiesta de Los Angeles, 1901. Since the Gold Rush, Asian immigrants—including the Chinese after the 1850s, the Japanese after the 1880s, the Filipinos after the 1890s, and the Koreans, Southeast Asians, and other groups who have arrived since World War II—have been major contributors to economic development and cultural diversity. Since its late eighteenth-century founding as a Spanish colony, California has been characterized by remarkable ethnic diversity, which has at once been a source of its cultural strength as well as tensions in its social fabric. *CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.*

## *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History.*

By Sucheng Chan. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991, xviii, 242 pp., \$11.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Associate Professor of Anthropology and faculty member of the Center for Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America, University of Colorado, Boulder.*

Because of its innovative approach, I highly recommend Professor Chan's new book. Eschewing a chronological, "group by group," treatment of Asian American history, Chan's nine chapters approach the subject topically and comparatively. Beginning with the global context framing

emigration from Asia (Chapter One), Chan examines Asian immigration and occupations through the Great Depression (Two). Next, Chan details the hostility and interethnic conflict that Asians faced in this society (Three). An examination of communities (Four), and an important chapter detailing Asians' historical resistance to oppression in America (Five), follow. Chan provides excellent chapters on women, families, and the second generation (Six), and on the changing fortunes brought on by the Second World War (Seven). History is brought up to the present with a chapter on new Asian immigrants and refugees (Chapter Eight), and, finally, a trenchant chapter on current achievements and issues, giving special attention to politics, education, and culture (Nine).

That all of these themes are addressed in a clear and concise fashion, interweaving Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Asian Indian, and (in Chapters Eight and Nine) Southeast Asian American experiences, attests highly to Chan's expertise. And although the different backgrounds, experiences, and trajectories of the separate groups are preserved in Chan's account, one still gets a sense of the *commonalities* that the different groups shared. This is especially true prior to the Second World War, of which early experiences of peripatetic agricultural wage labor, heightened linkage to ethnic enclaves and networks for both voluntary and involuntary reasons, and the education (and "dilemma") of second-generation Asian Americans during the 1930s, are examples. Clearly, in terms of the data Chan presents, these commonalities are more than a simple matter of the larger society's racist stereotyping of all Asians as unassimilable.

An *Interpretive History* is an appropriate subtitle; while grounding her study in ideographic detail, Chan artfully combines description with explication. Her treatment is intellectually stimulating and challenging, and will fascinate those readers who have been studying for years, as well as those who have had little exposure to the topic.

Beyond its careful scholarship, accessible style, and reasonable price, anyone teaching Asian American studies or American history will find Chan's book of great utility. Chan has included a useful eight-page chronology at the end of the book that helps to fix the strictly diachronic dimension of Asian American history. She also identifies forty recent films/videos that can be shown in class to illustrate groups and historical periods described in the text. In addition to the notes and references, which demonstrate her command and use of sources, Chan includes a comprehensive (and non-overlapping) bibliographic essay. Readers who want to consult additional materials, in terms of general resources, multigroup studies, surveys of individual groups, and local histories, will find the best available literature cited.

By whatever measure, Chan's previous scholarship, which includes books (e.g., *This Bittersweet Soil* [1986] on Chinese in California agriculture between 1860 and 1910), the preservation of pioneer Asian American histories (*Quiet Odyssey* [1990] the autobiography of Mrs. Mary Paik Lee, a first generation Korean immigrant), anthologies (e.g., *Income and Status Differences between Minority and White Americans* [1990]), and service to her colleagues (as editor of the new "Asian American History and Culture" series published by Temple University Press), constitutes a distinguished contribution to the field of Asian American Studies. Her efforts to document and interpret the Asian American heritage within the larger context of United States history are captured in *Asian Americans*, a book that exemplifies her expertise, as well as her deep commitment to the development of the field.

CHR

## *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit.*

By Donald C. Cutter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, xv 192 pp., \$24.95.)

## *Monterey in 1786:*

## *The Journals of Jean François de La Pérouse.*

Introduction and commentary by Malcolm Margolin. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1989, 111 pp., \$8.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Daniel Tyler, Professor of History, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, and a specialist in the Hispanic Southwest.

These two books make excellent companion reading. Together they offer an opportunity for reflection on the meaning of Spanish exploration, discovery, and settlement at a time when debate rages over the meaning of Columbus's discovery of America. Both provide views of the Spanish mission system, California's Native Americans, and the European interest in science during the Age of Enlightenment. While Cutter's book is predictably more scholarly and thorough, Margolin's introduction to the La Pérouse journals is balanced and informative.

Cutter's analysis of the role of two Spanish schooners on the California coast in 1792 proceeds from his lengthy investigations in the Museo Naval in Madrid, other Spanish and Mexican archives, and his work on the 1791 expedition of captains Alejandro Malaspina and Jorge Bustamante. While charged to assist in evaluating Spain's presence in the Pacific Northwest, the Malaspina expedition also searched for the mythical Strait of Anian. The one area the Malaspina expedition was unable to investigate was the maze of islands around the waterway named for the Greek mariner Juan de Fuca. In response to this need, the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, with artist and scribe José ("Pepe") Cardero on board, were sent north from San Blas to complete the exploration begun by Malaspina. *California in 1792* contains a translation and editing of Cardero's account of the voyage, his maps of the California coast, sketches of the settlement at Monterey, Rumsen, and Esselen Indians, and a dictionary containing Indian words with Spanish and English equivalents.

In addition to a detailed description of the expedition's leaders and crew and the resident Spaniards of Monterey, Cutter provides readers with a broad overview of California in the 1790s. He notes the small Hispanic population, the hope for economic growth through the mission system, the burgeoning livestock production, the general feeling of isolation and lack of geographic knowledge, and the Spanish concern about clandestine trade with other nations. His main objective is to set the observations of Cardero against the background of Spanish scientific exploration. Except for footnotes



This 1791 drawing by Spanish artist José Cardero shows the central courtyard and *ranchería* (Indian dwelling district, in background) of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, several years before the large church was completed. Established at Monterey in 1770 and moved to its Carmel location the following year, the mission became the headquarters of Father Junípero Serra until his death in 1784. Courtesy Heyday Books, Berkeley, California.

amplifying Cardero's ethnographic information in the journal, Cutter does not editorialize about the Spanish mission system or the Native Americans, who were described by Cardero as the "stupidest as well as the ugliest and dirtiest that can be found. . . ." (p. 132).

Margolin's fifty-page introduction to the La Pérouse journals, however, makes an effort to explain similarly negative comments made by this French scientist six years earlier. Prone to deprecate the mission system because he believes it forced Native Americans to abandon everything they knew about life in favor of a monastic style of living, Margolin also explains why the Indians were attracted to the Spanish way of life. While La Pérouse reluctantly concluded that California missions resembled slave plantations in Santo Domingo, Margolin points out that his remarks about the Rumsen and Esselen Indians must be understood in the light of his

Enlightenment fixations. Seeing all men as reasonable, intelligent, and capable of progress, La Pérouse suggested that the mission system would succeed far better by foregoing the use of force in favor of reason. Still, concludes Margolin, if the comments of La Pérouse seem elitist and biased, they need to be considered as an antidote to the myth and fantasy worlds ("theme parks") created by promoters of California's historic past.

One could carp about the lack of references, index, and bibliography in *Monterey in 1786*, but much of what has been written on scientific explorations in California can be found in *California in 1792*. Separately, both books make for excellent reading, but together they stimulate the intellectual juices to consider the real meaning of Spanish exploration and conquest, as well as the impact of Hispanic institutions on Native Americans.





During the torrential rains of mid-February 1986, Todd Bimstock and his dog were stranded in their small boat on the Feather River until authorities were able to rescue them. In a recreation of tragic events that have periodically struck the Central Valley throughout its history, flooding of the Feather and other northern California rivers that year caused millions of dollars in property damage. In an ironic "feast or famine" turn of nature, the weather pattern of the state shifted quickly to a period of prolonged drought since 1986, forcing Californians to face inescapable issues of water conservation and conflicting water rights. It was just such historic cycles of flooding and drought, and the conflict that ensued, that led to the creation of the massive water management projects that historian Robert Kelley recounts in *Battling the Inland Sea*. Photograph by David Parker. Courtesy Robert and Madge Kelley.

## *Battling The Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, & the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986.*

By Robert Kelley. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, xxi, 395 pp., \$32.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gregg M. Campbell, Professor of History at California State University, Sacramento.

As the subtitle indicates, Robert Kelley's *Battling The Inland Sea* is an omnibus work in which the author undertakes three tasks: 1) recount the history of flood control in the Sacramento Valley from 1850 to 1986; 2) discuss the subject in the context of both California and American political culture; and 3) analyze these two themes in the context of public policy theory. In appraising Kelley's effort, one is reminded of Huckleberry Finn's comment that Mark Twain "told the truth, mainly. There was things which he stretched, but mainly he told the truth." Kelley has certainly told the truth, but in treating these three themes, he has had to make some stretches.

In *Battling The Inland Sea*, Kelley builds upon over thirty years of scholarship in the fields of California and American political history. His *Gold v Grain* (1959) forms its heart, for with that publication, Kelley became a consultant to the state attorney general "on the history of flooding and flood control planning and public works in the Valley" (xviii). *Battling The Inland Sea* makes available to the general reader Kelley's years

of scholarship as a consultant and expert witness. As this suggests, Kelley is well credentialed in public history and public policy theory. In the mid-1970s he initiated and became director of the Graduate Program in Public Historical Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where for many years he has also taught a course in public policy theory. Kelley raises the issue of public policy theory in the "Preface" and returns to amplify his discussion in the concluding chapter.

*Battling The Inland Sea* is a sequel to *Gold v Grain*, and much more. In *Gold v Grain* Kelley focused on a battle between opposing economic, political, social, and cultural camps: the mining industry versus agricultural interests. It was a dramatic story, with a fixed climactic event: the Sawyer decision of 1884 that effectively curtailed hydraulic mining in the Sierra. The theme of *Battling The Inland Sea* is more complex, of much longer duration, and essentially tragic. Its theme is "man versus nature," and ultimately we know that nature will win. It may be only a matter of months or years, until the next big storm and the levees are once again breached. Or it may be a matter of a century or two, but we know that our engineering monuments, our dams and levees, will one day stand crumbling and abandoned, worn out and useless.

In the "Preface," Kelley states that he has set out to write

history with Herodotus and Thucydides as his models. Through his research we meet major protagonists, Will Green of Colusa, a Democrat who believed the Sacramento River could best be controlled by accommodating flood waters in overflow channels, and William H. Parks, a Republican who wanted to build dams and turn large tracts of overflow acreage to profit. During the 1870s, Parks built a number of dams across Butte Creek, each larger and more extensive than the last. Today, Kelley writes,

the remains of these works may still be found a quarter of a mile out in the fields north of Mawson Bridge on Pass Road, buried deep in the quiet thicket of tenacious willow trees, all that now impedes the free flow of floodwaters from Butte Sink down into Sutter Basin (p. 174).

As that passage illustrates, Kelley conveys a masterful understanding of the terrain, the local terrain of the Sacramento Valley as well as the topography of California political culture and the larger legacy of American imperial design.

Kelley broadens our understanding of flood control in the Sacramento Valley by placing it in the larger context of both American political culture and public policy theory. Here, he brings into play his *The Cultural Pattern in American Politics: The First Century* (1979), and argues for the primacy of "Whig-Republican tradition" in American political culture. He demonstrates how the American engineering profession came to maturity in the years following the Civil War, with West Point as its nursery and the Army Corps of Engineers as its alumni association. He further demonstrates how the symbiotic relationship between the Corp of Engineers and nineteenth-century Republican political values—which, in contrast to the party's post-1920s philosophy, favored an activist government, as well as an entrepreneurial elite—and led to repeated efforts to control flooding by building dams and levees in the valley.

Although the subtitle to *Battling The Inland Sea* indicates a discussion of flood control efforts in the entire valley from 1850 to 1986, Kelley's research and expert testimony for the Department of Water Resources have focused on flooding and flood patterns in the Feather and lower Sacramento valleys. This focus does not encompass the high dams—Shasta, Folsom, and Oroville—built between the 1930s and the 1960s, without which the levees, weirs, and bypasses of the valley, no matter how extensive, ingenious, or complex, would not function. Moreover, Kelley's detailed discussion actually stops at 1905, with the period 1905 to 1986 sketched as a culminating era.

Kelley's analytical narrative dramatizes how local, state, and federal officials, as well as entrepreneurs and engineers, have for over one hundred and fifty years deluded themselves in the belief that levees, initially only three feet high, could control flooding in the Sacramento Valley. Today, as a result of the February 1986 flood, federal agencies are once again revisiting the 100- and 200-year flood maps of the lower Sacramento Valley, flood insurance rates are being raised, and plans are

being made to strengthen the levees. The dramatic story of hubris and vanity, vision and self-delusion, learning and relearning the lessons of nature and history—so ably undertaken in *Battling The Inland Sea*—continues. It will as long as human beings are determined to invest in and live on one of the world's major flood plains.

In sum, *Battling The Inland Sea* is a work of diligent scholarship. One factual error, however, should be noted: John Sutter arrived in California in 1839, not 1829 (p. 6). In undertaking a task more complex than he achieved in *Gold v Grain*, Robert Kelley presents a case study of public policy development at the local, state, and federal levels and greatly enhances our understanding of one of the central themes of California history. CJS

### *The Builders Behind the Castles.*

By Taylor Coffman. (San Luis Obispo, California: San Luis Obispo County Historical Society, 1990, 223 pp., \$12.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by Jane Foster Carter, former CHS Regional Vice President for Northern California and author of If The Walls Could Talk: Colusa's Architectural Heritage.*

Hearst Castle is reverently called "the jewel of the California State Park system" by the State Department of Parks and Recreation, which has managed the property since the Hearst Corporation gave it to the state in 1958. Over twenty-three million people from around the world have traveled up and down the rugged California coastline on scenic Highway 1 to visit Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument, making it one of the major tourist attractions in the country. It was the dream house of William Randolph Hearst, designed by architect Julia Morgan and constructed on a hill site overlooking the blue Pacific, where the Hearst family liked to camp on their 240,000-acre cattle ranch stretching along fifty miles of coastline in San Luis Obispo and Monterey counties.

For buffs of William Randolph Hearst, Julia Morgan, and San Simeon history, *The Builders Behind the Castles* is essential reading; for scholars, the choice collection of the George Looz Papers (43 letter boxes), upon which the book is based, is also available at the San Luis Obispo County Historical Museum.

Using the papers of George Looz, resident construction superintendent at Hearst Castle from 1932 to 1937, the author chronicles the highlights of the construction work for Hearst family retreats at San Simeon and the lesser known, very private Wynton, located on the McCloud River in Siskiyou



County. Skillfully selected excerpts from letters written to and from Loorz, interspersed with summarizing narrative, enhance the story of the construction and the business and personal relationships of the participants in the projects. The gossipy nature of the informal accounts written between Loorz and his fellow supporting players provides color and reveals honest insights into the personalities and idiosyncrasies of principals Hearst and Morgan.

The papers include detailed, transcribed, typewritten accounts of Loorz's meetings with Julia Morgan, captioned "Architect's Interviews," but the author has wisely kept descriptions of the technical side of the work to a minimum. Nevertheless, some readers may find the labors of construction tedious.

Hanging over these years was the pervasive dark cloud of the Great Depression. Although George Loorz shared with everyone his jovial and gregarious personality—embodied in the "Cheerio" expression he picked up in England during World War I—his genial letters could not disguise the concern he felt for the employment and welfare of his partner in the F.C. Stolte Co., his co-workers, and his friends. A sense of the times is evident in Loorz's budget per day for ten workmen in 1933, which was seventy-five dollars—a figure he considered "fair." Woven through the reports of construction progress are events of local and national history, such as the closing of the bank in nearby Cambria in 1933, shocking the community and wiping out the savings of local depositors and cash balances Hearst had on hand to meet payrolls, and the confirmation of the disputed whereabouts of William Randolph Hearst (Los Angeles) when he maneuvered the deadlocked 1932 Democratic convention in Chicago in favor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Hearst was a compulsive builder and few construction details escaped his watchful eye. However, he left California in mid-1936 for the balance of the year to legalize his "non-resident" status in order to claim exemption from state income tax. Loorz describes the excitement that was missing when Hearst did not visit San Simeon during this period. His letters reporting the scheduling and construction progress at San Simeon and Wynton (the 60,000-acre timber ranch named for the Wintuan Indian tribe) provide a barometer of Hearst's fortune during the thirties. For example, in 1937, when Hearst was over \$100 million in debt and unable to dodge his creditors, both projects were ordered shut down.

While Loorz worked at San Simeon, he continued to estimate jobs for the F.C. Stolte Co., his successful contracting business that was expanding even as Hearst was liquidating his vast holdings. From 1938 to 1944, references to Hearst, Morgan, San Simeon, and Wynton are significantly reduced, as Loorz shifted to other business. The last of the Loorz papers conclude in 1944, not that George Loorz, the tireless correspondent, had lost his zeal for writing, but because the files in the old letter boxes that were kept by Loorz himself end. [CHS]

## *Delilah Leontium Beasley: Oakland's Crusading Journalist.*

By Lorraine J. Crouchett. (El Cerrito, California: Downey Place Publishing House, Inc., 1990, viii, 66 pp., \$9.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert Fikes, Jr., Associate Librarian at San Diego State University.

Delilah Leontium Beasley was indeed a determined woman on a mission to advance interracial understanding through her writings. Lacking a college degree and a spouse, she supported herself as a masseuse and as a domestic while pursuing with dedication the chronicling of the achievements of African Americans. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1871, she wrote her first newspaper article at age twelve and developed a passionate interest in the history of her people, particularly that of blacks in the American West. Around 1910, she migrated to California. Working with a dearth of primary material, Lorraine J. Crouchett has produced a painfully brief volume on Beasley's life and achievements that, nonetheless, represents the most that has been published on the tireless crusader. Little is revealed of Beasley's personal life, nor is the reader given insights from contemporaries with whom she interacted.

Roughly four-fifths of the book summarizes and comments on the significance of Beasley's 317-page magnum opus, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (1919), which is liberally excerpted. Crouchett's admiration of Beasley is quite apparent. However, her failure to critically analyze Beasley's career and writings and disappointing attention to her personal life limit the book's usefulness. Just as Beasley was singularly committed to discovering and publicizing the state's black pioneers whom she oftentimes treated as heroes of sorts, irrespective of their real influence, Crouchett is far more concerned with memorializing Beasley as journalist, civic leader, and historian without portfolio, than with accurately evaluating her work in context. Consequently, Crouchett never challenges the accuracy of some of Beasley's flawed research. Others were not so forgiving or imperceptive. In 1920, Carter G. Woodson, writing in the *Journal of Negro History*, characterized Beasley's book as a confusing, hopeless "hodge podge"; and, significantly, Earl E. Thorpe omitted Beasley from a chapter on amateur historians in his *Black Historians: A Critique* (1971).

Where Crouchett succeeds is in her clear, well-written summaries of sections of *The Negro Trail Blazers of California*, which makes for a lively and engaging lesson on the role of African Americans in the state's history. She ventures explanations for Beasley's highlighting various aspects of the black pioneer experience. After the publication of the book, Beasley became a regular columnist with the *Oakland Tribune*, contributing news items she felt improved the image of a maligned race and





Delilah L. Beasley. Courtesy Northern California Center for Afro-American History and Life.

formed the basis for black-white cooperation. It might be unfair to dismiss Beasley for not having applied the rigors of scientific inquiry in her research, but her primary motivation was not to impress scholars but to educate the masses and inspire her people to achieve. Her efforts to use the press to promote racial equality and interracial contact are noteworthy, but hardly exceptional. Crouchett understood all of this and chose not to find fault. We are left to draw our own conclusions about the impact of Beasley's book and the extent to which her newspaper writings changed the course of events.

CHS

## *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California: A History and Guide.*

By Remi Nadeau. (Santa Barbara: Crest Publishers, 1990, x, 278 pp., \$11.95 paper.)

## *Mammoth Gold: The Ghost Towns of Lake District.*

By Gary Caldwell. (Mammoth Lakes, California: Genny Smith Books, 1990, xviii, 174 pp., \$10.75 paper.)

## *Southern California's Best Ghost Towns: A Practical Guide.*

By Philip Varney. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, xiv, 137 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Newell G. Bringhurst, Instructor of History, College of the Sequoias, Visalia.*

Each year hundreds of thousands of tourists visit the dozens of ghost towns and mining camps scattered throughout California. The features that these tourists encounter at these sites are as varied and diverse as the Golden State itself. Thus it seems appropriate that Remi Nadeau, Gary Caldwell, and Philip Varney have each written three vastly different types of guides for potential tourists visiting California's ghost towns and mining camps.

Remi Nadeau's *Ghost Towns & Mining Camps of California*, a republication of an early work, is the most ambitious of the three, in that it purports to describe virtually all ghost towns and mining camps throughout the state. Nadeau is a fifth generation Californian and direct descendant of a famous eastern Sierra pioneer freighter. Thus, it is not surprising that Nadeau focuses on colorful historical anecdotes and personalities affecting various California communities during the pioneer period. Nadeau presents a vivid description of the activities of vigilantes, gun fighters, and "ladies of the night," along with the exploits of famous individuals as diverse as John C. Frémont, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Lola Montez, Black Bart, and the legendary Joaquin Murrieta.

Despite providing vivid, memorable portraits of outstanding activities and personalities, Nadeau's *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California* is disappointing as a comprehensive guide. It is little more than an anecdotal history. Indeed, the guide information contained at the end of each historical chapter under "Points of Interest" is perfunctory, incomplete, and inadequate for the needs of the serious tourist, and the maps accompanying the text are few in number and lacking in essential detail and information. Nadeau's guide, moreover, is *not* up-to-date in providing information dealing with various historical sites. The dated nature of some passages is starkly



Cursed by isolation, brutal winter weather, and legendary violence, the infamous eastern Sierra mining center of Bodie reached its peak population of 10,000 in the 1880s, before entering a long period of depleting mines and population that ended in the town's virtual abandonment in the 1940s. A true, intact "ghost town," Bodie was protected from vandalism by the family that owned the land on which it stood, until it was acquired by the state as one of the most unusual and authentic of all western historic parks. The hearse pictured in the photograph (ca. 1900) could be rented—complete with plate glass sides, feather plumes, and silver roof urns—for \$20. This hearse is one of two similar vehicles still on display in the Cain Museum at Bodie State Historic Park in Mono County. Although it is considered a priceless, irreplaceable National Historic Landmark District, Bodie's very survival is in jeopardy in the early 1990s. Relying on claims derived from the outdated 1872 federal mining act, an industrial mining conglomerate has taken steps to begin extensive open-pit mining on the ridge above the park, which opponents charge will chop off the top of the mountain, severely mar the authentic historic vistas still possible in the town, and speed up the deterioration of the town's fragile buildings because of blasting and vibrations caused by heavy truck traffic. Possible loss of a valuable part California's heritage has resulted in the formation of *Save Bodie!*, a committee of the California State Park Rangers Association, to oppose the mining project. *CHS/Ticor Collection, University of Southern California.*

evident despite claims that the present eighth printing is "revised" (p. iv). Indeed the present edition appears to have had *minimal* revision from the original first edition published in 1965.

By contrast, Gary Caldwell's *Mammoth Gold* is a work of more recent origin. It is much more limited in its scope, however, in that it is essentially a history of just one region, the Lake Mining District—located near Mammoth Lakes on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada. Caldwell's history of this relatively obscure mining district, which reached its zenith in the period 1877 to 1880, had its origins in the author's childhood memories of visiting the region and later in the master's thesis that he wrote while a graduate student at Pomona College, Claremont Graduate School. Caldwell's narrative is an engaging history of a mining region that suffered a fate typical of so many throughout California: great initial promise with the discovery of gold in 1875, followed by rapid decline and loss for investors because of remoteness, harsh climate, fire, and mismanagement. By 1881 the mines and mill had shut down and virtually all of the district's 1500 residents had abandoned the area, leaving it a ghost town.

*Mammoth Gold* is, however, a disappointment as a guide for potential tourists because there are few historical artifacts remaining in this once-bustling mining region. Thus this work might be useful to individuals who have a particular interest in the history of this remote region, but it will be of limited use to the average California tourist.

Standing in sharp contrast to both Caldwell's and Nadeau's volumes is Philip Varney's *Southern California's Best Ghost Towns*. As its subtitle indicates it is "a practical guide," a superb example of what a useful tourist guide should be. Varney is an experienced author of tourist guides, having previously written two highly regarded books on the ghost towns of Arizona and New Mexico. In his guide for southern California, Varney has carefully described the history of each region under consideration, skillfully interweaving his historical narrative with clear and precise descriptions of what remains and what the tourist should look for in visiting each ghost town site. Contained in Varney's volume are chapters describing ghost towns in all of California south of the Tehachapis. In addition, Varney has chosen to include ghost towns in Inyo and Kern counties. Each chapter covering a particular region contains a carefully drawn, detailed, and precise map and current, clear photographs. Varney's guide also provides descriptions of road conditions, trip suggestions, including approximate time allotments and mileage, and a topographic map information chart, as well as appendices at the end of the volume that include instructions on how to use topographic maps effectively, a primer on the most frequently used mining terms, a pronunciation guide to save the tourist from "the embarrassment of mispronouncing someone's hometown" (p. xi, 121), and a list of basic suggestions for traveling the backroads safely.

The only thing that this reviewer found lacking in Varney's

excellent, practical guide is that it is limited to southern California. This deficiency, however, is soon to be remedied. Varney is presently at work on a "Northern [California] book [that will use] the same format as this one and will include sites from the Gold Rush Country, the Eastern Sierra, the Bay Area, and on up to the Oregon border" (p. xi). As a student of California history and an avid tourist, I eagerly await Varney's second volume. CHS

### *Sentinels of Love: Rural Churches of California*

By Bette R. Millis and Jeanne Mord. (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1990, 236 pp., \$9.95 paper.)

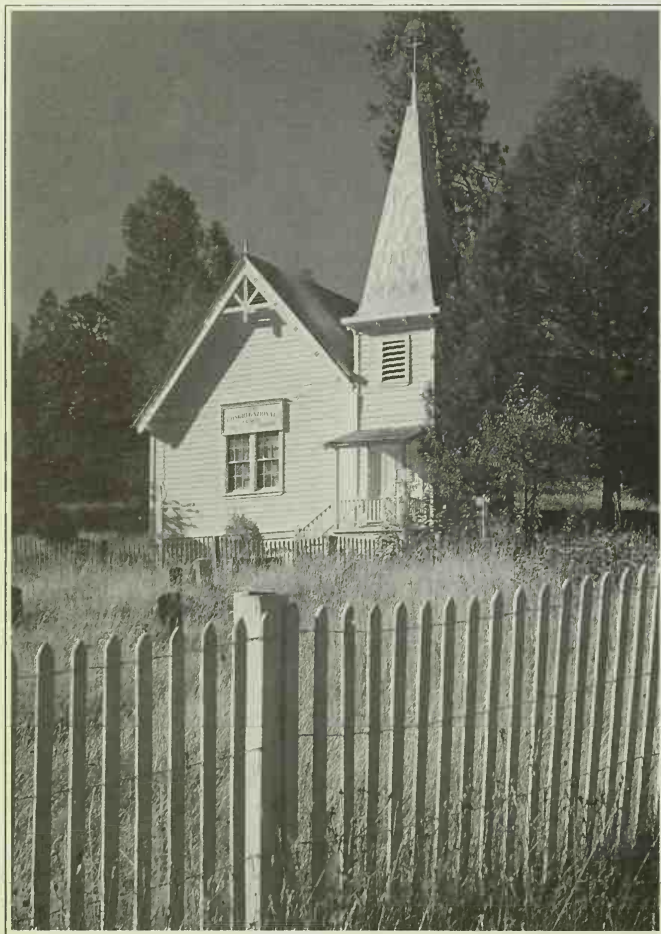
Reviewed by Carl J. Guarneri, Associate Professor of History at Saint Mary's College of California and co-editor of *Religion and Society in the American West*.

"Our pleasant village at that early day could scarcely be expected to own a church building," Sarah Royce recalled of a gold-rush era settlement on San Francisco Bay, "but there was a school house, and in it were held meetings . . . on every alternate Sunday. The preaching was usually by Methodist ministers, coming either from a neighboring town, or from San Francisco. . . . There was usually a fair congregation for the size of the place; and it is needless to say that those composing it were among the most intelligent and respectable people of the town. . . . There was no formal church-organization; as the members of the congregation and the workers in the Sunday School belonged to three or four different denominations. But, as they agreed on the great foundation facts and principles of Christianity, harmony seemed to prevail among them."

Written in the appreciative spirit of Sarah Royce's memoirs, *Sentinels of Love* is an informal guidebook to historic rural churches still in existence in California. After three years of research and travel, the authors have compiled a charming, nostalgic tribute to pioneer church-gatherers, the priests and ministers who served them, and worshippers and preservationists who have kept local religious institutions alive and their buildings intact. One-hundred-fifty churches are reproduced in accurate and unsentimental drawings by Bette Millis, and given brief historical profiles culled from records, anecdotes, and visits.

The result is a low-key but vivid reminder that religious institutions were often at the center of community life in the frontier West. Vignettes of buildings and congregations provide fascinating glimpses of California's architectural, immigration, and religious history. There are mission churches on Indian reservations, wooden churches along the Mother Lode, chapels built for workers by local corporations, meetinghouses at ranching and farming crossroads, and, not least, structures





A surprising number of carefully maintained, historically significant churches can still be found in California's small towns, a testament to the strong need among early Californians for a traditional center for religious and social life. The Community Congregational Church in Lewiston, Trinity County, depicted here in a recent photograph, is sharply and accurately hand illustrated by Bette K. Millis in *Sentinels of Love*. Photo by William A. Bullough.

serving colonies of immigrants from Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Churches set up by French, Danish, Swedish, German, Portuguese, Mexican, Irish, and Japanese settlers prove that the West's ethnic diversity was not confined to cities. The buildings themselves—with styles ranging from Spanish mission to New England clapboard and Romanesque Revival—reflect a corresponding architectural pluralism.

Out of this lively spiritual mosaic some interesting patterns and trends emerge. Serving the most diverse constituencies, Catholic churches outnumbered other denominations, while Methodists, often relying upon circuit preachers riding on horseback or walking from town to town, proved the most successful Protestant sect. Churches changed hands, and sometimes denominations, as newcomers replaced original settlers. When a single group could no longer maintain a viable congregation, rural churches became non-denominational community churches serving various creeds and needs. From the beginning, as Sarah Royce was proud to note, women played key roles in planting religious institutions on the predominantly male frontier. It is only fitting that so many of these churches have been sustained or revived in the twentieth century by female ministers and the preservationist efforts of women's clubs.

Although it should be judged more as a weekend traveler's guidebook than a history, *Sentinels of Love* could have been conceived in ways to integrate its story better. Brief introductory essays outlining the religious history of groups or regions would have provided useful overviews and cut down on textual repetition. The presentation of churches by the alphabetical order of counties hinders the historian's, as well as the motorist's, tour. The churches included in the guide meet the criteria of being over fifty years old, located in a present-day settlement of less than five hundred persons, and not maintained by government entities. This has the awkward effect of excluding churches founded in villages that later grew into tiny towns, while including mining-town churches that were not at all rural at their founding. Finally, as the book's title indicates, the authors are sometimes too eager to find in the churches' brief histories examples of heroic dedication, ecumenical cooperation, and brotherly love. The history of religion in California is more complex and multi-faceted. It needs to be noted that the state's religious institutions were also focal points of theological contention, agents of a middle-class version of discipline and respectability (which Sarah Royce applauded), preservers of ethnic communalism, and, in some cases, accomplices to racial and inter-faith antagonism.

Nevertheless, *Sentinels of Love* succeeds reasonably well at what it sets out to do: to remind readers of the important role that religion has played in the settlement of rural and small-town California, and to prompt them to visit these worthy but often-forgotten local landmarks. This guidebook to rural churches serves as a modest, homespun, and most welcome country cousin to Ruth Hendricks Willard and Carol Green Wilson's recent *Sacred Places of San Francisco*. EIR

# AMERICA GOES WEST

NEW PAPERBACKS FROM OXFORD

## MATERIAL DREAMS

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA THROUGH THE 1920S

KEVIN STARR

**"FUN TO READ...."**

an engaging, eccentric  
history of Southern  
California in the 20s."

—Los Angeles Times Book Review

**"A SPLENDID  
ACHIEVEMENT."**

—Boston Sunday Globe

**"BRILLIANT...."** The best history yet of what  
Starr calls 'the Great Gatsby of American Cities.'

—Newark Star-Ledger

In *Material Dreams*, the third volume of Starr's monumental history of California, the author explores one of the most vibrant decades in the Golden State's history.

472 pp.; 42 illus. paper \$14.95

## AMERICAN EXODUS

THE DUST BOWL MIGRATION AND OKIE CULTURE IN CALIFORNIA

JAMES N. GREGORY

**"Pioneering and illuminating."**

—San Francisco Chronicle

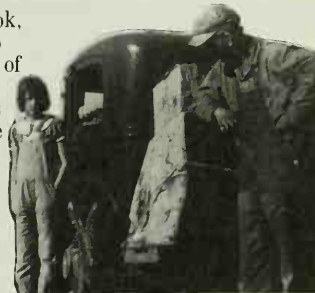
**"Eloquent... Gregory has poured his heart  
into his work."**

—Los Angeles Times

**"Provocative."**—Washington Post Book World

In this prize-winning book, Gregory takes us back to the Dust Bowl migration of the 1930s and the war boom influx of the 1940s and reveals how an "Okie subculture" has become an essential element in California's cultural landscape.

368 pp.; 30 photos, 2 linecuts  
paper \$11.95



OXFORD PAPERBACKS • Oxford University Press • 200 Madison Avenue • New York, NY 10016

## CHS Issues Call for Nominations for 1992 Honors and Awards

It is time once again to nominate deserving students, teachers, scholars, individuals and organizations for their work to preserve and promote the history of California. The following awards will be presented based on your nominations, and judged by members of the Awards and Honors Committee.

**Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award:** presented to a distinguished scholar for a body of work in fields related to Henry Wagner's historical, cartographical and bibliographical interests.

**Galland Award:** established by former trustee Ed Zelinsky in honor of his mother, Juanita Galland Zelinsky, for an elementary or secondary school teacher who develops innovative classroom projects.

**CHS Fellows:** for distinguished individual contributions to knowledge of California history and its related fields.

**Irene and V. Aubrey Neasham Annual Award for Historic Preservation:** established by former president of the board Irene Neasham and her late husband for an individual who contributes extraordinarily to the preservation of California's historic sites and buildings.

**J.S. Holliday Award:** established by former CHS director J.S. Holliday, for excellence in scholarly research and/or interpretation in 19th and/or interpretation in 19th- and/or 20th century California history.

**Distinguished Service Award:** for extraordinary leadership and service to the people of California, the State and the nation.

**Historic Education, Health and Welfare Award:** presented to individuals and organizations for innovation and leadership in education, health and welfare.

**CHS Awards of Merit:** for outstanding contributions in Education, Folkways, Historic Preservation, Interpretive Programs, Local History, Scholarship and Corporate Support of California History.

For more information about these awards, or a nomination form and instructions, write to CHS—Attention AWARDS 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109 or call (415) 567-1848. Nomination must be received at CHS by May 15, 1992. ■

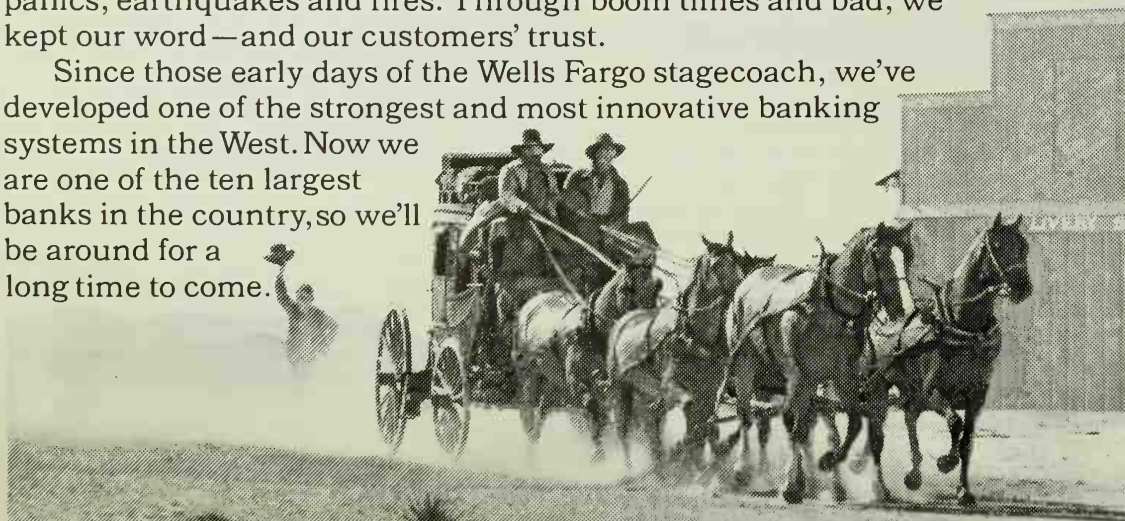


# Trusted by Californians since 1852.

## Wells Fargo comes through.

For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word—and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.



© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC.

### WELLS FARGO BANK



# CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

*American Scene Painting: California, 1930s and 1940s.* Irvine: Westphal Publishing, 1991. \$65.00 (cloth, Calif. residents add 7¾% sales tax) ISBN: 9610520-3-1. Order from: Westphal Publishing; Post Office Box 19542; Irvine, CA 92713.

*As We Were Told: (A Written & Oral History).* Edited by Jane Stenzel. Coarsegold: Coarsegold Historical Society, 1990. \$40.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9626377-7-7. Order from: Coarsegold Historical Society; Post Office Box 117; Coarsegold, CA 93614.

Baker, Lillian. *American and Japanese Relocation in World War II: Fact, Fiction & Fallacy.* Medford: Webb Research Group, 1990. \$26.50 (paper) ISBN: 0-936738-34-0. Order from: Pacific Northwest Books Co.; Post Office Box 314; Medford, OR 97501.

Bottles, Scott L. *Los Angeles & the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. \$12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-07395-9. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Butler, Phyllis Filiberti. *Old Santa Clara Valley: A Guide to the Historic Buildings from Palo Alto to Gilroy.* Revised edition. San Carlos: Wide World Pub./Tetra, 1991. Revised edition of *The Valley of Santa Clara*, second edition, 1981. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-933174-81-0. Order from: Wide World Pub./Tetra; Post Office Box 476; San Carlos, CA 94070.

*California Historical Landmarks.* Sacramento: Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1991. \$11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-941925-08-0. Order from: State of California—The Resources Agency; Department of Parks and Recreation; Post Office Box 924896; Sacramento, CA 94296-0001.

*California Legal History Manuscripts in the Huntington Library: A Guide.* By the Committee on History of Law in California of the State Bar of California.

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

San Marino: Huntington Library, 1989. \$35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87328-099-7. Order from: Huntington Library Publications; 1151 Oxford Road; San Marino, CA 91108.

Carner-Ribalta, Josep. *Gaspar de Portolá: Explorer of California.* Second rev. ed. San Diego: Tecolote Pub., 1990. \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-938711-07-5. Order from: Tecolote Pubns.; 4978 Coronado Ave.; San Diego, CA 92107.

Cole, John Y. *Book Collectors of Stanford: An Eclectic Eight Who Shaped the Stanford University Libraries.* Introduction by David C. Weber. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1991. \$15.00 (shipping charges: one book add \$2.00, each additional book add \$.50 per book. Calif. residents add 7¾% sales tax) ISBN: 0-929722-46-9. Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

Dalton, Peggy Coleman. *Torrance: City for Today.* Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. \$32.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-329-4. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Daniel, Clete. *Chicano Workers and the Politics of Fairness: The FEPC in the Southwest, 1941-1945.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991. \$27.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-292-76521-5. Order from: University of Texas Press; Post Office Box 7819; Austin, TX 78713.

Daniels, Douglas Henry. *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. \$11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-07399-1. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

*Death Valley: The 1938 WPA Guide.* Written and compiled by the Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration of Northern California; foreword by Cheri Rae; introduction by Park Superintendent Ed Rothfuss. Santa Barbara: Olympus Press, 1991. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-934161-10-0. Order from: Olympus Press; Post Office Box 2397; Santa Barbara, CA 93120.

Dolan, Edward F. *Drought: The Past, Present, and Future Enemy.* New York: Franklin Watts, 1990. \$13.40 (cloth) ISBN: 0-531-10900-3. Order from: Franklin Watts, Subs. of Grolier Inc.; 387 Park Ave. S.; New York, NY 10016.

Dwyer, Richard A., and Richard E. Lingenfelter. *Dan De Quille: The Washoe Giant.* Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990. \$16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87417-152-0. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557-0070.

*Ex Libris Lawrence Clark Powell: Selected Volumes (Authors A-H).* Foreword by Powell. Tucson: Books West Southwest, 1991. \$5.00 (paper). Order from: Books West Southwest; 2452 N. Campbell; Tucson, AZ 85719.

*The Fighting Horse of the Stanislaus: Stories & Essays by Dan De Quille.* Edited by Lawrence I. Berkove. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990. \$27.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87745-283-0, \$13.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87745-299-7. Order from: University of Iowa Press; Order Dept.; Oakdale Hall; Iowa City, IA 52242.

# CHECKLIST

- Finkhouse, Joseph, and Mark Crawford. *A River Too Far: The Past and Future of the Arid West*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991. \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87417-177-6. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557-0070.
- Haslam, Gerald. *Coming of Age in California: Personal Essays*. Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1990. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-915685-07-8. Order from: Devil Mountain Books; Post Office Box 4115; Walnut Creek, CA 94596.
- Hearst, William Randolph Jr., and Jack Casserly. *The Hearsts: Father and Son*. Niwot, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart Inc., 1991. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-879373-04-1. Order from: Roberts Rinehart Inc.; Post Office Box 666; Niwot, CO 80544.
- Ishikawa, Yoshima. *Strawberry Road: A Japanese Immigrant Discovers America*. Translation of Sutoroberi rōdo. New York: Kodansha International, 1991. \$18.95 (cloth) ISBN: 4-770-01551-8. Order from: Kodansha International/USA; c/o The Putnam Publishing Group; 390 Murray Hill Parkway; East Rutherford, NJ 07073.
- Jackson, W. Francis. *Big River Was Damned*. Mendocino: FMMC Books, 1991. \$44.99 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9628374-2-3; \$24.99 (paper) ISBN: 0-9628374-1-5. Order from: FMMC Books; Post Office Box 232; Mendocino, CA 95460.
- . *Mendocino City: A Daily Journal 1852-1938*. Mendocino: FMMC Books, 1991. \$18.87 (paper) ISBN: 0-9628374-3-1. Order from: FMMC Books; Post Office Box 232; Mendocino, CA 95460.
- Jared Fox's Memorandum [sic]: Kept from Delton, Sauk County, Wisconsin toward California and Oregon, 1852-1854. Benton, Wis.: Cottonwood Hill Publishing Co., 1990. \$13.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9622783-0-0. Order from: Cottonwood Hill Publishing Company; Post Office Box 82; Benton, WI 53803-0082.
- Loe, Nancy E. *Hearst Castle: The Official Pictorial Guide*. San Simeon: ARA Leisure Services, 1991. \$9.95 (paper, Calif. residents add sales tax, plus \$3.50 postage and handling). Order from: ARA/Hearst Castle; Post Office Box 210; San Simeon, CA 93452.
- McKenzie, William A. *Dining Car Line to the Pacific: An Illustrated History of the NP Railway's "Famously Good" Food, with 150 Authentic Recipes*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1991. \$39.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper). Order from: MHS Press; Order Dept. 113; 690 Cedar St.; St. Paul, MN 55155-2499.
- Morrison, W.M. *Howes US—IANA: Catalogue Prices*. Austin: W.M. Morrison, 1990. \$22.50. Order from: W.M. Morrison—Books; 15801 La Hacienda; Austin, TX 78734.
- Nadeau, Remi. *Ghost Towns & Mining Camps of California*. Santa Barbara: Crest Publishers, 1990. \$11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9627104-0-7. Order from: Crest Pubs.; Post Office Box 22614; Santa Barbara, CA 93121-2614.
- Pattie, Jane. *Spurs and Their Makers*. College Station, Tex.: Texas A & M University Press, 1991. \$39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89096-343-6. Order from: Texas A & M University Press; Lewis Street; University Campus; College Station, TX 77843.
- Peavy, Linda, and Ursula Smith. *The Gold Rush Widows of Little Falls: A Story Drawn from the Letters of Pamela and James Fergus*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1991. \$29.95 (cloth), \$14.95 (paper). Order from: MHS Press; Order Dept. 113; 690 Cedar St.; St. Paul, MN 55155-2499.
- A Pictorial History of Belvedere 1890-1990: A California Island Town*. Edited by Beverly Wright Bastian and Barbara Britton Gnos. Belvedere-Tiburon: Landmarks Society, 1990. \$35.00 (cloth), \$25.00 (paper), Calif. residents add 7¼% sales tax. Order from: Landmarks Society, Belvedere-Tiburon; Post Office Box 134; Tiburon, CA 94920.
- Pomeroy, Earl. *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Reprint of 1957 edition. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8032-8725-9. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th Street; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.
- Rawls, James J. *Dr. History's Whizz-Bang: Favorite Stories of California's Past*. Portola Valley: Tioga Pub., 1991. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-935382-77-1. Order from: Tioga Pub.; Post Office Box 50490; Palo Alto, CA 94303.
- Ribbel, Arthur. *Yesterday in San Diego*. San Diego: Rancho Press, 1990. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9627384-0-9. Order from: Rancho Press; 1987 Seawind Way; Oceanside, CA 92054.
- Roberts, Jan and George. *Discover Historic California: A Travel Guide to Over 1,500 Places You Can See*. Revised edition. Pico Rivera: Gem Guides Book Co., 1990. \$10.95 (Paper) ISBN: 0-935182-35-7. Order from: Gem Guides Book Company; 3677 San Gabriel River Parkway; Pico Rivera, CA 90660.
- Scharlach, Bernice. *Big Alma: San Francisco's Alma Spreckels*. San Francisco: Scott-wall Associates, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-942087-05-4. Order from: Scott-wall Associates; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.
- Shellenberger, Robert. *Wagons West: Trail Tales 1848*. Stockton: Heritage West Books, 1991. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9623048-3-2. Order from: Heritage West Books; 306 Regent Court; Stockton, CA 95204.
- Shinn, Charles Howard. *Historical Sketches of Southern Alameda County First Published in the Oakland Enquirer as a Series of Articles June 8-November 18, 1889*. Oakland: Alameda Historical Society, 1991. \$12.50 (paper). Order from: Alameda Historical Society; 5461 Fernhoff Road; Oakland, CA 94619-3111.

# CHECKLIST

Sloane, David Charles. *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. \$39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8018-4068-6. Order from: Johns Hopkins University Press; 701 W. 40th St., Suite 275; Baltimore, MD 21211.

Thorburg, David A. *Galloping Bungalows: The Rise and Demise of the American House Trailer*. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1990. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-208-02277-5. Order from: Shoe String Press, Inc.; Post Office Box 4327; Hamden, CT 06514.

Tiburon: *A California Railroad Town*. Centennial edition, edited by James Heig, foreword by Richard Dillon. Belvedere-Tiburon: Landmarks Society, 1984.

\$35.00 (cloth), \$25.00 (paper), Calif. residents add 8¼% sales tax. Order from: Landmarks Society, Belvedere-Tiburon; Post Office Box 134; Tiburon, CA 94920.

Watson, Jeanne Hamilton. *To the Land of Gold and Wickedness: The 1848-59 Diary of Lorena L. Hays*. St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1990. \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-935284-87-7. Order from: The Patrice Press; 1701 S. Eighth St.; St. Louis, MO 63104.

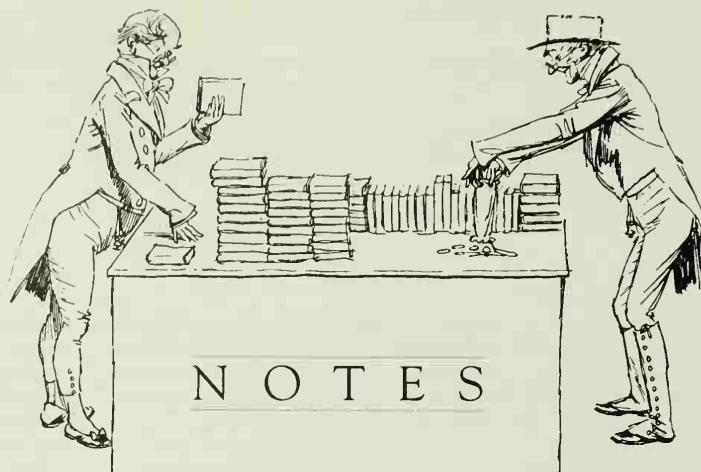
Webb, William. *Henry [Miller] & Friends: The California Years (1946-1977)*. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1991. \$50.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-88496-344-6; \$18.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-88496-343-8. Order from: Capra Press; Post Office Box 2068; Santa Barbara, CA 93120.

*The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. \$60.00 (cloth) ISBN: 1-56098-023-0. Order from: Smithsonian Institution Press; 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7100; Washington, DC 20560.

Wickenhauser, Otis. *Captured Dream: A Brief History of the Lobero Theatre*. Santa Barbara: Lobero Theatre Foundation, 1990. \$5.00 (paper, add \$1.50 postage and handling). Order from: Lobero Theatre Foundation; 33 East Canon Perdido; Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

Wilson, Simone. *Sonoma County: River of Time*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. \$25.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-326-X. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.





Hague, "California and Larkin," pp. 352-365.

1. Thomas O. Larkin to Ebenezer L. Childs, May 11, 1831, in Robert J. Parker, ed., *Chapters in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Including His Experiences in the Carolinas and Building of the Larkin House at Monterey* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1939), 59.
2. *Ibid.*, 57.
3. John A. Hawgood, ed., *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California: A Selection of Letters* 2nd ed. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1970), viii.
4. James Buchanan to Thomas Oliver Larkin, July 14, 1846, in George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California* 2nd ed. 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951-1968), 5:135.
5. Larkin's early success as a merchant in California and the construction of the Monterey house are described in Harlan Hague and David J. Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), chapter 3.
6. William M. Wood, *Wandering Sketches of People and Things* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1849), 232-33.
7. *New York Herald*, June 12, 1845.
8. For the Gavilan Peak affair, see: Hague and Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin*, 120-24; Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 61-73.
9. Hague and Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin*, 117-18.
10. Thomas O. Larkin to William A. Leidesdorff, July 1, 1846, in Hawgood, ed., *First and Last Consul*, 81.
11. Thomas O. Larkin to Rachel Larkin, December 14, 1846, *Larkin Papers*, 5:310.
12. Thomas O. Larkin to Faxon D. Atherton, August 4, 1847, Atherton Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
13. Thomas O. Larkin to Rachel Larkin, December 14, 1846, *Larkin Papers*, 5:311.

14. Hague and Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin*, 154-56.
15. *Californian*, February 13, 1847.
16. Thomas O. Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, January 19, 1849, *Larkin Papers*, 8: 104-105.
17. Thomas O. Larkin to Jacob P. Leese, February 12, 1846, in Anonymous, ed., "The Leese Scrap Book," *Society of California Pioneers Quarterly* 8 (March 1931): 19.
18. Henry A. Breed to Daniel C. Baker, February 27, 1850, *Larkin Papers*, 8:317.
19. Thomas O. Larkin to Pablo de la Guerra, June 13, 1850, Larkin Family Collection, Huntington Library.
20. Henry Clay to Thomas O. Larkin, June 10, 1850, *Larkin Papers*, 8:326.
21. Thomas O. Larkin to John B. R. Cooper, January 9, 1851, Vallejo Documents, 35:268, Bancroft Library.
22. John Coffin Jones to Thomas O. Larkin, November 18, 1852, *Larkin Papers*, 9:160-61.
23. Thomas O. Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, January 14, 1853, Atherton Papers, California State Library, printed in Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., "Six New Larkin Letters," *Southern California Quarterly* 49 (March 1967): 84. Atherton finally did move, but not until 1859, the year following Larkin's death.
24. Jacob P. Leese to Thomas O. Larkin, September 30, 1850, *Larkin Papers*, 8:347.
25. Hawgood, ed., *First and Last Consul*, Appendix A, 109-18.
26. Thomas O. Larkin to The Society of California Pioneers, July 20, 1857, Larkin Family Collection, Huntington Library.
27. Thomas O. Larkin to Abel Stearns, April 24, 1856, Stearns Collection, Huntington Library, printed in Hawgood, ed., *First and Last Consul*, 104.

Scherini, "Executive Order 9066", pp. 366-377.

1. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) was established by an act of Congress in 1980

and held hearings in 1981 and 1982. Its final report is *Personal Justice Denied* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982). See especially pp. 283-93 and Part 2: *Recommendations*, 5.

Several commission sources are used in this article: references in *Personal Justice Denied* are cited as CWRIC Report; *Papers of the Commission* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1984), microfilm, are cited as CWRIC Papers, with reel and frame numbers; and CWRIC Witness Files in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., are cited with box number and record group number (RG). Other materials from the National Archives are cited with RG no. and as much identifying information as possible.

For more on the Japanese American internment court cases, see Peter Irons, *Justice at War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), and Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H.L. Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986). For an account of the court decision, see *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 5, 1988.

2. Stephen C. Fox, "General John DeWitt and the Proposed Internment of German and Italian Aliens during World War II," *Pacific Historical Review* 57 (1988): 407-38; Fox, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of the Relocation of Italian Americans during World War II* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990); and on German American internees, see John Christgau, "Enemies": *World War II Alien Internment* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984) and *San Jose Mercury News*, January 9, 1991, (on memories of two German American families who were interned and repatriated to Germany).
3. Executive Order 9066 is in 7 *Fed Reg* 140 (1942), 2199. For intra-governmental discussions about this regulation, see "Instruction to US Attorneys re Alien Enemies," Folder A 7.03, File 67/14c, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (hereinafter JERS), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Irons, 61-

- 66; Fox, "General DeWitt," 424-33; CWRIC Report, 54, 285-89; CWRIC Papers 5:588-92 and 24:2544-45; and Army memo, January 15, 1943, 291.2, Records of War Dept., RG 319.
4. Note that this section is concerned with immigrant aliens only; thousands of other Italian and German nationals were interned in the U.S. See CWRIC Report, 305; and Christgau, 7-8, 14-21. For actions against aliens in earlier wars, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 3-8, 200-15. For data on the numbers of aliens and numbers interned, see U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), "Report on Alien Registration," February 1, 1943, Tables 2 and 3, D2.03, JERS; INS annual reports from 1942-44; War Dept. press release, October 15, 1944, "Report on Civilian Internees," archives of Italian Welfare Agency, San Francisco; CWRIC Report, 284; and Memorandum to G-1 re preferential treatment of Italian citizens, January 15, 1943, Washington, 291.2-Italians, Box 384, RG319.
  5. Richard G. Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 239; Irons, 21-22; Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).  
Shinto Buddhism recognized the Emperor of Japan as its leader; see CWRIC Report, 40. On German Americans during World War I, see William J. Breen, *Uncle Sam At Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1984), Jensen, 162-63; and CWRIC Report, 289-92. News accounts of the World War II internments included these: *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, December 18, 1941; *San Francisco Examiner*, February 21, 1942; and *New York Times*, January 12 and February 5, 1942.
  6. Molinari to Carlotta, Arcadia, California, July 25, 1985, trans. from Italian by author (courtesy of Andrew M. Canepa, San Francisco).
  7. The following family members of internees supplied information about the internment process: Constance Ilacqua Foran, interview with author, Sacramento, May 27, 1988, telephone conversations and correspondence, 1989-91; Louis Francesconi, telephone conversation with author, San Francisco, July 13, 1989; Benito Vanni, telephone conversation with author, San Francisco, August 25, 1989. Also see Fox, *Unknown Internment*, 151-77; Files of World War II Detention Centers: Missoula, Boxes 68-70, INS records, RG85; Stimson to Ford, CWRIC Papers 16:926.
  8. FBI records are available under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) when accompanied by proof of the individual's death. This section is based on FBI Headquarters Files #100-83602, Edward Dinucci; 100-21439, Nereo Francesconi; 100-63148, Carmelo Ilacqua; 100-61677, Guido Trento; "Master Index of Evacuees," 1942-43, Wartime Civil Control Administration, RG 338.
  9. For details of regulations and their enforcement, see U.S. Army, Western Defense Command (WDC) and Fourth Army, "Civilian Exclusion and Restrictive Orders and Collateral Documents, 1942-43," CWRIC Papers 25: 26376-78. For a fuller discussion of the effects of the restrictions on San Francisco's Italians, see DeWitt to Chief of Staff, CWRIC Papers 25: 26376-78: U.S. Congress, House, Hearings of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, 77th Cong., 2d sess., San Francisco hearings, February, 1942, 1121-35; CWRIC Report, 60-67; and Fox, *Unknown Internment*, 58-87.
  10. "Individual Exclusion Program of Non-Japanese," *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by the Western Defense Command*, Part III, January, 1947, 836-38, 842-52, WDC Records, File 319.1, Box 9, RG338; "List of Excluees," December 29, 1943, File 040, Box 1, RG338; War Relocation Authority (WRA), *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (GPO, 1946), 180, 185; and WRA, "Digest of Information, May 1942-June, 1943," Part 3, June 5, 1942, 3.
  11. "Report on Organizations," File on Organizations, General-Sedition Section, Box 15, Dept. of Justice Records, RG60; Fox, "General DeWitt," 418-20; Francis Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 207; "Individual Exclusion Program," 319.1, Box 9, RG338, 853-55; Gurnea to Bendetsen, July 1, 1942, San Francisco, File 333.5, Box 1, RG338; DeWitt to McCloy, CWRIC 1:683, 6:6697-99; "Standard Operating Procedure in Cases Involving Exclusion of Individuals," File 323.3, Box 4, RG338.  
Data on foreign-born population in 1940 is from *Characteristics of Population v.II*, Table VII, "Foreign-Born White by Country of Birth for the U.S.: 1940." (In 1940 there were 1,623,500 foreign-born Italians and 1,237,772 Germans in the U.S.).
  12. "Individual Exclusion Program," 319.1, Box 9, RG338, 839-41; CWRIC 1:22-26, 25:26240-42; Ashworth to Bendetsen, November 6, 1942, San Francisco, File 333.5, Box 4, RG338; Biddle to McCloy, CWRIC 2:13315; Ennis to Hennessy, Washington, April 16, 1942 (Dept. of Justice memo), JERS.
  13. WDC to Nino Guttadauro, Notice of Hearing, September 1, 1942, Individual Exclusion Case Files, Box 5, WRA records, RG210.
  14. Renzo Turco, personal interview with author, San Francisco, November 11, 1973; Individual Exclusion Case Files, Sylvester Andriano, Box 10, RG210; Remo Bosia, personal interview with author, San Carlos, California, September 10, 1987; Josephine Guttadauro, personal interview with author, Palo Alto, California, May 16, 1988, and correspondence between 1988 and 1991; Alfonso Zirpoli, "Faith in Justice: Alfonso Zirpoli and the US District Court for the Northern District of California," an oral history conducted by Sarah L. Sharp, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1984, 59-64; testimony of Colonel Angelo deGuttadauro, Washington hearings, November 23, 1981, 141-52, CWRIC Witness Files, RG220.

15. Fullerton to Bendetsen, Civil Affairs Division, Sept. 15, 1942; Boekel to Bendetsen, September 26, 1942; and Bendetsen to Boekel, September 30, 1942, File 323.6-Military Areas, Box 4, RG338.
16. Assistant Attorney General to Hoover, May 4, 1942, FBI HQ File 100-15901: Nino Guttadauro; FBI Report, Salt Lake City, May 24, 1943, FBI HQ File 100-90253: Giovacchino Anguzza; Hoover to FBI office, San Francisco, June 22, 1942; and FBI Report, February 5, 1943, San Francisco, FBI HQ File 100-6471: Renzo Turco.
17. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 13 and 19, 1942; *Sons of Italy Magazine* 15:9 (October 1942): 2-6; Biddle, 229-30; and Fox, *Unknown Internment*, 136-7.
18. The lists of suspect persons and organizations are in File 291.2, RG338 and CWRIC 24:27576-85.
19. Census of Population, 1940, Subject Report, "Nativity and Parentage of the White Population" (GPO, 1943), 75.
20. INS, "Report on Alien Registration," D.203, JERS; Biddle, 107-22; Public Law 870, U.S. Statutes at Large, 1939-41 (GPO, 1942), 54:1, 1201-04.
21. California Legislature, *Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California* (Sacramento: 1943) 5, 285, 309-14; Rose Fanucchi, interview with author, July 17, 1975.
22. John Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 77-110; Marino deMedici, "The Italian Language Press in the San Francisco Bay Area from 1930 to 1943" (Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1963), 16-25; Sébastien Fichera, "The Meaning of Community: A History of the Italians of San Francisco" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1981), 210-15.
23. California Legislature, *Un-American Activities*, 319-21, 383; FBI HQ File 100-6741: Renzo Turco; "Individual Exclusion Program," 319.1, Box 9, RG338, 854-55; Individual Exclusion Case Files: Ettore Patrizi, Box 10, WRA Records, RG210.
24. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26 and 27, 1942; *San Francisco Examiner*, May 26, 1942; *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, October 19, 1942.
25. Individual Exclusion Case File, Sylvester Andriano, Box 2, RG210; CWRIC 24:25741, 25786; Giovanni Schiavo, ed., *Italian American Who's Who* (New York: Vigo Press, 1964), 14; *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1961, and October 15, 1963.
26. Renzo Turco interview, November 11, 1973; Individual Exclusion Case Files: Renzo Turco, Box 13, RG210; FBI HQ File 100-6471: Renzo Turco; Berge to Hoover, June 2, 1942, Dept. of Justice Records, Case #146-7-3182; Turco to Carusi, Chicago, June 25, 1943, Dept. of Justice records.
27. "Report on Organizations," Box 15, RG60; CWRIC 24: 25445; deMedici, 180; Athan Theoharis, "The FBI and the American Legion Contact Program, 1940-1966," *Political Science Quarterly* 100 (1985): 271-86.  
My FOIA request to the Dept. of Justice for its file on the Italian War Veterans is, at the time of this writing, over two years old. A document in the National Archives described the IWV as "one of the most potent propaganda agencies of Italian Fascism in this country" (Boyd to Smith, Organizations-Gen., Sedition Sec., Box 15, RG60).
28. Diggins, 23-24, 368; John B. Carter, "American Reactions to Italian Fascism, 1919-1933" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1954), 183; FBI Report, Boston, March 10, 1944, 291.2. Army Records, RG319.
29. Irons, 25-27; Fox, *Unknown Internment*, 41-57; Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).
30. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*; George deVos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (Palo Alto: Mayfield Press, 1975); John Zucchi, "Paesani or Italiani? Local and National Loyalties in an Italian Immigrant Community," in *The Family and Community Life of Italian Americans*, Richard Juliani, ed. (Staten Island: American Italian Historical Association, 1983).
31. Rose Scherini, *The Italian American Community of San Francisco: A Descriptive Study* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 115, 190-213.
32. Emergency Detention Act of 1950, *US Statutes at Large*, 1950-51 (GPO, 1952) 64:1, 1019; Attorney General to FBI Director, July 16, 1943, FBI HQ File 100-5901: Nino Guttadauro; Powers, 371.
33. Assistant Attorney General to Attorney General, July 11, 1946, CWRIC Witness Files, Box 82, Los Angeles Hearings: Lillian Baker, RG220; Box 10, Washington hearings: John J. McCloy, 77, RG220; *New York Times*, January 8, 1991; *San Francisco Examiner*, February 3, 1991; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 21, 1991.

Bringhurst, Richard Nixon, pp. 378-391.

1. *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1990, p. A4.
2. Published by Simon & Schuster. The former president provides a retrospective of his career, including his observations on Watergate, the pardon granted by Gerald Ford, and the years after the resignation.
3. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1990); Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician* (New York: Holt, 1990); Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate: The Last Crisis of Richard Nixon* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990); and Ambrose, *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990). (See also Tom Wicker, *One of Us: Richard Nixon and the American Dream* (New York: Random House, 1991).
4. *Spartan Daily* (San Jose State University), October 30, 1970.
5. Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 375.
6. *Ibid.*, 376.
7. "Biography of Fawn McKay Brodie," oral history interview conducted by Shirley E. Stephenson, November 30, 1975, original in Oral History Collection, Fullerton State University, Fullerton, California, p. 10. For a discussion of the controversy surrounding the appearance of Brodie's first book, see Newell G. Bringhurst, "Applause, Attack, and Ambivalence—Varied Responses to Fawn M. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*."



- tory," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1989): 46-63.
8. Fawn M. Brodie, *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959).
  9. Fawn M. Brodie, *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 101.
  10. Fawn M. Brodie, "Speeches and Lectures—Drafts," box 69, folder 10, Fawn M. Brodie Papers, Special Collections, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
  11. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, October 11, 1974, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives, New York, New York.
  12. Tom Bourne, "In Search of Nixon," *Horizon*, February 1981, p. 42.
  13. *Ibid.*, 44.
  14. Fawn M. Brodie, "Research Notes on Richard Nixon," box 35, folder 12, Fawn M. Brodie Papers.
  15. For a complete list of all the individuals interviewed, see Brodie, *Nixon*, 561-62.
  16. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, May 2, 1979, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  17. Fawn M. Brodie to Richard Nixon, January 17, 1978, box 51, folder 9, Fawn M. Brodie Papers.
  18. Fawn M. Brodie to Henry Kissinger, January 4, February 10, 1978, box 51, folder 8, Fawn M. Brodie Papers.
  19. Henry Kissinger to Fawn M. Brodie, March 6, 1978, box 51, folder 8, Fawn M. Brodie Papers.
  20. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, August 13, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  21. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, October 4, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  22. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, August 13, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  23. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, November 23, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  24. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, October 18, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  25. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, November 2, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  26. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, December 8, 1977, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  27. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, July 17, 1978, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  28. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, August 17, 1978, December 1, 1978, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  29. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, December 1, 1978, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  30. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, April 16, 1979, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  31. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, August 7, 1979, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  32. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, August 18, 1979, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  33. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, March 16, 1980, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  34. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, September 30, 1980, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  35. Fawn M. Brodie to Bernard Liptz, October 1, 1980, box 6, folder 8, Fawn M. Brodie Papers.
  36. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, October 22, November 25, 1980, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  37. Fawn M. Brodie to George Brockway, December 3, 1980, W. W. Norton & Co. Archives.
  38. Ingrid Winther Scobie, "Review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Personality*," *Pacific Historical Review* 52 (November 1983): 474-75.
  39. Brodie, *Nixon*, 504.
  40. *Ibid.*, 28-29.
  41. *Ibid.*, 29.
  42. *Ibid.*, 232.
  43. *Ibid.*, 24.
  44. *Ibid.*, 25.
  45. For a detailed discussion of the difficult relationships between Fawn Brodie and her parents, in particular her father, while she was growing up, see Newell G. Bringhurst, "Fawn M. Brodie—Her Biographies as Autobiography," *Pacific Historical Review* 59 (May 1990): 209-29.
  46. Lloyd Shearer, "Richard Nixon: Character Study," *Parade*, March 1, 1981, p. 10.
  47. *Publishers Weekly*, September 28, 1981.
  48. John J. Fitzpatrick, "Review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*," *The Journal of American History* 69 (September 1982): 506.
  49. Robert Lekachman, "Original Sin," review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*, *The Nation* 233 (October 17, 1981): 285-87.
  50. Godfrey Hodgson, "The Liar on the Couch" [review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*], *The New Republic* 185 (September 9, 1981): 25-27.
  51. Peter Loewenberg, "Nixon, Hitler, and Power: An Ego Psychological Study," *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 6 (1986): 28-29.
  52. Jack Goodman, "Fawn M. Brodie Psychoanalyzes Nixon: Review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 18, 1981.
  53. Davis Bitton, "Review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*," *The Sunstone Review* 1 (November/December 1981): 1, 30-31.
  54. Richard S. Kirkendall, "Review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*," *American Historical Review* 87 (October 1982): 1200-1201.
  55. J. Philipp Rosenberg, "Review of Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon*," *Political Science Quarterly* 97 (Fall 1982): 512-14.
  56. This according to letter from Jeannie Luciano to Jonathan Matson, November 22, 1982 (copy given to Newell G. Bringhurst).
  57. Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).
  58. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nixon—The Education of a Politician, 1913-1962* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987); Ambrose, *Nixon—The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972*; Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician*.
  59. Godfrey Hodgson, "Staying Power" [review of Tom Wicker, *One of Us: Richard Nixon and the American Dream*], *New York Times Book Review*, March 10, 1991, pp. 1, 14-15.
  60. Wicker, *One of Us: Richard Nixon and the American Dream*.
  61. This "revisionist" view of Nixon is not, by any means, universal. See, for example, Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate*.
  62. Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon*, xii-xiii.

# California Historical Society BOOK SALE

## **BACKSTORY: INTERVIEWS WITH SCREEN- WRITERS OF HOLLYWOOD'S GOLDEN AGE**

By Pat McGilligan

A delightfully acute and articulate band of screenwriters tells their side of what happened, on and off the set, before the cameras rolled. Their reminiscences are both entertaining and instructive for anyone who cares about the art of film—past or present. Paper, \$12.95.

## **BITTER MELON: STORIES FROM THE LAST RURAL CHINESE TOWN IN AMERICA**

By Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow

This original work traces the experiences of the rural Chinese in the town of Locke, California, through the lives of its inhabitants. Paper, \$19.95.

## **BOYHOOD DAYS**

By Ygnacio Villegas and edited by Dr. Albert Shumate.

Villegas shares his reminiscences of California in the 1850s. \$7.95.

## **COMING TO TERMS—A STUDY IN MEMORY AND HISTORY**

By Henry F. May

A history written with warmth and candor that traces the lives of the May family in the context of their times—the 1920s and 30s—more effectively than a simple memoir or a mere recounting of a particular period of American history. Hardback, \$25.00.

## **A COMPANION TO CALIFORNIA (1987)**

By James D. Hart

The complete reference book on the most populous state in the union. Its 3,000 cross-referenced entries cover California from Alcatraz to Zanut. This painstakingly thorough yet delightful guide includes entries on cities and counties, newspapers, missions, flora and fauna, architecture, climate, politics, ethnic groups, literature, and famous figures. Paper, \$18.95.

## **DEATH VALLEY AND THE AMARGOSA: A LAND OF ILLUSION**

By Richard E. Lingenfelter

In his review of *Death Valley in California History*, Richard Dillon says that this book "will seed many other studies, for it is full of new ideas, new information." Richard Lingenfelter has written an exhaustive story of the arid region straddling the California Nevada border, the Amargosa River country of the "greater Death Valley." Paper, \$15.95.

## **THE DIARIES AND WRITING OF ANNA MORRISON REED, 1849-1921**

Edited by John E. Keller

These writings provide fresh, first-hand insights into

the condition of Northern California during the last half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. As a popular lecturer and writer, Reed's singular philosophy of life mingled Victorian ideas with latter-day feminist concepts. Hardback, \$10.00.

## **DR. HISTORY'S WHIZZ-BANG: FAVORITE STORIES OF CALIFORNIA'S PAST**

By James J. Rawls

This lively and entertaining romp through California history is a compilation of the exciting and eclectic topics covered during KNBR's Frank & Mike In the Morning radio show interviews with "Dr. History." These lively historical vignettes are illustrated and expanded, each followed by suggestions for exploring the topic further. Paper, \$9.95.

## **ESSAYS AND ASSAYS: CALIFORNIA HISTORY REAPPRAISED**

Edited by George H. Knowles

Eminently readable accounts by nine outstanding California historians, which together create a book of rare freshness and lively writing. Characterized by their unusual points of view, these essays combine information and speculation which challenge the myths by which Californians, no less than others, live. Hardback, \$7.95.

## **EYE ON THE SKY: LICK OBSERVATORY'S FIRST CENTURY**

By Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh

The world's first mountain-top observatory and America's first big-science research center, Lick Observatory exemplifies astronomy's dramatic development in the past century. *Eye on the Sky* presents the observatory from the point of view of the people who breathed life into its giant telescopes and helped to change our conception of the universe and our place in it. Hardback, \$25.00.

## **FELIPE DE NEVE: FIRST GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA**

By Edwin A. Beilharz

De Neve transformed California from an appendage of Baja California into the last important outpost of Spain's empire. He rewrote the laws, founded Los Angeles and San Jose, and built presidios and missions. This is an intimate and incisive portrait of the man who might be called the "Founder of California." Hardback, \$12.95.

## **IF THE WALLS COULD TALK—COLUSA'S ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE**

By Jane Foster Carter

This book captures in beautiful contemporary photographs the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century buildings and houses in this historic California

city, located on the Sacramento River. 325 structures and sites are covered in this historic resource inventory. Hardback, \$40.00.

### **LOS ANGELES FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO**

By W.W. Robinson

This classic history of the Plaza was revised in 1981 by Doyce Nunis, Jr. The book covers the history of Los Angeles through the American period and the passing of El Pueblo at the turn of the century. The book includes a guide to the El Pueblo State Historic Monument. Paper, \$7.95. Hardback with slipcover, \$15.00

### **THE MAKING OF GOLDEN GATE PARK 1906-1950**

By Raymond Clary

Clary's book clearly documents the continual threat to urban parklands. From political forces who would "develop" parks with cultural facilities to rich private donors who bequeath statuary and even buildings to be placed on public land, the effect is the same: the diminution of open space within our city. Paper, \$12.95.

### **PALOS VERDES PENINSULA: TIME AND THE TERRACED LAND**

By Augusta Fink

In this book, the story of the terraced land, as captivating as its landscape, is told with memorable clarity. Among the intriguing cast of characters are Cabrillo and Vizcaíno, the Dominguezes, and the Sepulvedas, the Bixbys and Phineas Banning, and finally the Vanderlip family of financiers. Development of San Pedro Harbor, as well as that of the rest of the Peninsula, is described in detail. Paper, \$9.95.

### **TO THE PROMISED LAND**

By Ken Light

In this splendid photographic essay, the plight and pride of the Mexican migrant worker to survive and succeed is dramatically presented to the viewer-reader. Beginning with the introduction by Richard Rodriguez setting the mood for the migrant worker's story, the cogent explanatory text by Mary Jo McConahay, and the excerpts from nearly fifty interviews by Samuel Orozco, we gain tremendous insight into the lives of these Mexican *indocumentados*. The visually compelling photographs by Ken Light give added impact to this story. Hardback, \$25.00.

### **TRIP WITH FATHER**

By Katharine Bixby Hotchkis

Although written for her grandchildren, Hotchkis' story is typical of the ranching lifestyle of early California. Includes Fred H. Bixby's description of his experiences with the San Francisco to Los Angeles "commute" in 1916. Paper, \$4.50. Hardback, \$5.00.

### **UPRIVER BOATS—WHEN RED BLUFF WAS THE HEAD OF NAVIGATION**

By Edward Galland Zelisky and Nancy Leigh Olmsted. Paper, \$3.00.

### **INDEX TO THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY**

Vols 1-40, 1922-1961 \$10.00

Vols 41-54, 1962-1975 \$12.00

### **POSTERS AND PRINTS**

After Dark (boxing playbill)	. . . .	\$7.00
San Francisco, 1915-1986		
Black & white photos of the city	. . . .	\$10.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	. . . .	\$8.00
History of California Women	. . . .	\$8.00

### **BACK ISSUES OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY**

Back issues of available *California History* magazines from 1944 to the present can be purchased. Requests for 10 or more copies of a single issue are entitled to a 10% discount, 25 or more of a single issue receive a 25% discount. Ask about additional volume discounts. Prices are as follows (prices include the new 8½% sales tax):

1944 through Spring 1990—\$7.00 each.

Summer 1990 to present—\$9.00 each.

Exception: "Railroads in California and the Far West," Spring 1991—\$11.00 each.

### **CHS MEMBERS SUBTRACT 15% DISCOUNT FROM ALL BOOK AND POSTER PRICES (NO DISCOUNT FOR DR. HISTORY'S WHIZZ-BANG OR INDIVIDUAL ISSUES OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY)**

To order, please add postage and handling—\$2.90 for first item, \$.75 for each additional item. Add California sales tax of 8½% to all book and poster orders. Prices are subject to change—please call (415) 567-1848 for current listings. Send orders to CHS Books, 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109. Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.



# WE'VE BECOME AN HISTORIC LANDMARK



After 100 years of supporting the preservation of California historic landmarks, we've become one. 1991 marks our 100 year anniversary of providing America with the highest quality canned fruits and vegetables. And to help celebrate, we're proud to have become a Historic Business Partner with the California Historical Society.

**100 YEARS OF QUALITY**

© 1991 Del Monte Foods

# California History

VOLUME LXX 1991

CONTENTS

AND

INDEX

Compiled by Marcella Genz

California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO·LOS ANGELES·SAN MARINO

---

# C O N T E N T S

---

Number 1

Spring 1991

Number 2

Summer 1991

---

- 2 Railroads in the History of California and the Far West: An Introduction  
*by Richard J. Orsi*
- 12 The Los Angeles 'Free Harbor Fight'  
*by William F. Deverell*
- 30 For Territorial Dominion in California and the Pacific Northwest: Edward J. Harriman and James J. Hill  
*by Don L. Hofsommer*
- 46 Railroads and Water in the Arid Far West: The Southern Pacific Company as a Pioneer Water Developer  
*by Richard J. Orsi*
- 62 Promoting the Golden West: Advertising and the Railroad  
*by Alfred Runte*
- 76 From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City  
*by Edward Leo Lyman*
- 94 The Paper Trail of the Iron Horse: The California State Railroad Museum Library  
*by Blaine Peterson Lamb and Ellen Halteman Schwartz*
- 115 Reviews
- 126 California Checklist
- 131 Notes

- 146 Mt. Tamalpais: The Legendary Birth of a Holy Mountain  
*by David Robertson*
- 162 Entrepreneurs and Urbanism on the California Mining Frontier: Frederick Walter and Weaverville, 1852-1868  
*by William A. Bullough*
- 174 Rube Levy: A San Francisco Shoe Cutter and the Origin of Professional Baseball in California  
*by Joel S. Franks*
- 192 Men on the Road: Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California  
*by Gregory R. Woirol*
- 206 Communications—  
California Mission Indians:  
Two Perspectives
- 217 Reviews
- 228 California Checklist
- 231 Notes



---

# C O N T E N T S

---

---

## Number 3

Fall 1991

- 242 The Origins of Western Water Law:  
Case Studies from Two California  
Mining Districts  
*by Donald J. Pisani*
- 258 Integrity Amid Tumult:  
Wells, Fargo & Co.'s  
Gold Rush Banking  
*by Robert J. Chandler*
- 278 Governor Reagan and California  
Welfare Reform: The Grand  
Compromise of 1971  
*by Garin Burbank*
- 290 Pioneering Aerial Forest Fire Control:  
The Army Air Patrol in  
California, 1919-1921  
*by Robert W. Cermak*
- 306 North Baker: CHS Benefactor  
*by Michael McCone*
- 309 Reviews
- 320 California Checklist
- 324 Notes

---

## Number 4

Winter 1991/92

- 338 Traces of the Pioneers:  
Photographing the Overland Trail  
*by Greg MacGregor*
- 352 "The Jumping Off Place of the World":  
California and the Transformation  
of Thomas O. Larkin  
*by Harlan Hague*
- 366 Executive Order 9066 and Italian  
Americans: The San Francisco Story  
*by Rose D. Scherini*
- 378 Fawn Brodie's Richard Nixon—The  
Making of a Controversial Biography  
*by Newell G. Bringham*
- 392 The Kingsley Art Club: One Hundred  
Years of Support for the Arts  
*by Kay Feallock*
- 396 The CHS Southern California Historical  
Collection: New Location and New  
Opportunities for Historic Research  
*by Marlene Smith-Baranzini*
- 407 Reviews
- 419 California Checklist
- 423 Notes
- 429 Yearly Contents/Index

# INDEX

- Actuals (baseball team), 181  
 Adams, Charles Francis, 80-81  
 Adams, H. M., 42  
 Adams & Co., 259-269, 271, 274  
 Adnan, Etel, 147  
 Advertising and the railroads, 62-64, 73-75  
 Aerial forest fire control, 290-305  
 Alamogordo Water Works, 57  
 Alger, Russell, 85  
 Alien Registration Act (Smith Act), 372  
 Allen, E. T., 301  
 Alsop & Co., 268  
 Alvarado, Juan Bautista, 214  
 Amador, José María, 214  
 Ambrose, Stephen E., 379, 390  
 Ambrotype Gallery, 311  
 American Express Company, 261  
 American Historical Association, 162  
 American Legion, 375  
 Amtrak, 73, 74  
 Anderson, Nels, 203  
 Andriano, Sylvester, 373  
 Anthony, T. R., 275  
 Aquatic Park (San Francisco), 115  
 Arcata & Mad River Railroad, 102  
 Archibald, Robert, 208  
 Arizona Eastern Railroad, 110  
 Arnold, H. H. "Hap," 292, 293 (photo), 294-295, 297, 302, 303  
 Arrillaga, José, 210  
*Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, by Sucheng Chan, rev., 407-408  
 Asian immigrants, 407 (photo)  
 Asisara, Lorenzo, 206-215  
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, 6, 21, 26, 42, 60-61 (photos), 63, 82, 86, 87, 90-91, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 108, 110  
 Atherton, Faxon Dean, 364  
 Altas (baseball team), 183  
 Ayres, R. W., 296  
 Badlam, Alexander, Jr., 79  
 Bagley, William, 279, 284-285, 286 (photo), 287, 288  
 Baker, Arcadia Bandini, 14, 20  
 Baker, George R., 34 (photo)  
 Baker, North, 306 (photo), 307  
 Baker, Robert S., 14, 17, 20  
 Baker-Barnhart, Jacqueline, rev. of Moynihan et al., *So Much To Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier*; Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*, 217-218  
 Baldwin Locomotive Works, 101  
 Baldwin 0-6-0 locomotive engine, 76 (photo)  
 Bancroft, Hubert H., 206-212, 214  
 Bandini, Juan, 14  
 Bank of California, 274, 275  
 Banks and banking, gold rush, 259-277  
 Barlow, W. Q., 59  
 Barnhart, William H., & Co., 263-264  
 Barnie, William, 180  
 Bartleson, John, inside front cover, Summer  
 Baseball in California, 174-191  
 Baskin, Robert N., 82-83  
 Batman, Richard, rev. of Weber, *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents*, 224-225  
 Bates, Henry, 269, 271  
*Battling The Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, & the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986*, by Robert Kelley, rev., 410-411  
 Bavaria Brewery (Weaverville), 171  
*Bay Area Figurative Art, 1950-1965*, by Caroline A. Jones, rev., 122  
 Beadle, J. H., 149  
 Bean, Lowell John, and Sylvia Brakke Vane, *California Indians: Primary Resources, A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations*, rev. 223-224  
 Beasley, Delilah, 412-413 (photo)  
 Beebe, Lucius, 98, 109  
 Beechey, Frederick, 147  
 Beilenson, Anthony, 279, 284, 287, 288  
 Bell, Gerrit W., 269, 274, 275  
 Bennion, Sherilyn Cox, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth Century West*, rev., 309-310  
 Berkhofer, Robert, 213  
 Bernal, Agostin, 401  
 Berry, Lucien, 151  
 Best, Gerald Martin, 99, 104, 109  
 Best, Harry Cassie, 150  
 Bicknell, John D., 25  
 Bidwell, John, inside front cover, Summer  
 Bidwell-Bartleson Party, inside front cover, Summer  
 Bierce, Ambrose, 150  
 Bierstadt, Albert, 150  
 Bigelow, Samuel Coleman, 112  
 Bimstock, Todd, 410 (photo)  
 Bingham, Helen, 150  
 Bishop, M. Guy, rev. of *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, 121  
 Bitton, Davis, 389  
 Black Butte Cutoff, *see* Natron Cutoff  
 Blackburn, Thomas C., and Travis Hudson, *Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture*, rev., 223-224  
 Blaisdell, Hiram W., 60  
 Blake, Charles T., 271-272, 273  
 Blake, Isaac, 81, 84  
 Blakiston, Bob, 180  
 Blinn, Lewis, 22  
*H.M.S. Blossom* (ves.), 147  
 Boddam-Whetham, John W., 149  
 Bodie Railway and Lumber Company, 111  
 Bodie State Historic Park, 414  
 Boga Rancho, 361, 362  
 Bogue, Virgil, 106, 110  
 Bonito Dam, 58 (photo)  
 Bonito Pipeline, 57  
 Bonito Reservoir, 59  
 Boot and Shoemakers' White Labor League (BSWLL), 178, 179  
 Booth, H. J. & Company, 111  
 Boschke, George W., 40  
 Bowles, Samuel, 149  
 Brace, Charles Loring, 149  
 Brady, Mathew, 311  
 Braken, Walter R., 81 (photo)  
 Brannan, Sam, 363 (photo)  
*S. S. Breakwater* (ves.), 36  
*Bret Harte's California: Letters to the Springfield Republican and Christian Register, 1866-67*, ed. by Gary Scharnhorst, rev., 313  
 Brewer, William H., 147-148  
 Brian, Earl, 284-285  
 Bridger, Jim, 164  
 Bringhurst, Newell G., "Fawn Brodie's Richard Nixon: The Making of a Controversial Biography," 379-391; rev. of Nadeau, *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California: A History and Guide*; Caldwell, *Mammoth Gold: The Ghost Towns of Lake District*; Varney, *Southern California's Best Ghost Towns: A Practical Guide*, 413-415  
 Brockway, George, 381-382 (photo), 383-386

- Broderick, David, 168  
 Brodie, Bernard, 383 (photo), 385  
 Brodie, Fawn M., 378 (photo), 379-380, 381 (photo), 382-390  
 Brook, Harry E., 22  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 104  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 104  
 Brown Berets, 281  
 Brown, Edmund G. "Pat," 383  
 Bruce, John, 152, 155  
 Bruff, J. Goldsborough, 338  
 Budd, Ralph, 40, 42  
*The Builders Behind the Castles* by Taylor Coffman, rev., 411-412  
 Bull, W. H., 62  
 Bullough, William A., "Entrepreneurs and Urbanism on the California Mining Frontier: Frederick Walter and Weaverville, 1852-1868," 162-173; rev. of Palmquist, *Shadowcatchers: A Directory of Women in California Photography before 1901*, 310-312  
 Burbank, Garin, "Governor Reagan and California Welfare Reform: The Grand Compromise of 1971," 278-289  
 Burchell, R. A., rev. of Fitzgerald and King, *The Uncounted Irish: in Canada and the United States*; Miller, *Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War*, 315  
 Burgoyne & Co., 259  
 Burlington Railroad, see Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad  
 Burnett, Peter H., 274  
 Burnett, T. B., 20  
 Burton, John, 282, 284  
 Bush, Norton, 150  
 Butterfield, John, 261  
 Recreation, inside front cover, Spring, 94  
 California Eastern Railroad, 84  
 California Gold Rush towns, 162-173  
 California Historical Society, 307  
 El Molino Viejo, 402 (photo)  
 North Baker Library, 307, 405  
 Southern California Historical Collection, 396-405  
 Clinton Bryant Collection, 397  
 Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce Collection, 397, 398, 400  
 Los Angeles Department of Public Works WPA Project Construction Collection, 397  
 Titor Collection, 397, 399  
 C. C. Pierce Collection, 397  
 George Wharton James Southwestern Native American Portraits Collection, 397, 398  
 "The CHS Southern California Historical Collection: New Location and New Opportunities for Historic Research," by Marlene Smith-Baranzini, 396-405  
*California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit*, by Donald C. Cutter, rev., 408-409  
*California Indians: Primary Resources, A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations*, by Sylvia Brakke Vane and Lowell John Bean, rev., 223-224  
 California Institute of Technology, inside front cover, Fall  
 Jet Propulsion Laboratory, inside front cover, Fall  
 Palomar Observatory, inside front cover, Fall  
 Throop Hall, inside front cover, Fall (photo)  
 California League, 180-185, 188-189, 190  
 "California Mission Indians: Two Perspectives," 206-215  
 California Northeastern Railroad, 36, 113  
 California Pacific Railroad, 106  
 California Players' League, 189  
 California Progressivism, 29  
 California Southern Railway, 103  
 California State League, 183  
 California State Legislature. Un-American Activities Committee (Tenney Committee), 372  
 California State Park Rangers Association, *Save Bodie!* committee, 414  
 California State Railroad Museum, inside front cover, Winter, 2, 94  
 California State Railroad Museum Foundation, 96  
 California State Railroad Museum Library, 94-112  
 Arcata & Mad River Railroad, Papers, 102  
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway collection, 101, 103-104  
 Best, Gerald Martin, Papers, 99, 104  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Pacific Division, No. 110, Records, 104  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Records, 104  
 California Traction Project, Report, 104  
 Cartographic Collections, 101  
 Central Pacific Railroad collection, 104-105  
 Chico Electric Railway, Records, 106  
 Clar, Raymond L., Collection, 106  
 Eureka and Palisade Railroad, Records, 106  
 Gordon, Mary Lou, Letter, 106  
 Hall-Scott Motor Car Company, Drawings, 106  
 Haskin, D. C., Papers, 106  
 Hentzelman, Taylor W., Letters, 106  
 Judah, Theodore Dehone and Family, Collection, 106  
 Kneiss, Gilbert Harold, Collection, 106  
 Lawser, Mary Louise, Papers and Drawings, 106, 108  
 Lima Locomotive Works, Drawings, 99, 101, 108  
 Mission Bay Roundhouse, Log Books, 109  
 Northern Electric Railway, Records, 109  
 Pullman Company, Glass Plates and Negatives, 109  
 Roberts Lumber Company, Papers, 109  
 Railroad Law Enforcement, Collection, 109  
 San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railway, Papers, 109



# INDEX

- Shaw, Frederic Joseph, Papers, 109  
 Shelton Adjustable Double Deck Car Company, Records, 109  
 Sierra Valley and Mohawk Railroad, Time Book, 109  
 Sonoma County Railroad Company, Memorandum of Agreement, 110  
 Southern Pacific Company, Financial Records, Maps, Drawings, 110  
 Southern Pacific Company, Sacramento Shops, Records, 110  
 Southern Pacific Railroad, Records, 101  
 Stein, Louis L., Jr., Collection, 110  
 Stockton and Copperopolis/Stockton and Visalia Railroads, Plan Book, 110  
 Taylor, H. Lester, Collection, 110  
 Western Pacific Railroad, Files, 101  
 Union Iron Works, Drawings, 111  
 Virginia & Truckee Railroad Locomotives No. 23 and 24, Drawings, 111  
 Virginia & Truckee Railway, Passenger Dept. Accounts, 112  
 Wagner, John ("Jack") Russell, Papers, 112  
 Waldron, W. B., Diary, 112  
 Weed Lumber Company, Drawings, 113  
 Western Pacific Railroad, Collections, 113  
 California State Telegraph Company, 269  
 California Steam Navigation Company, 269  
*California: The Irish Dream*, by Patrick J. Dowling, rev., 225  
 California Western Railroad, 3  
*California Zephyr* (train), 64, 71, 73, 74, 96, 108, 113  
 Californians (baseball team), 189  
*The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents*, by David J. Weber, rev., 224-225  
 Campbell, Gregg M., rev. of Kelley, *Battling the Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, & the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986*, 410-411  
 Campbell, James, 86  
 Cannon, Abraham H., 82, 83-84, 88  
 Cannon, Frank J., 82  
 Cannon, George Q., 82, 83  
 Canseco, Jose, 184, 185  
 Cardero, José, 409  
 Carleson, Robert B., 280, 284, 287  
 Carlson, William H., 84  
 Carr, Ezra S., 274  
 Carrillo, Domingo, 208  
 Carroll, Fred, 175, 188  
 Carter Brothers, 101  
 Carter, Jane Foster, rev. of Coffman, *The Builders Behind the Castles*, 411-412  
 Carter, Samuel P., 261-262, 265  
 Castillo, Edward, 206-215  
 Castro, José, 357  
 Castro, Manuel, 359  
*Il Cenacolo* (organization), 373  
 Central California Traction Company, 113  
 Central Pacific Railroad, 2, 6, 38, 46, 77, 85, 101, 104, 105, 106, 110  
 Central Pacific/Union Pacific Overland Route, 4  
 Central Pacific/Union Pacific Railroad, 77, 81  
 Cermak, Robert W., "Pioneering Aerial Forest Fire Control: The Army Air Patrol in California, 1919-1921," 290-305  
 Chabot, Anthony, 172  
 Chan, Sucheng, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, rev., 407-408  
 Chandler, Alfred, 50  
 Chandler, Robert J., "Integrity Amid Tumult: Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Gold Rush Banking," 258-277  
 Chapin, Will, 25  
 Chaplin, Charlie, 403  
 Charlton, R. H., 296  
 Chicago, Judy, 394  
 Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, "City of Los Angeles" (train), 70  
 Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad (CB&Q or Burlington), 33, 45, 64, 87  
 Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railway, 35  
 Chico Electric Railway, 106  
 Childs, Ebenezer Larkin, 353  
 Childs, Samuel, 353  
 Chinese Americans, 407  
 Chowchilla Mountain (Madera County), 205  
 Choynski, Joe, 175, 176  
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City), 83  
*Citizen Lawmakers: The Ballot Initiative Revolution*, by David D. Schmidt, rev., 222  
*City of Los Angeles* (train), 70  
 Clar, Raymond L., 106  
 Clark, David L., 399  
 Clark, J. Ross, 87-89, 92  
 Clark, S. H. H., 82  
 Clark, William Andrews, 87-91, 93  
 Clay, Henry, 362  
 Coachella Valley, 54  
 Coal miners, immigrant, 120 (photo)  
 Coast Miwoks, 152, 155  
*Coast Starlight* (train), 74  
 Coblenz, Stanton D., 156, 160  
 Coffin, Charles C., 149  
 Coffman, Taylor, *The Builders Behind the Castles*, rev., 411-412  
 Cohen, Alfred A., 262, 267-268, 274, 276  
 Cohn, Roy, 383  
 Cole, Cornelius, 26  
 Columbia, 243-250  
 Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Company (C&SRWCo.), 245-249  
 Columbia State Historic Park, 270  
 "Communications—California Mission Indians: Two Perspectives," 206-215  
 Communist Party, 372  
 Community Congregational Church (Lewiston, CA), 416 (photo)  
 Comstock Lode (Nevada), 248  
 Contra Costa County History Center, 120  
 Cooke, Jay, 78  
 Cooke, Jay, and Company, 63  
 Coolbrith, Ina, 150, 403  
 Cooper, John B. R., 353, 354 (photo), 362  
 Coos Bay, Roseburg and Eastern Railroad & Navigation Company, 36  
 Corbett, James, "Jim", 175, 176  
 Cornford, Daniel, rev. of Nash, *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy*, 117, 119  
*Il Corriere del Popolo* (newsp.), 372  
 Corvallis & Eastern Railway (C&E), 36  
 Cosmopolitan Art Association (Weaverville), 167  
 Coster, C. H., 32-33  
 Cox, Isaac, 255  
 Cox, William, 290  
 Craighill, William, 16  
 Crater Lake National Park, 66  
 Craven, Tumis Augustus Macdonough, 148

- Crawley, J. M., 17
- Crouchett, Lorraine J., *Delilah Leontium Beasley: Oakland's Crusading Journalist*, rev., 412-413
- Crocker, Charles, 6, 7, 8, 51, 53, 106, 110, 275
- Crocker, Edwin Bryant, 105
- Crocker Art Museum (Sacramento), 393, 394
- Crocker/Kingsley Exhibition, 393, 394
- Cross Country Club, Mt. Tamalpais, 151
- Curtis, W. G., 110
- Cutter, Donald C., *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit*, rev., 408-409
- Cyane (ves.), 148
- Daegener, William, 271, 272
- Daniels, Roger, "Executive Order #9066 (Feb. 19, 1942)," inside front cover; Winter
- Darrell, Paul, 99, 109
- Davidson, Benjamin, 261
- Davidson, George, 147
- Davidson (B.) & Co., 260
- Davis, Edwin, 248-249
- Davis, Kingsley, 288
- Davis, Margo and Rosanne Nilan, *Stanford Album: A Photographic History, 1885-1945*, rev., 123 de Anza, Juan Bautista, 403
- de Graaf, Lawrence B., rev. of Klein and Schiesl, *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion and Social Conflict*, rev., 221-222
- de la Guerra, Pablo, 361, 362 (photo)
- de Laguna, Frederika, 392, 393 (photo)
- Deakin, Edwin, 150
- Death Valley Scotty, 403
- Deep Creek Railroad, 113
- Delgado, James P., *To California By Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush*, rev., 115-117; and Stephen Haller, *Shipwrecks at the Golden Gate*, rev., 115-117
- Delilah Leontium Beasley: Oakland's Crusading Journalist*, by Lorraine J. Crouchett, rev., 412-413
- Den, Nicholas (Dr.), 360
- Denny, Jerry, 180, 188
- Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, 64, 77, 79, 80, 82, 85, 87, 90
- Deschutes Railroad, 35
- Deverell, William, "The Los Angeles 'Free Harbor Fight,'" 12-29
- Devlin, Jim, 180
- DeWitt, John L., 369
- Di Maggio, Joe, 175
- Disney, Walt, 109
- Dixon, Maynard, 65, 74
- Donahoe, Ralston, & Co., 261
- Donahue, James, 111
- Donahue, Peter, 111
- Donnelly, Charles, 39-40
- Douglas, Helen, 389
- Douglas, Stephen A., 168
- Dowling, Patrick J., *California: The Irish Dream*, rev., 225
- Drew, Stephen E., "The California State Railroad Museum," inside front cover, Spring
- DuBois, Coert, 291-294 (photo), 296
- Durán, Narciso, 209, 210, 213, 215
- Durst Hop Ranch (Yuba County), 195 (photo)
- Earle, Howard, 188
- Eastern Railway of New Mexico, 103
- Eccles, David, 85
- Eisenhower, David, 391
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 384 (photo), 386 (photo), 388 (photo)
- Eisenhower, Mamie, 384 (photo)
- El Paso & Northeastern Railroad, 57
- El Paso & Southwestern Railroad, 57, 58, 60, 104, 110
- Elkins, Stephen B., 16, 18, 20, 23, 26
- Elliott, Howard, 35
- Ellsworth, S. George, ed., *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, rev., 121
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 149
- "Entrepreneurs and Urbanism on the California Mining Frontier: Frederick Walter and Weaverville, 1852-1868," by William A. Bullough, 162-173
- Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West*, by Sherilyn Cox Bennion, rev., 309-310
- Estudillo, José María, 210
- Eureka and Palisade Railroad, 106
- Evans, J. F., 110
- "Executive Order 9066 and Italian Americans: The San Francisco Story," by Rose D. Scherini, 367-377
- "Executive Order #9066 (Feb. 19, 1942)" by Roger Daniels, inside front cover, Fall
- Express Building (San Francisco), 265
- Fairley, Lincoln, 148
- Fargo, William George, 261
- Farley, John M., 290
- Farnham, Thomas J., inside front cover, Summer
- Fascist League of North America, 372, 373
- "Fawn Brodie's *Richard Nixon: The Making of a Controversial Biography*," by Newell G. Bringhurst, 378-390
- Feallock, Kay, "The Kingsley Art Club: One Hundred Years of Support for the Arts," 392-395
- Federation of Italian War Veterans of the USA, 371
- Fenian Brotherhood (Weaverville), 167
- La Fiesta de Los Angeles, 407 (photo)
- Fikes, Robert, Jr., rev. of Crouchett, *Delilah Leontium Beasley: Oakland's Crusading Journalist*, 412-413
- Financial institutions, gold rush, 259-277
- Finch, Robert, 383
- Fisher, Mike, 189
- Fitzgerald, Margaret E. and Joseph A. King, *The Uncounted Irish: in Canada and the United States*, rev., 315
- Fitzpatrick, John J., 388
- Fitzpatrick, Thomas, inside front cover, Summer
- Flores, José María, 360-361
- Fogarty, Jim, 175, 181
- Fogelson, Robert, 28
- "For Territorial Dominion in California and the Pacific Northwest: Edward J. Harriman and James J. Hill," by Don L. Hofsommer, 30-45
- Forbes, Andres B., 275
- Forman, Charles, 18
- Fort Missoula (Montana), 366 (photo), 368
- Fox, Stephen, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of Italian American Relocation During World War II*, rev., 316
- Franciscans, 215
- Franks, Joel S., "Rube Levy: A San Francisco Shoe Cutter and the Origin of Professional Baseball in California," 174-191
- Free Harbor League, 22, 24-25
- Frémont, Jessie Benton, 149

# INDEX

- Frémont, John C., 357, 359  
 French, Harold, 150  
 "From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City," by Edward Leo Lyman, 76-93  
 Frontier urbanism, 162-173  
 Frost, Richard H., rev. of Dowling, *California: The Irish Dream*, 225  
 Frye, William, 16  
 Fulton, Robert L., 51
- Gaffey, Arcadia Bandini, 20  
 Gaffey, John T., 19-22, 25, 27  
 Galindo, Nazario, 214  
 Galvin, "Pud," 180  
 Garnett, Louis A., 275  
 General Federation of Women's Clubs, 393  
 George, Henry, 5  
 German Americans, 367, 368, 369, 373, 376  
 German Citizen's Society (Weaverville), 167  
 German-American Bund, 373  
*Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California: A History and Guide*, by Remi Nadeau, rev., 413-415  
 Gibbon, Thomas E., 17 (photo), 18-23, 26, 84-87, 90, 91  
 Gill, Howard, 290  
 Gilliam, Harold, 146, 161  
 Gilroy, John, 364  
 Ginsburg, Allen, 146  
 Gold assayers, 271-272  
 Gold dust trade, 271-272  
 Gold rush financial institutions, 259-277  
 Golden Gate and Miners Iron Works, 101  
 Golden Gate International Exposition (San Francisco), 67  
 Gonzales, Manuel G., rev. of Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*, 312  
 Goodman, Jack, 389  
 Goodyear, C. E., 257  
 Gordon, David E., 169, 170, 171  
 Gordon, Mary Lou, 106  
 Gordon-Cumming, Constance, 149  
 Gould, George J., 87, 113  
 Gould, Jay, 7, 77, 79, 80-81, 87, 113  
 "Governor Reagan and California Welfare Reform: The Grand Compromise of 1971," by Garin Burbank, 278-289  
 Graham, Margaret Collier, 403  
 Grand Canyon National Park, 63, 64, 66, 403  
 Graves, Henry, 292, 293  
 Graw, Richard, "Stanford University and California Institute of Technology, 1891-1991," inside front cover, Fall  
 Gray, Carl R., 42  
 Gray, Percy, 151  
 Great Northern Railway (GN), 31-35, 39-45, 46, 87, 90  
 Greeley, Horace, 149  
 Green, Talbot H., 363 (photo)  
 Greene, Bill, 284, 287  
 Greenhood and Moran club (G&M) (baseball team), 183, 187 (photo)  
 Griffith, Clark, 188  
 Griffith, D. D., 85  
 Griswold del Castillo, Richard, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*, rev., 312  
*Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier* by Elliott West, rev., 119-120  
 Grunsky, C. E., 53  
 Guarneri, Carl J., rev. of Millis and Mord, *Sentinels of Love: Rural Churches of California*, 415-416  
 Guest, Francis, 213  
 Guillemard, Arthur G., 149  
 Gullard, Pamela and Nancy Lund, *History of Palo Alto: The Early Years*, rev., 123  
 Gwin, William, 168
- Hagelman, Henry, 171  
 Haggin, James Ben Ali, 276  
 Hague, Harlan, "'The Jumping Off Place of the World': California and the Transformation of Thomas O. Larkin," 353-365  
 Haight, Henry, 267  
 Hall-Scott Motor Car Company, 106  
 Haller, Stephen and James Delgado, *Shipwrecks at the Golden Gate*, rev., 115-117  
 Hardy, Grahame H., 96  
 Harmony Saloon (Weaverville), 166  
 Harpending, Asbury, 276  
 Harriman, Cornelia, 31  
 Harriman, Edward Henry, 7, 30-35 (photo) 36-45, 51, 90-92  
 Harriman, Orlando (Rev.), 31  
 Harris, Henry, 183, 185, 189  
 Harrison, Edward S., 211  
 Hart, Alfred A., 52, 74, 105  
 Harte, Bret, 150, 162, 313  
 Haskin, D. C., 106  
 Haverly, Jack, 181, 182  
 Haverly Baseball Club (San Francisco), 174  
 Haverlys (baseball team), 181-183, 185, 186  
 Hawgood, John A., 353  
 Hawkins, William Ashton, 57-59  
 Hawley, T. P., 89  
 Hayden, Alexander M., 275  
 Hays, D. C., 31  
 Hayward, Alvinza, 275  
 Hebrew Society (Weaverville), 167  
 Hedges, Charles H., 266  
 Hedley, Peter D., 275  
 Heintzelman, Taylor W., 106, 110  
 Hemmings, Sally, 381  
 Hendrick, Irving G., rev. of Davis and Nilan, *Stanford Album: A Photographic History, 1885-1945*, Gullard and Lund, *History of Palo Alto: The Early Years*, 123  
 Hensley, Samuel J., 363 (photo)  
 Hermann, Binger, 24  
 Hess, William Franklin, 277  
 Higgins, Alice (Mrs. Marvin R.), 392 (photo), 393  
 Higgins, Charles S., 268, 269  
 Hill, James Jerome, 7, 30-34 (photo), 35-45, 87  
 Hill, Louis W., 40  
 Hinchliff, Thomas W., 149  
 Hirabayashi, Lane Ryo, rev. of Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, 407-408  
 Hiss, Alger, 387, 389  
*History of Palo Alto: The Early Years*, by Pamela Gullard and Nancy Lund, rev., 123  
 Hittell, John S., 149, 178  
 Hodgson, Godfrey, 388, 390  
 Hofsommer, Don L., "For Territorial Dominion in California and the Pacific Northwest: Edward J. Harriman and James J. Hill," 30-45  
 Holcomb, William H., 35  
 Holdredge, Ranson Gillet, 150  
 Holibird, J. A., 87  
 Holladay, Ben, 275  
 Holland, Ruth, 394 (photo)  
 Holliday, J. S., 338, 339, 398  
 Holme, Garnet, 155



- Holmes, Rachel Hobson, *see* Larkin, Rachel Hobson Holmes
- Holton Inter-Urban Railway, 106, 110
- "Hood River" Blackie (hobo), 98
- Hoover, Herbert, 388 (photo)
- Hopkins, Mark, 6, 7, 8, 106, 110, 275
- Hotchkiss, A. B., 84
- Hotzman, F., 247
- Houghton, H. R., 79-80
- Houghton, Sherman O., 20
- Houseworth, Thomas, 179
- Houston, James D., rev. of Scharnhorst, Bret *Harte's California: Letters to the Springfield Republican and Christian Register, 1866-67*, 313
- Houston & Texas Central Railroad, 110
- How Shakespeare Won the West: Players and Performances in America's Gold Rush, 1849-1865*, by Helene Wickham Koon, rev., 219-221
- Howard, William D. M., 363 (photo)
- Howe, James, 251
- Hudson, Travis and Thomas C. Blackburn, *Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture*, rev., 223-224
- Hughes, Jim, 189
- Huntington, Collis P., 6-8, 13-14 (photo), 15-16, 18-27, 51, 53, 77-82, 84-87, 90, 106, 110, 275, 403
- Huntington, Henry E., 8, 14 (photo), 22-26, 81, 82, 403
- Hutchings, James Mason, 149
- Hutton, William Rich, 358
- Illinois Central Railroad (IC), 31, 90
- Imperial Valley, 54
- Inccll, William, 183
- Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), North Star Lodge No. 61, 168, 171
- Indian Creek Hotel (Weaverville), 171
- Individual Exclusion Program, 369
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 201
- "Integrity Amid Tumult: Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Gold Rush Banking," by Robert J. Chandler, 258-277
- Internment camps, inside front cover, Winter, 366-377
- L'Italia* (newsp.), 370, 372-373
- Italian Americans from the San Francisco area, 367-377
- Italian Chamber of Commerce (San Francisco), 371, 373
- Italian Language School (San Francisco), 371, 373
- Italian Legion, 371
- Italian War Veterans (IWW), 374-375
- Itinerant labor, 192-204
- J. W. Bowker (locomotive), 94
- Jack Kerouac, 146
- Jackson, Helen Hunt, 149, 403
- Jackson, John Quincy, 264-265 (photo), 266, 268, 271
- James, Arthur Curtiss, 44 (photo)
- James, George Wharton, 397-398, 403
- Janes, Thomas M., 268
- Japanese Americans, 367, 368, 369, inside front cover, Winter
- Jefferson, Thomas, 380-381
- Jeffery, Edward T., 106
- Jews in San Francisco, 176, 190
- Jimeno Rancho, 362
- Jobe, Ola Welch, 383
- Johnson, Charles N., ed., "California Checklist," 126-127, 228-229, 320-321, 419-421
- Johnson, Hiram, 29, 192
- Johnson, Jake, 88
- Johnson, Lyndon, 282, 287
- Jones, Caroline A., *Bay Area Figurative Art, 1950-1965*, rev., 122
- Jones, Georgina, 15, 21, 25, 26-27
- Jones, John P., 14-17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 77
- Jones, Marcus, 82
- Jones, Orrin, 178
- Jones, Robert F., 25-26
- Jones, William "Billy," 109
- The Journals of Addison Pratt*, ed. by S. George Ellsworth, rev., 121
- Judah, Anna Pierce, 106
- Judah, Theodore Dehone, 2, 101, 106
- "The Jumping Off Place of the World': California and the Transformation of Thomas O. Larkin," by Harlan Hague, 353-365
- Kaiser Franz I* (ves.), 164
- Kaya, Saburo, 83-84
- Kearney, Denis, 178
- Keith, William, 150
- Keller, George Frederick, 9
- Kelley, Charles T., 196 (photo)
- Kelley, Robert, *Battling the Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, & the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986*, rev., 410-411
- Kellogg, Hewston & Co., 274
- Kellogg, John G., 268
- Kelly, Virgil, 88
- Kelsey, Nancy, inside front cover, Summer
- Kemble, John Haskell, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869*, rev., 115-117
- Kenly, William L., 293
- Kennedy, John F., 387
- Kennedy, Robert F., 387
- Kenney, W. P., 42
- Kerckhoff, William, 22
- Kerckhoff-Cuzner Mill & Lumber Company (San Pedro), 22
- Kerens, Richard C., 12, 18-22, 23
- Killian, Tom, 147
- King, Homer, 276
- King, James, 267-268
- King, Joseph A. and Margaret E. Fitzgerald, *The Uncounted Irish: in Canada and the United States*, rev., 315
- Kingsley, Elbridge, 393
- "The Kingsley Art Club: One Hundred Years of Support for the Arts," by Kay Feallock, 392-395
- Kingsley Exhibition, 393, 394
- Kirkendall, Richard S., 389-390
- Kissinger, Henry, 383-384
- Klein, Maury, 81
- Klein, Norman M. and Martin J. Schiesl, *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion and Social Conflict*, rev., 221-222
- Kneiss, Gilbert Harold, 94, 99, 106
- Knight, Samuel, 274, 275
- Koon, Helene Wickham, *How Shakespeare Won the West: Players and Performances in America's Gold Rush, 1849-1865*, rev., 219-221
- Kowalewski, Michael, rev. of Jones, *Bay Area Figurative Art, 1950-1965*, 122
- Kruttchnitt, A. M., 166, 171
- Kruttchnitt, Julius, 38, 41
- Kurutz, Gary, 398
- Kutler, Stanley I., 379
- La Grange ditch (Weaverville), 242 (photo), 257 (photo)
- Labor conditions, seasonal industries, 192-204
- Lamb, Blaine Peterson, and Ellen Halteman Schwartz, "The Paper Trail of the Iron Horse: The California State Railroad Museum

- Library," 94-113  
 Lane, Franklin K., 91  
 Lange, Bill, 188  
 Larkin, Alfred Robinson, 361, 364  
 Larkin, Caroline, 361, 363, 364  
 Larkin, Francis, 361, 364  
 Larkin, Frederic, 361, 362, 364  
 Larkin, Isabel, 354  
 Larkin, Oliver, 361  
 Larkin, Rachel Hobson Holmes, 353-354 (photo), 355, 358-363  
 Larkin, Sophia Adeline, 358  
 Larkin, Thomas Oliver, 352 (photo) 353-363 (photo) 364-365  
 Larkin House (Monterey), 354, 355 (photo), 365  
 Lasch, Christopher, 191  
 Lasero, José Pedro, 212 (photo)  
 Lasuén, Fermín Francisco de, 207  
 Latham, Milton, 168  
 Lathan, J. K. S., 275  
 Lawser, Mary Louise, 106, 108  
 Lee, Eugene C., rev. of Schmidt, *Citizen Lawmakers: The Ballot Initiative Revolution*, 222  
 Leese, Jacob, 361, 362, 363 (photo), 364  
 Leighton, George B., 22, 87  
 Lekachman, Robert, 388  
 Lester, John Erastus, 149  
 Levy, Angelina, 175-176  
 Levy, David, 176, 189, 190  
 Levy, Elias, 175-176  
 Levy, Frank, 288-289  
 Levy, Joann, *They Saw The Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush*, rev., 309-310  
 Levy, Marcus, 176  
 Levy, Rebecca, 189, 190  
 Levy, Rube, 174 (photo), 175-191  
 Lima Locomotive Works, 108  
 Lippincott, Sara Jane, 149  
 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Burbank (Calif.) headquarters, 118 (photo)  
 Loewenberg, Peter, 389  
 Logan, Maurice, 68  
 London, Jack, 175-176  
 Long, L. H., 84, 85  
 Long-Bell Lumber Company, 113  
 Lorenz, John, 171  
 Los Angeles & Independence Railroad, 14-15, 77 depot, 5 (photo)  
 Los Angeles & San Gabriel Valley Railroad, 100 (map)  
 Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 13, 18, 22, 26, 397, 398, 400  
 "The Los Angeles 'Free Harbor Fight'," by William F. Deverell, 12-29  
 Los Angeles Harbor at San Pedro, 12-29  
 Los Angeles History Center, 398  
 Los Angeles Terminal Railway Company, 18, 21, 84, 86, 87  
 Lotchin, Roger W., rev. of Wollenberg, *Marinship At War: Shipbuilding and Social Change in Wartime Sausalito*, 316-318  
 Lucas, Turner & Co., 259  
 Ludlow, FitzHugh, 149  
 Lund, Nancy and Pamela Gullard, *History of Palo Alto: The Early Years*, rev., 123  
 Lund, Robert C., 82, 85  
 Lyman, Edward Leo, "From the City of Angels to the City of Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City," 76-93  
 Lynch, Joseph, 20, 27  
 McAllaster, B. A., 51  
 McCarthy, Leo, 284  
 McCartney, Henry Maxwell, 85, 91  
 McCloy, John J., 377  
 McCone, Michael, "North Baker: CHS Benefactor," 306-307  
 McCorkle, J. W., 254-255  
 McCormick, E. O., 59  
 McCovey, Willie, 175  
 McCune, A. W., 85  
 McDermot, Louis M., 102  
 MacGregor, Greg, inside front cover, Summer; "Traces of the Pioneers: Photographing the Overland Trail," 339-342; "A Photographic Portfolio of the Overland Trail," 343-351  
 McGucken, Joe, 187  
 McHale, Richard, 155, 157, 159-161  
 McJunkin, Roy, 397, 398  
 McKay, Thomas E., 388  
 McKenzie's Gulch (near Weaverville), 250-251, 253  
 McLachlan, James, 24-25  
 McLane, Allen, 269  
 McLane, Charles, 269, 275  
 McLane, Louis, Jr., 268-269, 271, 274 (photo), 275, 276  
 McMurtrie, William Burch, 150  
 McNary, Charles L., 301-302  
 Mahoney, M. M., 152  
 Malone, Dumas, 381  
 Malone, Ferguson, 180  
*Mammoth Gold: The Ghost Towns of Lake District*, by Gary Caldwell, rev., 413-415  
 Mangione, Jerre, 377  
 Margolin, Malcolm, ed., *Monterey in 1786: The Journals of Jean François de la Pérouse*, rev., 408-409  
 Maricopa & Phoenix Railroad, 110  
*Marinship At War: Shipbuilding and Social Change in Wartime Sausalito*, by Charles Wollenberg, rev., 316-318  
 Maritime history, 115  
 Marl Springs (Calif) (railroad surveyors' camp), 80 (photo)  
 Marple, William, 150  
 Marquinez, Marcelino, 210  
 Marquis de Beauvoir, Ludovic, 149  
 Marsh, John (Dr.), inside front cover, Summer  
 Marshall, James, 250  
 Martin, Calvin, 213  
 Mathews, Bobby, 180  
 Mattes, Merrill, 339  
 Matteson, Edward, 172  
 Maxson, H. B., 88  
 Mays, Willie, 175  
 Meckel, Chris, 170  
 Meeker, Ezra, 345  
 Meese, Edwin, 284-285  
 Mellen, Charles S., 32-33  
 "Men on the Road: Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California," by Gregory R. Woirol, 192-205  
 Mercado, Mariano, 208  
*The Mercury* (ves.), 213  
 Merritt, Stanley F., 99  
 Merriwell, Frank, 186  
 Mexican War (1846), 357-360  
 Meyer, Theo F., 82  
 Meyers, William, 148  
 Micheltorena, Manuel, 356  
 Migratory workers, 192-204  
 "Milestones in California History," inside front covers, each issue  
 Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, 150  
 Miller, John, 284, 287  
 Miller, Robert Ryal, *Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War*, rev., 315  
 Millis, Bette R. and Jeanne Mord,

- Sentinels of Love: Rural Churches of California*, rev., 415-416
- Mills, D. O., 275
- Mills, Darius, 244
- Mills, Frederick C., 193-203, 205
- Mills, James, 243-244
- Mills, William H., 19, 50-51
- Mills (D. O.) & Co., 275
- Mines and mining, 243-249
- Mining, hydraulic, 172
- Minturn, William, 149
- Miramar* (mansion), 14, 15 (photo)
- Mission San Carlos Borromeo, 207, 409
- Mission San Gabriel, 402
- Mission San Juan Bautista, 358, 359
- Mission San Luis Obispo, 396
- Mission San Luis Rey, 206
- Mission Santa Barbara, 72
- Mission Santa Barbara Archive, 213
- Mission Santa Cruz, 206, 209 (photo), 213
- Missouri Pacific Railroad, 80
- El Molino Viejo, 402
- Monroe, Charles, 17
- Monterey in 1786: The Journals of Jean François de la Pérouse*, ed. by Malcolm Margolin, rev. 408-409
- Moore, Henry, 185
- Moran, Thomas, 63, 64
- Mord, Jeanne and Bette R. Millis, *Sentinels of Love: Rural Churches of California*, rev., 415-416
- Morelos, Juan de Dios (Dr.), 207
- Moretti, Robert, 281-282 (photo), 284-287
- Morgan, George E., 275
- Morgan, J. P., 33, 87
- Morgan (J.P.) Company, 34
- Morris, Ed, 175, 181
- Morris, Roger, 379, 390
- "Mt. Tamalpais: The Legendary Birth of a Holy Mountain," by David Robertson, 146-161
- Mt. Tamalpais, 146-161
- Berry Trail, 151
- Inspiration Point, 153 (photo)
- Laurel Dell, 150
- Legends of, 146-161
- Matt Davis Trail, 146
- Mountain Home, 146
- Mountain Theater, 146, 154, 156
- Steep Ravine, 150
- Table Mountain, 147
- West Peak, 147
- Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, 151, 158 (photo)
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 282
- Moynihan, Ruth B. et al., *So Much To Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier*, rev., 217-218
- Muir, John, 63
- Munger, Gilbert, 150
- Murrieta, Joaquin, 403
- Museum of Railroad History, inside front cover, Spring, 94
- Museum of Railroad Technology, inside front cover, Spring
- Nacozari Railroad, 110
- Nadeau, Remi, *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California: A History and Guide*, rev., 413-415
- Nash, Gerald D., *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy*, rev., 117, 119
- Nash, Roderick Frazier, rev. of Runte, Yosemite: *The Embattled Wilderness*, 218-219
- Nash-Boulden, S. A., 300
- Nathan, Marvin R., rev. of Koon, *How Shakespeare Won the West: Players and Performances in America's Gold Rush, 1849-1865*, 219-221
- National Fascist Party, 372
- National Railroad Passenger Corporation, 73
- National Women's Caucus for Art, inside front cover, Winter
- Nationals (baseball team), 181
- Natron Cutoff (Kirk, Oregon), 30 (photo), 36, 38, 40, 41, 113
- Black Butte Cutoff, 40
- Nava, Sandy, 180
- Nelson, Mabelle D., 156
- Nevada Central Railroad, 78, 94, 106
- Nevada Copper Belt Railroad, 106
- Nevada Southern Railroad, 81, 84
- Nevada-California-Oregon Railway (NCO), 42, 109, 110
- New Mexico & Arizona Railroad, 110
- Nibley, Charles W., 85
- Nicholson, W. D., 60
- Nilan, Rosanne and Davis, Margo, *Stanford Album: A Photographic History, 1885-1945*, rev., 123
- Nixon (Richard) Presidential Library, 379
- Nixon, Arthur, 387
- Nixon, Harold, 387
- Nixon, Julie, 391 (photo)
- Nixon, Pat, 384 (photo), 391 (photo)
- Nixon, Richard, 379, 380 (photo), 381-384 (photo), 385-386 (photo), 387-388 (photo), 389 (photo), 390-391 (photo)
- Nixon, Tricia, 391 (photo)
- Nogal Reservoir, 57
- Nolan, Ed "The Only," 180
- Norcross, Oliver H. P., 163
- Nordhoff, Charles, 149
- Norris, Frank, 9, 28
- "North Baker: CHS Benefactor," by Michael McCone, 306-307
- North Pacific Coast Railway, 150
- Northern Electric Railway, 106, 109
- Northern Pacific Railroad (NP), 31-36, 39-42, 44-45, 46, 63, 90
- Inside Gateway, 42, 44, 45
- Northern Securities Trust, 33, 90
- Northwestern Pacific Railroads, 104, 110
- Nunis, Doyce B., Jr., "The 150th Anniversary of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party," inside front cover, Summer; 206-215
- O'Brien, Robert, 155, 157
- O'Rourke, John Catlin "Dad," 155
- Oak, Henry, 214
- Oakland Mystics (baseball team), 181
- Ocean Shore Railroad, 112
- Okubo, Miné, inside front cover, Winter
- Olmsted, Frederick Law, 314
- Olson, Culbert, inside front cover, Winter
- "150th Anniversary of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party," by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., inside front cover, Summer
- Orange industry, 193, 197, 200 (photo)
- Oregon (ves.), 265
- Oregon & Washington Railroad, 35
- Oregon, California & Eastern Railway (OC&E), 40, 41
- Oregon California Trail Association (OCTA), 341, 343
- Oregon Eastern Railway, 36
- Oregon Electric Railway, 38
- Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company (OR&N), 31-33, 35-36
- Oregon Trail, inside front cover, Summer
- Oregon Trunk Railway, 35, 39-42,



# INDEX

- Oregon Western Railway, 37, 38  
 "The Origins of Western Water Law: Case Studies from Two California Mining Districts," by Donald J. Pisani, 242-256
- Orsi, Richard J., "Railroads in the History of California and the Far West: An Introduction," 2-11; "Railroads and Water in the Arid Far West: The Southern Pacific Company as a Pioneer Water Developer," 46-61
- Ortman, William T., 151-152
- Otis, Harrison Gray, 19 (photo), 20-22, 24-25, 29, 84
- Overland Limited* (train), 70
- Overland Monthly* (mag.), 309, 313
- Overland Trail, inside front cover, Summer; 338-351
- Pablo, Pedro, 206
- Pacific & Eastern Railway, 38, 39
- Pacific Bank, 274
- Pacific Brewery (Weaverville), 165-166, 170, 171, 173 (photo)
- Pacific Coast Chapter of the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, inside front cover, Spring, 94
- Pacific Coast League (PCL), 189
- Pacific Mail Steamship Company, 269
- Pacific Railway & Navigation Company, 36
- Pacific Sugar Company (Visalia), 202
- Page, Bacon & Co., 261-262, 265-268
- Paiute Indians, 340
- Palmer, Charles T. H., 272
- Palmer, Joseph C., 271
- Palmer, Cook & Co., 268, 269, 271
- Palmquist, Peter E., *Shadowcatchers: A Directory of Women in California Photography before 1901*, rev., 310-312
- Panama California International Exposition (San Diego), 67
- Panama Pacific International Exposition (San Francisco), 67, 102
- Panama Route, 1848-1869*, by John Haskell Kemble, rev., 115-117
- "The Paper Trail of the Iron Horse: The California State Railroad Museum Library," by Blaine Peterson Lamb and Ellen Halteman Schwartz, 94-113
- The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted; Volume V: The California Frontier, 1863-1865*, ed. by Victoria Post Ranney et al., rev., 314
- Pardee, William J. (Col.), 266-267, 268
- Parker, Carleton, 199, 203-204
- Parmet, Herbert S., 379
- Parnay, S. V., 290
- Parrott, John, 275
- Parrott & Co., 261
- Parrott Building (San Francisco), 265, 266, 268, 269, 274, 275, 277
- Pascoe, Peggy, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*, rev., 217-218
- Patrizi, Ettore, 370 (photo), 372-373
- Patterson, W. C., 22, 84
- Patton, George S., Sr., 20-22, 25-26
- Patton Ranch (San Fernando Valley), 194 (photo)
- Patton, W. C., 26
- Peninsular Railroad, 110
- Pennoyer, Albert Sheldon, 109
- Petris, Nick, 287
- Phelps Dodge Mining Corporation, 57
- Phillips, George H., rev of Blackburn and Hudson, *Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture*; Vane and Bean, *California Indians Primary Resources, A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations*, 223-224
- "A Photographic Portfolio of the Overland Trail," by Greg MacGregor, 343-351
- Pico, José María, 213
- Pierce, Charles Chester (C. C.), 193, 199, 397-398 (photo), 400, 401, 403, 404
- Piercy, Andy, 180
- Pioneer Stage Company, 275
- "Pioneering Aerial Forest Fire Control: The Army Air Patrol in California, 1919-1921," by Robert W. Cermak, 290-305
- Pioneers (baseball team), 183, 189
- Pisani, Donald J., 48; "The Origins of Western Water Law: Case Studies from Two California Mining Districts," 242-256
- Polk, James K., 259, 357
- Porter (H. K.) Company, 101
- Porter, Blum, and Slessinger Boot and Shoe Factory (San Francisco), 177
- Porter, Slessinger, and Co., 178
- Portland & Seattle Railway, *see* Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway
- Prescott, Scott & Company, 111
- Progressive reform in California, 13, 28-29
- "Promoting the Golden West: Advertising and the Railroad," by Alfred Runte, 62-64, 73-75
- Promotory Point, Utah, 4
- Pryor, Ike, 404 (photo)
- Public Utility Commission, Oregon, 38, 40, 41
- Pullman, George Mortimer, 109
- Pullman Company, 109
- Pullman employees (photo), 95
- Pullman Strike (1894), 107
- Quijano, Manuel (Dr.), 210
- Quintana, Andrés, 206-215
- Railfair '91, inside front cover, Spring, 2, 102
- Railfair Sacramento 1981, inside front cover, Spring, 2, 94
- "Railroad Advertising of the Far West: A Portfolio," 65-72
- Railroads and water development, 46-61
- "Railroads and Water in the Arid Far West: The Southern Pacific Company as a Pioneer Water Developer," by Richard J. Orsi, 46-61
- Railroads in California and the Far West, role of, 2-114
- "Railroads in the History of California and the Far West: An Introduction," by Richard J. Orsi, 2-11
- Railway & Locomotive History Society, 96
- Pacific Coast Chapter, 106
- Ralston, William Chapman, 274, 276-277
- Ranney, Victoria Post et al., eds. *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted; Volume V: The California Frontier, 1863-1865*, rev., 314
- Ransome, Fred, 152
- Rawls, James J., ed., "Reviews," 115-123, 217-225, 309-318, 407-416
- Reagan, Ronald, 278 (photo), 279-285 (photo), 286-289
- Rebozo, Bebe, 389
- Redding, Benjamin B., 50

- Redington, Paul, 302  
 Reindollar, Theodore, 155  
 Reinhart, J. W., 21  
*Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*, by Peggy Pascoe, rev., 217-218  
 "Reviews," ed. by James J. Rawls, 115-123, 217-225, 309-318, 407-416  
 Rexroth, Kenneth, 146  
 Richardson, Albert D., 149  
 Richardson, H. L., 287  
 Rico, Francisco, 359-360  
 Riley, Glenda, rev. of Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush*; Bennion, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West*, 309-310  
 Rix, Julian, 150  
 Roberts Lumber Company (Plumas Co.), 109  
 Robertson, David, "Mt. Tamalpais: The Legendary Birth of a Holy Mountain," 146-161  
 Robidoux, Antoine, inside front cover, Summer  
 Rochester, William B., 261  
 Rolle, Andrew, rev. of Fox, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of Italian American Relocation During World War II*, 316  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 367, 368, 372  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 90  
 Rosenberg, J. Philipp, 390  
 Roser, C. H., 79  
 Rowe, Edwin A., 271  
 "Rube Levy: A San Francisco Shoe Cutter and the Origin of Professional Baseball in California," by Joel S. Franks, 174-191  
 Rule, F. K., 22  
 Runte, Alfred, "Promoting the Golden West: Advertising and the Railroad," 62-64, 73-75; *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness*, rev., 218-219  
 Ruskin Art Club (Los Angeles), 393  
 Russell, Andrew J., 60, 74  
 Sacramento Northern Railroad, 109, 113  
 Safire, William, 384  
 Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad Company, 79-80, 82  
 Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, 79  
 Salt Lake, Sevier Valley and Pioche Railroad, 77  
 San Antonio de Pala asistencia, 206 (photo), 214 (photo)  
 San Diego & Arizona Railroad, 110  
 San Francisco and Humboldt Bay Railroad, 110  
 San Francisco & San Joaquin Valley Railway, 103, 109, 110  
 San Francisco Assaying and Refining Works, 274-275  
 San Francisco Baseball Club, 179 (photo)  
 San Francisco, Central Park, 184 (photo)  
 San Francisco Clearing House, 276  
 San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park, 115  
 San Franciscos (baseball team), 183, 186, 189  
 San Pedro Harbor, 12-29  
 San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad, 27, 76, 78 (map), 80, 81, 83, 87-90, 92  
 Sanpete Valley Railroad, 82  
 Santa Fe, Prescott, & Phoenix Railway, 103  
 Santa Fe Railroad, 20, 40, 51, 60, 63-67, 86, 99  
   Mojave-Needles line, 51  
 Santa Monica harbor, 13-29, 84  
 Savage, Thomas, 207  
 Schabarum, Pete, 287  
 Schafer, Frederick, 151  
 Scherini, Rose D., "Executive Order 9066 and Italian Americans: The San Francisco Story," 367-377  
 Schiesl, Martin J. and Norman M. Klein, *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion and Social Conflict*, rev., 221-222  
 Schiff, Jacob H., 32  
 Schliemann, Henry, 260  
 Schmidt, David D., *Citizen Lawmakers: The Ballot Initiative Revolution*, rev., 222  
 Schneider, Genevieve, 159-160  
 Scharnhorst, Gary, ed., *Bret Harte's California: Letters to the Springfield Republican and Christian Register, 1866-67*, rev., 313  
 Schwartz, Ellen Halteman, and Blaine Peterson Lamb, "The Paper Trail of the Iron Horse: The California State Railroad Museum Library," 94-113  
 Schwendinger, Robert J., rev. of Delgado, *California by Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush*; Delgado and Haller, *Shipwrecks at the Golden Gate*; Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869*, 115-117  
 Scott, E.L., 290  
 Seasonal industries, 192-204  
 Seasonal labor, 192-204  
 Sedgewick, Orville, 261  
 Semple, Robert Baylor, 361, 362  
 Señan, José, 211  
*Sentinels of Love: Rural Churches of California*, by Bette R. Millis and Jeanne Mord, rev., 415-416  
 Serra, Junípero, 215, 409  
 Sevensing, Henry, 270  
*Shadowcatchers: A Directory of Women in California Photography before 1901*, by Peter E. Palmquist, rev., 310-312  
*Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War*, by Robert Ryal Miller, rev., 315  
 Sharon, William, 276  
 Sharp, John, 77, 79-80  
 Shaw, Frederic Joseph, 109  
 Shearer, Lloyd, 388  
 Shelton, John B., 109  
 Shelton Adjustable Double Deck Car Company, 109  
 Sherman, William Tecumseh, 267  
 Shinn, Milicent Washburn, 309 (photo)  
*Shipwrecks at the Golden Gate*, by James Delgado and Stephen Haller, rev., 115-117  
 Shoe trade in San Francisco, 176-179  
 Shook, John, 165-166  
 Shoshone-Bannock tribe, 342  
 Shoup, Paul, 42, 45  
 Show, S. B., 290  
 Shreve, Lucille, 159 (photo)  
 Shubsda, Thaddeus, 215  
 Sierra Flume and Lumber Company, 111  
 Sierra Valley and Mohawk Railroad, 109  
 Sill, Edward Rowland, 150  
*Silver State* (locomotive), 94  
 Silverman, Jim, rev. of West, *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier*, 119-120  
 Simon, Paul, 175  
 Simpson, William, 149  
 Simpson Bible College, 368 (photo)

# INDEX

- Skunk* (locomotive), 3 (photo)  
 Slauson, J. S., 26  
 Sloat, John D., 357  
 Smith Act, *see* Alien Registration Act  
 Smith, Jedediah, inside front cover, Summer; 224 (port.), 225  
 Smith-Baranzini, Marlene, "The CHS Southern California Historical Collection: New Location and New Opportunities for Historic Research," 396-405  
 Snyder, Gary, 147  
*So Much To Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier*, ed. by Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christiane Fischer Dischamp, rev., 217-218  
 Society of California Pioneers, 364  
 Solá, Pablo Vicente de, 211  
 Sonoma County Railroad Company, 110  
 Sons of Italy, 371  
 Southern California and Salt Lake Railroad, 84  
 Southern California Railway, 103  
*Southern California's Best Ghost Towns: A Practical Guide* by Philip Varney, rev., 413-415  
 Southern/Central Pacific Railroad, 79  
 Southern Pacific of Mexico Railroad, 110  
 Southern Pacific Railroad (SP), 6-7, 8, 10-11, 13-29, 30-31, 33, 35-45, 46-60, 62-63, 65-66, 68-75, 77, 84, 86-87, 90, 97-99, 101, 104, 106, 109, 110, 113  
     Cascade Line, 30, 36, 40, 41  
     Coos Bay Branch, 36-37  
     Klamath Falls-Susanville-Fernley Line, 41-42  
     Long Wharf at Santa Monica, 16 (photo)  
     Modoc Line, 41-42  
     Mojave-Needles branch line, 53  
     Overland Limited (train), 70  
     Siskiyou Line, 36, 40  
     Sunset Limited (train), 62  
     "Sunset Route," 68  
     Tillamook Branch, 36  
     water systems, 46-60  
 Southern Pacific Transportation Company, 9  
 Spaatz, Carl "Ike's Eagle" (Maj.), 291, 300 (photo), 303  
 Spalding, Elizabeth, 345  
 Speek, Peter, 203-204  
 Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway (SP&S), 33-35, 40  
 Sproule, William, 38-40, 42, 45  
 St. Patrick's Benevolent Association (Weaverville), 167  
 St. Paul & Pacific Railroad, 31  
 Stallings, George, 188  
*Stanford Album: A Photographic History, 1885-1945*, by Margo Davis and Rosanne Nilan, rev., 123  
 Stanford, Jane, inside front cover, Fall  
 Stanford, Leland, 6-8, 51, 79, 82, 106, 110, inside front cover, Fall, 275  
 Stanford Memorial Church, inside front cover, Fall (photo)  
 "Stanford University and California Institute of Technology, 1891-1991" by Richard Graw, inside front cover, Fall  
 Stanford University, Hoover Institution, inside front cover, Fall  
 Stanton, Robert Brewster, 83-84  
 Stanworth, C. S., 155  
 Stark, Benjamin, 261  
 Stearns, Abel, 364  
 Steele, Charles, 34 (photo)  
 Steele, Victoria, 399  
 Stein, Louis L., Jr., 99, 110  
 Stevens, John F., 36  
 Stewart, George, 339  
 Stimson, Henry L., inside front cover, Winter  
 Stockton, Robert F., 358  
 Stockton and Visalia Railroad, 110  
 Stockton and Copperopolis Railroad, 110  
 Stockton Terminal and Eastern Railroad, 106  
 Stoddard, Charles Warren, 150  
*Stourbridge Lion* (locomotive), 97  
 Strauss, E. L., 171  
 Stubbs, J. C., 90  
 Sullivan's Creek Company, 244  
*Sunset* (magazine), 63, 65, 74  
*Sunset Limited* (train), 62  
 Sutherland, Maria E., 159  
 Sutherland Hotel (Pleasanton), 401  
 Swain, William, 338  
 Sweeney, Charley, 175, 181, 182, 188  
 Tallant & Wilde, 259  
 Tamal Indians, 156-158  
*Tamalpa* (play), 154  
 Tamalpais Club, 150  
 Taube, Dace, 397, 405  
 Tavernier, Jules, 150  
 Taylor, Ed "Live," 185  
 Taylor, H. Lester, 110  
 Taylor, Thomas, 82  
 Terminal Island, San Pedro Harbor, 27  
 Terminal Railway Company, 13-29  
 Terry, David, 168  
 Tevis, Lloyd, 275-276 (photo)  
 Throop, Amos G., inside front cover, Fall  
 Throop University, inside front cover, Fall  
 Tidewater Southern Railroad, 113  
*Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture*, by Thomas C. Blackburn and Travis Hudson, rev., 223-224  
*They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush*, by Joann Levy, rev., 309-310  
*To California by Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush*, by James P. Delgado, rev., 115-117  
 Todd (Alexander H.) & Co., 261  
 Todd's (Charles A.) Express, 261  
 Totheroh, Dan, 154, 155-156, 159 (photo), 160  
 Toulmin, Alice Larkin, 353  
 Towne, Alban N., 53  
 "Traces of the Pioneers: Photographing the Overland Trail," by Greg MacGregor, 339-342  
 Trails West, 341  
 Trask, Walter, 25-26  
*The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*, by Richard Griswold del Castillo, rev., 312  
 Trinity County, 168-169; Democratic Central Committee, 168, 171  
*Trinity Journal*, Weaverville (newsp.), 165, 169-171  
 Trumbo, Isaac, 79-80, 82  
 Tuolumne County Water Company (TCWCo.), 244-250  
 Tuolumne Hydraulic Company, 245  
 Turco, Renzo, 373-374 (photo)  
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 162, 173  
 Twain, Mark, 162, 164  
*20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion and Social Conflict*, ed. by Norman M. Klein and Martin J. Schiesl, rev., 221-222  
 Tyler, Daniel, rev. of Cutter, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit*



- and Monterey in 1786: *The Journals of Jean François de la Pérouse*, 408-409
- The Uncounted Irish: in Canada and the United States*, by Margaret E. Fitzgerald and Joseph A. King, rev., 315
- Union Iron Works, 101, 111
- Union Pacific Railroad (UP), 6, 8, 30-33, 35, 38, 41-42, 45, 60, 62, 66, 67, 70, 72-74, 79-82, 85-86, 90, 101, 111
- City of Los Angeles (train), 70
- Kansas Pacific Line, 33
- Oregon Short Line (OSL), 31-32, 85, 87-90
- Overland Limited (train), 70
- Overland Route, 42
- Unions (baseball team), 183
- United Railways Company, 38
- U. S. Army Air Service, 291-295
- U. S. Army Balloon School, 293
- U. S. Army, Civil Control Administration, Civil Affairs Division, 369, 370
- U. S. Army, Western Defense Command, 369
- U. S. Assay Office, 263
- U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, 203
- U. S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), 367, 377
- U. S. Department of Justice, 369
- U. S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 368
- U. S. Forest Service, 292-305
- U. S. Geological Survey, 341
- U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 24
- University of Southern California, Library, Department of Special Collections, 399
- The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of Italian American Relocation During World War II*, by Stephen Fox, rev., 316
- Unruh, John D., 339
- Unthank, Alva H., 344
- Urmy, Clarence, 150
- Utah and California Railroad, 83-85, 87, 88
- Utah and Nevada Railroad, 77
- Utah and Pacific Railroad, 85, 88
- Utah Central Railway, 77-80
- Utah Company, 82
- Utah Southern Railroad, 81
- Valentine, John J., 275
- Vallandigham, Clement L., 170
- Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe, 214, 357
- Vallejo, Platon M. G., 152, 155
- Van Devanter, Willis, 89
- Van Haltren, George, 183, 188
- Van Valkenburg, Henry H., 268
- Vane, Sylvia Brakke, and Lowell John Bean, *California Indians: Primary Resources, A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations*, rev., 223-224
- Vansyckle, J. M., 272
- Varney, Philip, *Southern California's Best Ghost Towns: A Practical Guide*, rev., 413-415
- Viader, José, 210
- Victoriano, 210 (photo)
- Vilas, L. A., 291
- Villard, Henry, 7, 31
- Virginia & Truckee Railroad, 106, 111, 112
- Virginia & Truckee Railroad locomotive No. 21, J. W. Bowker, 94
- Visalia Electric Railroad, 110
- Vischer, Edward, 396, 397
- Vogel, K. Christie, rev. of Ranney et al., eds., *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted; Volume V: The California Frontier, 1863-1865*, 314
- Voorhis, Jerry, 383
- Voorhis Act, 372
- Vrooman, Henry, 84
- Vulcan Iron Works, 101
- Waddell, Rube, 189
- Wagner, John "Jack" Russell, 112
- Waha, A. O., 295
- Waite, C. B., 403
- Waldron, W. B., 112
- Walker, Joseph R., inside front cover, Summer
- Wallace, Waller, 181
- Walter, Franz Valtin, 164
- Walter, Frederick, 162-163, 164 (photo), 165-173
- Walter, Mary Wilhelm, 166, 171
- Ware, William, 250-251, 253-255
- Warren, Earl, inside front cover, Winter; 384 (photo)
- Washburn, Reuben W., 261-266, 268
- Washington Hotel (Weaverville), 171
- The Wasp* (newsp.), 9
- Wass, Molitor & Co., 263
- Water development in the West, 46-61
- Water law, origins of, 243-256
- Water rights and water use, 242-256
- Watkins, Carleton E., 5, 49, 55, 74
- Weaverville, 162-173, 243, 250-256
- Fenian Brotherhood, 167
- German-American Citizens Association, 163
- German Citizen's Society, 167
- Hebrew Society, 167
- La Grange ditch, 242 (photo), 257 (photo)
- St. Patrick's Benevolent Association, 167
- Weaverville Beer Cellar, 166; *see also* Harmony Saloon
- Weaverville Hook and Ladder Company, 166
- Weber, David J., 215; *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents*, rev., 224-225
- Weed, Abner E., 113
- Weed Lumber Company, 36, 113
- Weir, Charles, 22
- Welch, Ludmilla, 150
- Welch, Thaddeus, 150
- Welfare reform in California, 278-289
- Wells, C. M., 19
- Wells, Henry, 259, 261, 262
- Wells, Thomas, 259
- Wells & Co., 259
- Wells, Fargo & Co., 258 (photo), 259-277
- Auburn office, 264-268
- Gold country offices, 266-268
- Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express, 268, 275
- Wells Fargo Express agency (Columbia, CA), 272 (photo), 273 (photo)
- Welsh, J. O., 166
- West, Elliott, *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier*, rev., 119-120
- West Weaver Canal (near Weaverville), 250-251, 253
- Western Emigration Society, inside front cover, Summer
- Western Pacific Railroad, 6, 40-43, 45, 64, 106, 113
- California Zephyr (train), 64, 71, 73, 74, 96, 108, 113
- Inside Gateway, 42, 44
- Wheatland Riot (August 1913), 192, 195

---

# INDEX

---

- White, Stephen Mallory, 18-22, 24-26, 29, 84  
Whitman, Narcissa Prentiss, 345  
Whittemore, C. O., 88  
Whittington, Richard "Dick," 404, 405  
Wicker, Tom, 379, 390  
Wilcox, H. F., 300  
Wilhelm, Mary, *see* Walter, Mary Wilhelm  
Willamette Pacific Railroad, 38  
Willard, Charles Dwight, 22  
Williams, Parley L., 88  
Williams, Virgil, 150  
Wilson, Neill Compton, 155  
Wisdom, Everett S. (Lt.), 295  
Withington, Eliza W., 311  
Woirol, Gregory R., "Men on the Road: Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California," 192-205  
Wolff, Tom, 161  
Wollenberg, Charles, *Marinship At War: Shipbuilding and Social Change in Wartime Sausalito*, rev., 316-318  
Woodbury, R. W., 84  
Woods, Isaiah C., 262, 267-268, 274  
Woolwine, W. D., 22  
Wores, Theodore, 151  
Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), 178  
Workman, W. H., 18, 22  
*World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* by Gerald D. Nash, rev., 117, 119  
Wulff, J. O., 296, 302  
Yamamoto, Isoruku, inside front cover, Winter  
Yelland, Raymond Dabb, 150  
Yellowstone National Park, 63  
Yosemite National Park, Wawona Big Tree, 219 (photo)  
Yosemite National Park, Yosemite Valley, 63  
*Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness*, by Alfred Runte, rev., 218-219  
Young, Brigham, 403  
Young, J. H., 88  
Young, John W., 77  
Young, LeGrande, 82  
Yuma Electric and Water Company, 60  
Zanoni, Guglielmo, 375  
Zito, Carmelo, 372  
Zumwalt, Daniel K., 51

# The Public Historian

## Volume 13, Number 3

### Special Issue on Preservation Technology

Introduction *Michael G. Schene*

Technology Transfer, Historic Preservation, and Public Policy  
*Ray A. Williamson and Jannelle Warren-Findley*

The Fragility of Paper: Can Our Historical Records Be Saved?  
*Nancy E. Gwinn*

When Cultures Collide: Computer Technology and the Cultural  
Resources Professional *Betsy Chittenden*

The National Maritime Initiative: An Interdisciplinary  
Approach to Maritime Preservation *James P. Delgado*

Nonintrusive Site Evaluation and Stabilization Technologies for  
Archaeological Resources  
*Douglas D. Scott and Paul R. Nickens*

Mapping History Using Geographic Information Systems  
*John J. Knoerl*

Cultural Landscapes and the New Technologies *Cathy Gilbert*

Preservation Technologies: As Answers Get Easier, Questions  
Remain Hard *Carroll Pursell*

---

**The Public Historian** is the official publication of the  
**National Council on Public History**. Subscriptions to TPH  
are a benefit of membership in the NCPH, which may be  
obtained for \$32 for individuals or \$45 for institutions from  
**University of California Press**, 2120 Berkeley Way,  
Berkeley, CA 94720. Single issues of the Preservation  
Technology special issue are also available from the Press  
(individuals, \$8; institutions \$11.25).

---





# Join the California Historical Society today!

California's past is an open book, richly illustrated with the lives of those who helped create it. Since 1871, the California Historical Society has dedicated itself to collecting, preserving and presenting the account of our remarkable, multi-cultural heritage. Through our historical library full of original manuscripts, first editions and rare books, our archives of over one-half million historic photographs, our lectures, tours and symposia, and our quarterly publications, the Society makes the legacy of our past available to all Californians.

When you become a member of the California Historical Society, you join with many others who have made the study of our history a vital and rewarding part of their lives. And, more importantly, your membership supports the many programs and functions that have been developed by the Society to illuminate our past towards a brighter future for all Californians.

## MEMBER BENEFITS

- ◆ **PUBLICATIONS:** Receive *California History*, a quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922. Featuring articles by leading scholars and writers, *California History* examines the continuing dialogue between the past and the present. The journal includes essays, historic photographs, book reviews, and a checklist of recently published materials relating to California history.  
Also receive *California Chronicle*, a quarterly newsletter highlighting CHS activities and personalities. The newsletter keeps members up-to-date on programs, events and exhibits offered by CHS and other historical groups throughout the state.
- ◆ **PROGRAMS AND EXHIBITS:** Attend lectures and symposia by respected historians and other professionals on issues of both historic and contemporary importance. Receive special invitations to openings of historic exhibitions through out California. Visit historic sites for both tours and events.
- ◆ **LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES:** Visit and use the extensive collections of photographs, books and manuscripts at the North Baker Library in San Francisco and the photographic collections at the University of Southern California.
- ◆ **DISCOUNTS AND FREE ADMISSIONS:** Receive discounts averaging 10%-20% on selected historical publications. Enjoy free admission to the North Baker Library in San Francisco and historic El Molino Viejo in San Marino, including invitations to the annual Holiday Open House in both locations.
- ◆ **TO JOIN OR MAKE A GIFT,** simply fill out the attached envelope and mail it with your payment today!



U.S. Postal Service STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION <small>Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685</small>								
1A. Title of Publication  California History	1B. PUBLICATION NO. <table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td>0</td><td>8</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>8</td><td>0</td> </tr> </table>	0	8	4	1	8	0	2. Date of Filing  8/25/91
0	8	4	1	8	0			
3. Frequency of Issue  quarterly	3A. No. of Issues Published Annually  four	3B. Annual Subscription Price  \$40.00						
4. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)  2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109-2235								
5. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher (Not printer)  2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109-2235								
6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (This item MUST NOT be blank)								
Publisher (Name and Complete Mailing Address) California Historical Society 2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109-2235								
Editor (Name and Complete Mailing Address) Richard J. Orsi California State University, Hayward, Dept. of History, Hayward, CA 94542								
Managing Editor (Name and Complete Mailing Address) Michael McCone California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109-2235								
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Item must be completed.)								
Full Name	Complete Mailing Address							
California Historical Society	2099 Pacific Ave.							
Non-profit corporation with no stockholders	San Francisco, CA 94109-2235							
8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities (If there are none, so state)								
Full Name	Complete Mailing Address							
None								
9. For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized to Mail at Special Rates (DMM Section 423.12 only) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes (Check one)								
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> (1) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months </div> <div> (2) <input type="checkbox"/> Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months </div> <div> (If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.) </div> </div>								
10. Extent and Nature of Circulation <small>(See instructions on reverse side)</small>	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date						
A. Total No. Copies (Net Press Run)	7175	5800						
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation								
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	150	20						
2. Mail Subscription (Paid and/or requested)	5000	4600						
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	5150	4620						
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies	500	500						
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	5650	5120						
F. Copies Not Distributed								
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	1525	680						
2. Return from News Agents	0	0						
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	7175	5800						
11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete	Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner Michael McCone, Exec. Director							



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the State Historical Society. With regional offices in San Francisco and San Marino, the Society collects, preserves, and interprets information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the public.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

## OFFICERS

George Basye, Esq., Sacramento  
*President*  
Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D., Los Angeles  
*Vice President*  
David J. Clark, Esq., Larkspur  
*Treasurer*  
Marshall S. Sanders, San Francisco  
*Secretary*  
Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley, San Francisco  
*Assistant Secretary*  
David B. Hudnut, Tiburon  
*Regional Vice President*  
George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles  
*Regional Vice President*  
Elizabeth Bertillion Smart, Sacramento  
*Regional Vice President*

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D., Eureka  
Constance Crowley Bowles, San Francisco  
Arthur Coleman, M.D., San Francisco  
Robert Corrigan, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Suzanne Crocker-White, Ph.D., San Mateo  
Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D., El Cerrito  
Robert T. Devlin, San Francisco  
Linda S. Dickason, Los Angeles  
Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., Berkeley  
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco  
Seymour Greben, Novato  
Harlan Hague, Ph.D., Stockton  
Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento  
Diana La Verne Holland, El Cajon  
Eric P. Hvolboll, Esq., Santa Barbara  
Andrew G. Jameson, Ph.D., San Francisco  
William C. Johnston, Pasadena  
Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D., San Francisco  
Gary Kurutz, Sacramento  
R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D., Berkeley  
Ian Mackinlay, FAIA, Orinda  
Milton Marks, III, San Francisco  
Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Berkeley  
Kathleen McLaughlin, Martinez  
Arthur Mejia, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Shirley Ann Moore, Ph.D., Oakland  
Maggie Pexton Murray, Los Angeles  
Andrew T. Nadell, M.D., San Francisco  
Norman Neuerburg, Ph.D., Los Angeles  
Annegret Ogden, Berkeley  
Allen M. Okamoto, San Francisco

Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Claremont  
Hanna Regev, San Francisco  
Marna Schnabel, Los Angeles  
Ralph Scurfield, Sacramento  
Barbara Solomon, San Francisco  
Kevin Starr, Ph.D., San Francisco  
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco  
James C. Williams, Ph.D., Gilroy  
Mrs. John C. Williams, San Francisco  
(Ex-officio)  
Herbert Yee, D.D.S., Sacramento

## EMERITI

Louis Heilbron, San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*  
J.S. Holliday, Ph.D., Carmel  
*Executive Director Emeritus*  
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco  
*President Emeritus*

## STAFF

Michael McCone, *Executive Director*  
Corinne Abbott, *Acting Curator*  
Jeffrey A. Barr, *Librarian for  
Technical and Photographic Services*  
Theresa Bennett, *Accountant*  
Judith Deaton, *Director of Operations*  
Margaret Eley, *El Molino Viejo Director*  
Kay Feallock, *Programs and Publications  
Manager*  
Donna Fiscus, *Development Officer*  
Michael W. Harvey, *Head Librarian*  
Cheryl Kolinen Hylton, *Director of  
Development*  
George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*  
Paul Kennedy, *El Molino Viejo Caretaker*  
Robert MacKimmie, *Curatorial Director of  
Photography*  
Abigay Perez, *Custodian*  
Sandra Reinhardt, *Director of Finance*  
Ann Marie Thurmond, *Database Manager*

## PROGRAM/SERVICES COMMITTEE

Luis L. Arroyo, Ph.D.  
Mrs. Ina A. Cokeley  
Arthur Coleman, M.D.  
Robert Corrigan, Ph.D.  
Lawrence P. Crouchett, Ed.D.

Joseph Engbeck, Jr., Co-chair  
Kay Feallock, Staff  
Donna Fiscus, Staff  
Charles A. Fracchia  
Harlan Hague, Ph.D.  
Cheryl Kolinen Hylton, Staff  
William C. Johnston  
Samuel B. Kermoian, Ed.D.  
Barbara Lekisch (Non-trustee)  
R. Jeffrey Lustig, Ph.D.  
Glenna Matthews, Ph.D., Co-chair  
Shirley Moore, Ph.D.  
Norman Neuerburg, Ph.D.  
Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D.  
Richard Orsi, Ph.D. (Non-trustee)  
Edith Piness, Ph.D.  
Kevin Starr, Ph.D.  
James C. Williams, Ph.D.

## CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly ©1991 by CHS

\$25.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle*.

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS  
AND NORTH BAKER LIBRARY  
2099 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco, California 94109  
(415) 567-1848  
FAX (415) 567-2394

EL MOLINO VIEJO  
1120 Old Mill Road  
San Marino, California 91108  
(818) 449-5450

Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Richard J. Orsi, Editor, *California History*, Department of History, California State University, Hayward, Hayward, CA 94542. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 2099 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109.

LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897  
Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.  
Publication number 084180













